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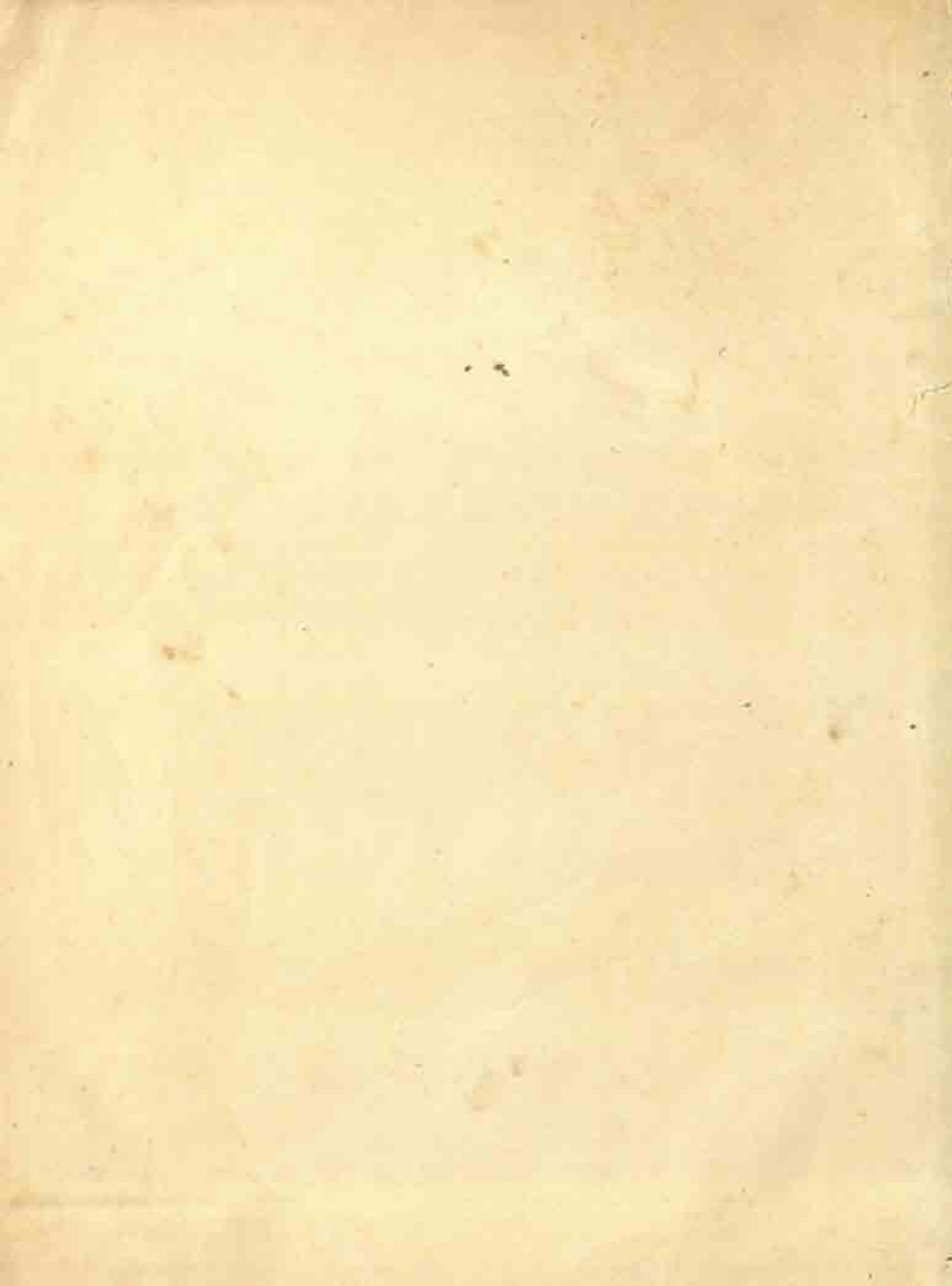
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TIRUPARUTTİKUNRAM AND ITS TEMPLES

WITH APPENDICES ON JAINA UNITS OF MEASUREMENT
AND TIME, COSMOLOGY AND CLASSIFICATION OF SOULS

BY

T. N. RAMACHANDRAN, M.A.

Government Museum, Madras

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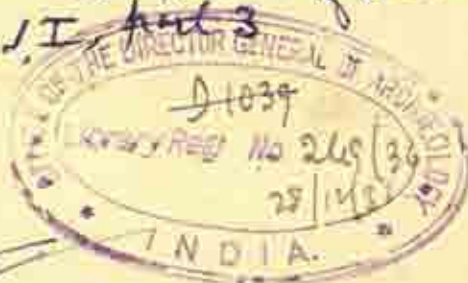
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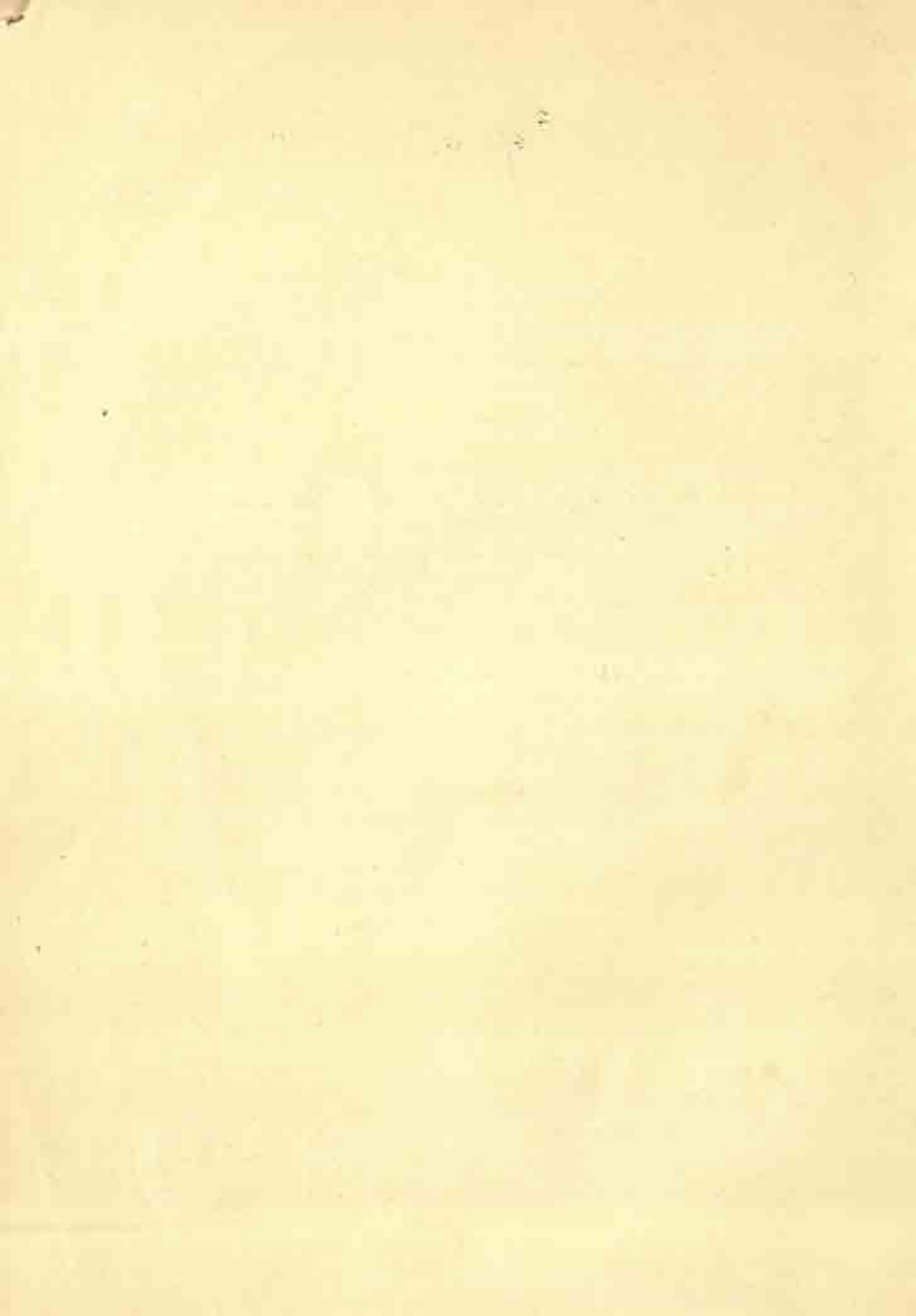
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AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

In the village of Tiruparuttikunram on the outskirts of Conjeevaram is an enclosure containing two Jaina temples. The smaller of them is in late Pallava style, the larger early Chola with a *mandapa* in Vijayanagara style. They thus supply an epitome of the main features of the chronological development of Dravidian temple architecture which so far as is known is found nowhere else in so concise and well-balanced a form.

The evidence of architectural style is supported by evidence contained in inscriptions in which the larger temple is particularly rich. And the ceilings of the *mandapa* and veranda of this temple are adorned with paintings illustrating Jaina mythology, a row of which has been published by Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy in his *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, pl. LXXX, fig. 256. It will thus be seen that these temples, though small, are of quite exceptional interest and deserving detailed study.

This has therefore been attempted in the following pages. It led at once to the identification of Tiruparuttikunram with Jina-Kāñchī of the temple inscriptions, Nos. 19 and 21. It also necessitated a study from Jaina manuscripts and texts of Jaina iconography, mythology, cosmology, etc., from the Digambara standpoint. As the insertion in this paper of a convenient and clear account of these will be most appropriate to explain many details arising from the study of the paintings not explained under their descriptions, a summary is given in Appendices I-III. The authorities consulted are:—

1. The *Śrī Purāṇa*, 2. *Ādi Purāṇa* and 3. *Punyāśrava-kathā*, obtained from the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library; 4. *Merumandara Purāṇa* obtained from Mr. T. Appavu, Tiruparuttikunram; 5. *Vardhamāna Purāṇa* from the Adyar Library; 6-10. Four palm leaf manuscripts, two relating to the iconography of the *Yakshas* and *Yakshīs*, one relating to *Punyā-havachana* and the fourth relating to *Āchārya-praśasti* obtained from the temple priest, as also a printed copy of Āśādhara's *Pūjavidhi* obtained from the same source; 11-12. Hemachandra's *Trishashṭiśalākāpuruṣa-charitra* (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. LI) and *Abhidhāna-chintāmaṇi*; 13-14. Nemichandra's *Trilokasāra*, and Umāsvāmi's *Tatvārthādhigama-sūtra* (edited by J. L. Jaini) obtained from Mr. Mallinath, editor of the *Jaina Gazette*, besides other printed

books and English publications such as C. R. Jain's *Rishabhadeva*, J. L. Jain's works on Jainism and papers in Journals such as the *Indian Antiquary*, etc.

My thanks are due to the temple trustees of Tiruparuttikunram, more particularly to Mr. T. Appavu Jain, Honorary Magistrate of Conjeevaram, for facilitating the preparation of this work. I acknowledge with pleasure the generous assistance rendered by the temple priest Mr. Purushottama Upadhyaya, who not only placed at my disposal the manuscripts necessary for my study and explained several passages in them from out of his experience of temple rituals and other Jaina matters, but also evinced a zealous interest in my work throughout.

I am under a deep debt of obligation to Dr. F. H. Gravely, the Editor, for much helpful criticism and valuable suggestions. My thanks are no less due to Mr. C. S. Mallinath, Editor of the *Jaina Gazette*, Madras, not only for procuring for me the necessary literature but also for his kindness in reading through my manuscript and for incidental criticisms.

T. N. RAMACHANDRAN.

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ERRATA.

Page	Line	For	Read
4	Footnote 2, line 6	Śvetāmbaras	Śvetāmbaras
7	29	Vaishṇvism	Vaishṇavism
14	5	mentions this	mentions this
27	34	}	}
28	6		
28	41	ii-B	i-B
41	25	<i>konḍai</i>	<i>konḍai</i>
47	36	Hima śītala	Hima-śītala
57	19	Conjeevaram	Conjeevaram
57	33	<i>nṛpatih</i>	<i>nṛpatih</i>
58	40	<i>Māvandūr</i>	<i>Māvandūr</i>
60	31	<i>T</i>	<i>I</i>
66	38	<i>Jayate</i>	<i>Jāyate</i>
74	8 and 28	<i>lion</i>	<i>tiger</i>
80	8	<i>mahārājagum</i>	<i>mahārājagum</i>
87	31	<i>-mandapa</i>	<i>-mandapa</i>
100	7	Dharanendran	Dharanendran
119	33	Piryakāriṇī	Priyakāriṇī
120	Footnote 1, line 23	<i>asttaḥ</i>	<i>stataḥ</i>
120	Footnote 1, line 35	Anats	Ānata
150	22	<i>devine</i>	<i>divine</i>
155	Footnote 1, line 3	Utsarpiṇī	Utsarpiṇī
169	1	<i>Asipaat</i>	<i>Asipata</i>
172	30	Anata	Ānata
183	21	<i>ahga</i>	<i>aṅga</i>
188	Footnote 2	Dharaṇī	Dhāraṇī
193	41	Aryadinna	Āryadinna
195	39	<i>Pārsvayaksha</i>	<i>Pārsvayaksha</i>
210	3	Saṅkha-	Śaṅkha-
212	Footnote 3, line 2	<i>Nārāyana</i>	<i>Nārāyaṇa</i>
221	35	centemporaneous	contemporaneous
226	23	Vantarās	Vyantarās
243	23	Jivandara	Jivandhara
243	26	<i>Jyotiśchakra</i>	<i>Jyotiśchakra</i>
244	4	Aryadevī	Āryadevī
248	11	Padma Sri	Padma Śrī
250	17		

ERRATA

<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	<i>For</i>	<i>Read</i>
250	21	Attakāla	Atitakāla
250	4	Patrā-	Patra-
251	35	Pratishṭhāpana	Pratishṭhāpana
254	20	Śrībhadrā	Śrībhadrā
254	21	Śrīchandra	Śrīchandra
255	32	Subhāṅkara	Subhāṅkara
255	48	vimāka	vimāna
255	12	Sukra	Sukra
256	5	-dvīpa	-dvīpa
256 {	42 }	Syāmavara-	Syāmavara-
256 {	43 }		
256	38	-maṇḍapa	-maṇḍapa

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

A.R.S.I.E.	...	...	...	Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy.
Bombay Gaz.	...	...	...	Bombay Gazetteer.
Ep. Car.	...	...	...	<i>Epigraphia Carnatica.</i>
Ep. Ind.	...	...	...	<i>Epigraphia Indica.</i>
Hist. Sket. Anc. Dekh.	...	...	...	Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekhan, by K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar.
Ind. Ant.	...	...	...	Indian Antiquary.
J.A.O.S.	...	...	...	Journal of the American Oriental Society.
Jour. Univ. Bombay	...	...	...	Journal of the University of Bombay.
M.E.R.	...	...	...	Madras Epigraphy Report.
Q.J.M.S.	...	...	...	Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore.
S.I.I.	...	...	...	South Indian Inscriptions.
S.L.A.	...	...	...	Sewall's List of Antiquities.

TIRUPARUTTİKUNRAM (JINA-KĀNCHĪ) AND ITS TEMPLES.

BY T. N. RAMACHANDRAN, M.A.

Government Museum, Madras.

A regular colony of Jains seems to have been settled in Kāñchīpuram (Conjeevaram) from ancient times and the locality where they lived was styled "Jina-Kāñchī" or that part of Kāñchī occupied by the Jains. In the Conjeevaram taluk, Jaina vestiges are found at Tiruparuttikunram, Ārpakkam, Māgarai, Āryaperumbakkam, etc. Of these Tiruparuttikunram, about two miles from Conjeevaram, situated on the right bank of the river Vegavattī is popularly known as "Jina-Kāñchī" to-day and formed part of Conjeevaram from very ancient times.¹ The Jaina temple here is the biggest in the taluk² and of great interest, both architecturally and on account of its paintings illustrating the lives of some of the Tīrthaṅkaras.

The Digambara Jains of Mysore speak of four seats of learning (*Vidyāsthānas* or *Chatus-simhāsanas*), these being Kollāpura, Jina-Kāñchīpura, Penukoṇḍa and Dehli.³ Burgess suggests that Jina-Kāñchīpura is perhaps the present Chittānūr in South Arcot District.⁴ But the local tradition associating the name of Jina-Kāñchīpura with the village of Tiruparuttikunram, the high repute of Conjeevaram as a seat of learning from very early times⁵, and the reference in many other Jaina texts and traditions to Kāñchīpura as one of the *Vidyāsthānas*,⁶ warrant the identification of the present village of Tiruparuttikunram with Jina-Kāñchī. This identification receives additional strength from the inscriptions⁷ found in one of the local temples, the one dedicated to Vardhamāna, the twenty-fourth Tīrthaṅkara.

Inscriptions, numbers 19 and 21⁸ prove beyond any manner of doubt that Jina-Kāñchīpura or Jina-Kāñchī stands for Tiruparuttikunram and not for Chittānūr. The latter which is dated in the seventh regnal year of the Chola⁹ king Rajarāja III.

¹ E. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar, *Hist. Sket. Acc. Decc.*, p. 70.

² *A.R.S.I.E.*, 1922-23, p. 129.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. xxii, p. 460.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. viii, p. 34.

⁶ *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. 9, pp. 247 and 255. "Account of the Jains (collected from a priest at Mulgeri)"—

"At this time, the Jains have four Mathādhipas, or chief Pontiffs, at the following places: (1) Penukoṇḍa or Pennakoṇḍa, (2) Cāñchī or Conjeevaram, (3) Kollāpur, (4) Delhi. . . . Their Saṃnyasis, for a long time back, have resided in these places, with power over all those professing their religion; these pontiffs teach their laws, duties and customs; and if they observe any irregularities among their flocks, punish them according to the nature of the offence."

⁷ See *below*, Nos. 7, 19 and 21 of our list, pp. 57, 60 and 61; *A.R.S.I.E.*, No. 97 of 1923, pp. 70 and 129; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. vii, p. 116.

⁸ See *below*, pp. 60 and 61.

⁹ Diacritical marks on popular words like Chola, Pandya, etc., are avoided in this paper.

(1223 A.D.) refers to Tiruparuttikunram by both its names, Jina-Kāñchipura and Tiruparuttikunram, and the former, which on palaeographical grounds should be assigned to about 1600 A.D., disarms all doubts on the point by referring to this place distinctly as Jina-Kāñchipura and omitting the name Tiruparuttikunram. There are other inscriptions also in this temple, ranging from 1200 A.D. to 1400 A.D., numbers 7, 14, 16 and 17¹, in which the place is referred to as either Jina-Kāñchipura or Kāñchi or Kachchi or Jina-Kāñchi. Further we can hardly look for a Jina-Kāñchi anywhere but in Kāñchi itself, for the term means nothing more than that part of Kāñchipura occupied by the Jaina residents of the place.

The name Tiruparuttikunram seems to have been derived from the fact that the cultivation of "parutti," the Tamil name for cotton, was once carried on here on a large scale². In proof of this fact it is now pointed out that the image of Chandraprabha in the small temple at Tiruparuttikunram³ is placed on the second floor at a height of about twelve feet from the ground in order that it may not be hidden amidst the cotton cultivation. It may be suggested however that we have perhaps in the name Tiruparuttikunram a corruption of the name *Śēmporkunram* or *kunru*, meaning the "Beautiful golden hill", the name by which the place is referred to in inscription number 1.⁴ "Tiru" may be taken as an equivalent of "Śēṁ" in that it means also "beautiful". Thus Tiruparuttikunram is a corruption of *Śēmporkunru* or *Śēmporkunram*, or of *Tiruporkunram*, if we replace "Śēṁ" by "Tiru." This suggestion receives strength from the fact that the locality where inscriptions numbers 22—24⁵ are incised on the *samādhi* stones of some of the sages that lived at Tiruparuttikunram is now called *Arunagiri-mēdu*, or "the elevation called Arunagiri." *Arunagiri* is the Sanskrit for *Śēmporkunru*. This locality being only within a hundred yards of the temples it may be seen that the old name "*Śēmporkunram*" is even now in current use.

Unlike Madura, Uraiyūr and Cranganore, the capitals of the Pandya, Chola and Chera kings, Conjeevaram, which was once the capital of the Pallavas, abounds in structural monuments dating from the remote past and containing a large number of inscriptions which help the building of the city's history. More than 283 lithic records were collected from the city by Sir Walter Elliot as early as 1882 and, according to him, they do not exhaust the number of epigraphs in the place.⁶

The place is called, both in inscriptions and in early works in Tamil and Sanskrit, Kachchi, Kāñchi, Kāñchi, and Kachchipēdu. Appar, Tirujñāna Sambandha and other Śaiva saints among the *Nayanmārs* and Tirumanāgai and other Ājvārs have sung hymns on the Conjeevaram temples. The Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsiang, who visited Conjeevaram in about 640 A.D. calls the city "Kin-chi-pulo" and says that it was the capital of "Talo-pi-cha," i.e., Drāviḍa (the Tamil country) and was 30 *li* round⁷. From early records

¹ See *below*, pp. 37, 39 and 60.

² See *below*, p. 12.

³ See *below*, pp. 61 and 62.

⁴ *A.R.S.I.E.*, 1922-23, p. 120.

⁵ See *below*, pp. 49 and 50.

⁶ *S.L.A.*, Vol. 1, pp. 178-187.

⁷ *Beal*, *Si yu shi*, Vol. 2, p. 228.

It is evident that the name of the country in which the city was situated and of which it was then the capital was *Tundaka-vishaya*, the several variants of which are *Tondira*, *Tundira*, *Tondā* and *Tondai*.¹ The Tamil equivalent of "*Tundaka-vishaya*" is "*Tondai-maṇḍalam*" which still remains in use. At the beginning of the reign of the great Chola king *Rājarāja I* (985-1013 A.D.), the name "*Tondai-maṇḍalam*" was changed into "*Jayamkonda-chōla-maṇḍalam*" after one of the surnames of *Rājarāja* himself, and "it was by this latter name that the territory was known for several centuries, i.e., until the *Vijayanagara* times."² In inscriptions earlier than the time of *Rājarāja I* it is the term "*Tondai-maṇḍalam*" that is used. The term "*Jayamkonda-chōla-maṇḍalam*" appears, therefore, to come into use in the latter part of the reign of that king.³ Strangely however the older name alone has survived.

The history of *Conjeevaram*, from the earliest times to the beginning of the 13th century A.D., is elaborately dealt with by Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar, in his book "*Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekkhan*" under Book I. The city was the capital of the *Pallavas* from perhaps the second century A.D. to almost the end of the ninth century A.D. At the beginning of the ninth century it fell into the hands of the Western *Chalukya* king, *Vikramāditya II*, who did not hold it long. In the third quarter of the tenth century the *Rāshtrakūtas* became its lords but only for a short period (945-970 A.D.).

Leaving out of consideration these short occupations, we can say that the *Cholas*, who obtained possession of the city in the last quarter of the ninth century A.D., continued as its lords till the middle of the thirteenth century, when the *Kakatiyas* of *Warangal* and the *Telugu-Chola* chiefs from the north took their place "but found competent rivals in the rising *Pāndya* kings of *Madura*." The history of *Conjeevaram* for a few years from then is confused and the city was affected seriously by several feudatory families revolting against the imbecile later *Chola* kings and asserting their independence, and by the invasions of South India by the iconoclast *Muhammadans*, chief among whom was *Malik-Kafur*. Fortunately for South India these *Muhammadan* invaders were only actuated by "plunder and lust, not dominion." When they left *Conjeevaram* the *Vijayanagara* kings took possession of it in about 1377 A.D. and retained it till the beginning of the seventeenth century A.D.,⁴ during which period the city enjoyed prosperity and peace and witnessed the growth of some more structural monuments.

Its monuments bear testimony to the fact that the city was a stronghold of people of various religions from very early times. Buddhism, Jainism, Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism, each in its turn, had powerful hold over the city and have left unmistakable marks of their influence. According to *Hsien Tsiang*, who visited *Conjeevaram* in about 640 A.D., "*Kāñchī* is as old as *Buddha*, *Buddha* converted its people, *Dharmapāla Bodhisattva* was born there, and *Aśoka* built several *stūpas* in its neighbourhood."⁵ He further states that

¹ *S.I.L.*, Vol. I., p. 146.

² K. V. S. Ayyar, *Hist. Sket. Anc. Dekh.*, p. 5.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 63, 71 and 72.

I.A

⁴ *Bombay Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 328.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 5.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, p. 222.

the "Jainas were very numerous in his day, and that Buddhism and Brahmanism were about on a par."¹

In the early stages * Jain influence existed side by side with that of Buddhism. The *Sthalapurdna* of nearly every temple in Conjeevaram confirms the belief of the people that "Conjeevaram was for ages a Buddhist and afterwards a Jaina town."²

This takes us to the very interesting question of the history of Jainism in South India which, according to Mr. S. R. Sharma "is the history of a partial attempt to Aryanise the Dravidian races."³ This attempt may be said to commence when Chandragupta Maurya accompanied Bhadrabāhu I to the south a few years before 297 B.C. This was followed by other missions to the south, such as that of Kalakāchārya, a preacher of the Śvetāmbara sect who "found his way to the court of the king of Penthā in the Deccan," and who was probably an Āndhra king or chief ruling from Paithan, and of Viśakhachārya, a Digambara preacher who "with a group of emigrants penetrated the Choja and Pandya countries." The spread of Jainism and the dissemination of Jaina ideals in the Tamil country received sufficient impetus on the advent of Kundakundachārya⁴ "evidently a Dravidian and the first in almost all the genealogies of the southern Jainas"⁵ and is attested to by literary works such as the *Kura* of Tiruvalluvar, *Maṇimekalai* and *Śilappadikāram*. The spread of Jainism in the Tamil country is in no small measure due to "the patronage it obtained at the courts of Kāñchi and Madura." At the time of the visits of Hiuen Tsiang to these cities, the former had a number of *Deva* temples of which "the majority belonged to the Digambaras,"⁶ and the latter had in it living a number of Digambaras.⁷

Whatever may be the controversial views entertained by historians to-day on the question of "the antiquity of Jainism" and the existence of "a Jaina period in the History of India" it is accepted on all hands that from the beginning of the Christian era down to the epoch-making conversion of the Hoysala Vishṇuvardhana by Rāmaṇuja in the twelfth century, Jainism was the most powerful religion in the South."⁸

Though we do not possess to-day the names of kings in South India who were Buddhists, we have fortunately preserved for us the names of some that adopted Jainism.⁹

¹ *S.E.A.*, Vol. I, p. 176.

² According to a Jaina tradition, also recorded in the Śravaka Belgoja inscription, Bhadrabāhu I (see *Appendix III*, pp. 215, 216) the last *Śruta-Kṛanti*, led the northern Jainas, 12,000 in number to South India in the time of the Mauryan emperor Chandragupta. Chandragupta is said to have joined the migrating party. Professor Jacobi determines the date of this migration as probably a few years before 297 B.C. Bhadrabāhu died on the way at Chandragiri hill before the migration was completed. This fact of the Jaina migration to the south is important inasmuch as it is really the starting point for an account of South Indian Jainism. The division of the Jainas into Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras, which according to Leumann is the initial fact of Digambara tradition, starts from here.

³ *Chingleput Manual*, p. 109.

⁴ See *Appendix III*, pp. 216, 218.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 229-30.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, p. 214; *A.E.S.I.E.*, 1922-23, p. 129.

⁷ *Jour. Univ. Bombay*, Vol. I, part I, p. 177.

⁸ *Watters, Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 226.

⁹ *Jour. Univ. Bombay*, Vol. I, part I, p. 183.

Some of the Pallava kings of Kāñchi, chief among whom was Mahendravarman I (600-30 A.D.),¹ a few Pandya, Western Chālukya, Gaṅga, Rashtrakuta, Kalachurya and Hoysala kings were staunch Jainas, and it is said of some of them that they persecuted other religionists.

The early faith of Kūṇ-Pandya or Neḷumāraṇ, a great Pandya king who lived in the eighth century, was Jainism, from the "clutches" of which, it is said, he was saved by Tiruñāna Sambandha, another Śaivite saint. The Kadamba kings of Banavāsi in Kāñchi, though themselves Hindus, were "systematically eclectic and favoured Jainism as the religion of many of their subjects."² They are, to mention a few, Kākusthavarma (430-450 A.D.), Mṛigeśavarman (475-490 A.D.), Ravivarman (497-537 A.D.) and Hari-varman (537-547 A.D.).³

The Western Chālukyas or the early Chālukyas as they are more often called, were also patrons of Jainism. Jayasimha I, the first king of the dynasty appears to have patronised three Jaina Āchāryas, Guṇachandra, Vasuchandra and Vādirāja.⁴ Pulakeśi I (550 A.D.) made endowments to a Jaina temple at Ālaktanagara and Kirtivarman I (566-597 A.D.), his son, gave a grant to "the temple of Jinendra," while Pulakeśi II, the latter's son (609-642 A.D.) patronised Ravikīrti, the Jaina poet who composed the Aihole inscription in which he says:—"This stone temple of Jinendra . . . was constructed by Ravikīrti, who had acquired the greatest favour of that same Satyāśraya (Pulikeśi), whose commands were restrained by the three oceans."⁵ Niravadya-panḍita or Udaya-deva-panḍita as he is also called, house-pupil of Pūjyapāda, who belonged to the *Deva-gaṇa* of the *Mūla-saṅgha*,⁶ i.e., of Digambara Jainas, is spoken of as a spiritual adviser of Jayasimha II,⁷ and of Vinayāditya (680-697 A.D.).⁸ He is said to have received at the hands of Vijayāditya (696-733 A.D.), the son of Vinayāditya, a village for the maintenance of a Jaina temple. Vikramāditya II (733-747 A.D.), the son of Vijayāditya, repaired a Jaina temple and gave a grant in connection with it to a Jaina ascetic Vijaya-panḍita by name.⁹

¹ According to tradition he was later on converted to Śaivism by the Śaiva saint Appar, himself a Jaina in the beginning of his life when he was called Dharmasena. Strangely enough there is a Jaina tradition which the temple priest at Tiruparuttikuppam narrated as being included in one of their *purāṇas* called *Dharmasena-purāṇa*, which says that Appar returned to his old faith in the latter part of his life for which he was ill to death by some Śaivites. See also *Studies in South Indian Jainism*, part I, p. 153, note 2.

² *Jour. Univ. Bombay*, Vol. I, part I, p. 178.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 178—"Kākusthavarmā ends one of his inscriptions by reverencing Śiṣabhaileva, one of the Jaina Tirthankaras. His grandson Mṛigeśavarmā gave some fields at Vaijayantī 'to the divine supreme Arhat' . . . upon another occasion divided the village of Kālavāṅga into three parts and distributed them as follows: The first he gave 'to the great god Jinendra', the second for 'the enjoyment of the sect . . . called Svetapātha (Svetāmbaras)', and the third 'to . . . the Nirgranthas' (Digambaras). Ravivarmā granted a village so 'that the glory of Jinendra . . . should be celebrated regularly every year' at Pālāṅka (Halsi). Harivarmā also made several grants to the Jainas."

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 179.

⁵ See below, p. 41.

⁶ *Bombay Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 191.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Jour. Univ. Bombay*, Vol. I, part I, p. 179.

⁹ *Ibid.*, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 197; Vol. XI, p. 214.

But the "golden age of Jainism" in Kārṇāṭaka was under the Gangas, who, it is said, made Jainism their "state religion." It is said of the great Jaina Āchārya Simhanandi that he was not only instrumental in laying the foundation of the Gāṅga kingdom but acted also in the capacity of an adviser to Koṅṅuṇivarman I, the first Gāṅga king.¹ While Maḍhava II (540-565 A.D.) made grants to the Digambaras, Durvīṇṭa (605-650 A.D.) sat at the feet of Pōjyapāda and Durvīṇṭa's son Mushkara (650 A.D.) made Jainism the "state religion." Gāṅga kings, who came subsequently, were zealous patrons of Jainism. It is said of Mārasiṃha III (961-974 A.D.), whose general Chāmūṇḍa Rāja erected the colossal statue of Bahubali at Śravaṇa Belgōḷa, that he "crowned his life with the highest sacrifice a Jaina may offer to his faith, viz., death by *sallekhana*, or slow starvation."² Rājamalla I (817-828 A.D.) founded a Jaina cave at Vallimalai in North Arcot District.³ Nītimārga I, his son, was a Jaina.

Among the Rāshtrakūṭas, who were also patrons of Jainism, the best known is Amoghavarsha I (814-15-877-78 A.D.), though we know also that his father Govinda III (798-815 A.D.) gave a grant to a Jaina teacher Arikīrti, "for removing the evil influence of Saturn from Vimalāditya of the Chāḷukya family."⁴ It is said of Amoghavarsha I that he sat at the feet of the great Jināsena,⁵ who was the preceptor of Guṇabhadra and wrote beside the Jaina *Harivaṃśa*, the first recension of which was completed in 783-4 A.D. in the time of Govinda III, a portion of the *Ādi-purāṇa*, which was part of the Jaina *Mahā-purāṇa*, while Guṇabhadra completed the *Ādi-purāṇa* by writing the *Uttara-purāṇa* or the second part of the *Mahā-purāṇa* in 897 A.D., in the reign of Amoghavarsha's successor, Kṛṣṇa II (880-911-12 A.D.). Among Jaina works that were written at the Rāshtrakūṭa capital, mostly under the patronage of Amoghavarsha I, mention may be made, besides *Harivaṃśa*, *Ādi-purāṇa* and *Uttara-purāṇa*, of *Akalāṅka Charita*, *Jayadha-valāṭika*, a work on Digambara philosophy by Virasenāchārya, a mathematical work called *Sārasaṃgraha* or *Gaṇitasārasaṃgraha* by Virāchārya, and a treatise on moral subjects entitled *Prasānottara-ratnamālīkā*, the authorship of which is attributed to Amoghavarsha himself.⁶ In short it is said of Amoghavarsha I that he was the greatest patron of Digambara Jainism and that he adopted the Jaina faith.⁷ In the reign of Kṛṣṇa II his subjects and tributary chiefs either built or made grants to Jaina temples already built, doubtless under his patronage,⁸ and the Jaina *purāṇa* (*Mahā-purāṇa*) was consecrated in Śaka 820 by Lokasena, the pupil of Guṇabhadra.

The Chāḷukyas of Kalyāṇi who succeeded the Rāshtrakūṭas in 974 A.D. after the last Rāshtrakūṭa was defeated by Taila II (973-997 A.D.) were not so favourable to Jainism "and at times persecuted them." Śaiva opposition was getting stronger and the kings themselves were slowly coming under the sway of Śaivism. Thus, for instance,

¹ For details of Jainism in Gāṅṇarāṭh see *Q.J.M.S.*, Vol. XXIV, No. 1, pp. 49-52.

² *Jour. Univ. Bombay*, Vol. I, part I, p. 179; see below, p. 41.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 120.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, pp. 114-15.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 201.

⁶ *Jour. Univ. Bombay*, Vol. I, part I, p. 179.

⁷ *Bombay Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, pp. 200-1.

⁸ *Ibid.*

Jayasimha II (1018-1042 A.D.), the successor of Vikramāditya V (1009-1018 A.D.) and grandson of Taila II, is said to have persecuted the Jainas after being himself converted from Jainism to Śaivism at the instance of his wife Suggaladevi. The story of such persecution is narrated in the *Basava Purāṇa* and in the *Chenna Basava Purāṇa*. But his successor Āhavamalla Someśvara I (1042-68 A.D.) appears to have been a good patron of Jainism as evidenced by an inscription at Śravana Belgola which states that "the Jaina teacher Swāmi won the title of *Śabda-chaturmukha* at the hands of King Āhavamalla."¹

It has been more often supposed that the Chola kings persecuted the Jainas. This does not appear to be generally true as will be seen from a study of the Chola inscriptions in the Jaina temples at Tiruparuttikunram detailed below (pp. 49-57 and 61).

Tribhuvanamalla Bijjala (1156-67 A.D.), the founder of the Kalachurya dynasty, who was himself a Jaina to start with and had in his grants the figure of a Tirthankara, came under the evil influence of his minister Basava, the founder of the Lingayat sect, who prevailed on his master to persecute and even exterminate the Jainas. When Basava found that Bijjala did not fully agree with him in his campaign of hatred nor approved of the methods that he had adopted to persecute the Jainas he had the king murdered stealthily. This was followed by a period of terror and bloodshed "that spread as far as the kingdom of the Cholas and the Hoysalas."²

The Hoysalas, whose kingdom included modern Mysore, were staunch Jainas. Vinayāditya II (1047-1100 A.D.), the first historical person of this dynasty, owed his rise to power to a Jaina ascetic named Śāntideva. Śāntaladevi, the wife of Viṣṇuvardhana alias *Bitti* (1111-1141 A.D.), was a lay disciple of a Jaina teacher, Prabhāchandra, while Viṣṇuvardhana's minister Gaṅgarāja and Hulla, a minister of Narasimha I (1143-73 A.D.) are specifically cited as "two out of three very special promoters of the Jain faith."³ Thus there seems to be no doubt that the early Hoysalas were Jainas and that the later Hoysalas from Bitti onwards were converted to Vaiṣṇavism mainly because of Rāmānuja's personality. Bitti, who was perhaps the greatest ruler of the dynasty, was "a fervent militant Jaina down to the time when he was converted to Vaiṣṇavism by Rāmānuja," an event which came to happen by a miracle as Vaiṣṇava literature has it. Much reliance cannot be placed on the traditional account that the new convert persecuted the Jainas, being directed to do so by Rāmānuja, for we learn that his wife Śāntaladevi remained a Jaina and continued to make grants to the Jainas with the king's consent, and that Gaṅgarāja, his minister, whose services for Jainism are well known, continued to enjoy the king's favour. Moreover he himself is said to have endowed and repaired Jaina temples and to have afforded protection to Jaina images and priests. It is claimed for Viṣṇuvardhana—the name adopted by him after his conversion—that his reign was one of great toleration that continued even during the reigns of his successors.⁴

¹ *Jour. Univ. Bombay*, Vol. I, part I, p. 180.

² *Bombay Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 491.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Jour. Univ. Bombay*, Vol. I, part I, p. 181.

His successors, though themselves Vaishnavites, are said to have built Jaina temples (*bastis*) and to have protected Jaina *Āchāryas*. Such are for instance Narasimha I (1143-73 A.D.), Viraballala II (1173-1220 A.D.) and Narasimha III (1254-91 A.D.)¹

The Vijayanagara kings were always noted for their highly tolerant attitude towards religions and were therefore patrons of Jainism too. Bukka I (1357-1377-8 A.D.)², is spoken of for the Jaina-Vaishnava compact that he was able to effect during his reign³. This by itself speaks for the patronage that Jainism received at the hands of the early kings of Vijayanagara⁴. Bīmadevi, the queen of Deva Rāya I, is said to have been a disciple of a Jaina teacher Abhinava-Chārurkīrti-Paṇḍitāchārya and to have installed an image of Śāntinātha at Śravaṇa Belgōla. [We shall have occasion to speak of the faith of Irugappa, the general of Bukka II (1385-1406 A.D.)⁵ and of the toleration of the greatest of the Vijayanagara kings, Krishnadeva Rāya (1510-1529 A.D.) when describing the Var-dhamāna temple at Tiruparuttikupram⁶.] Almost all the rulers down to Rama Rāya made grants to Jaina temples and were tolerant enough⁷.

Such has also been the attitude of the feudatory and minor rulers under the Vijayanagara kings and of the ruling house of Mysore towards Jainism, an attitude which luckily continued down to the present day. It is said that some of the minor powers like the rulers of Gersoppa and the Bhairavas of Kārkaḷ "professed the Jaina faith and left monuments of importance in the history of Jaina art."⁸

It will thus be clear that whatever dynasty was master of Conjeevaram, Jainism was likely to receive support from it. There seems, however, to be no evidence of such continuous support to Buddhism. The fall of the Kalachurya dynasty in the Dekkhan was perhaps a death-blow to South Indian Jainism. But we find that it continued to flourish even after that in the Tuluva country. It has been rightly contended that for well nigh a millennium and a half, Jainism was "quite alive and active" and that "even now, unlike Buddhism, it has a considerable number of followers in the South, no less than in the North."⁹

Though both Buddhism and Jainism appear to have prospered in South India for a few centuries along with Śaivism and Vaishnavism, being tolerated by the kings, the

¹ *Jour. Univ. Bombay*, Vol. I, part I, p. 181.

² The dates available for Bukka I are: 1336-1377-8 A.D. Of these, his brother Harihar I ruled from 1336-1356. The latter made Bukka his *yuvārāja* about 1344 A.D., from which date we have Bukka's inscriptions, though he ascended the throne only in 1357 A.D.

³ He settled a dispute between the Jainas and the Vaishnavas by issuing a decree most favourable to the Jainas which he concluded as:—"For as long as the sun and the moon endure the Vaishnavas will continue to protect the *Jaina-darśana*. The Vaishnavas and the Jainas are one (*bheda*); they must not be viewed as different."

⁴ *A.R.S.I.E.*, 1922-3, p. 129; *Studies in South Indian Jainism*, part I, p. 117.

⁵ Bukka II appears to have been given considerable power even during the life time of his father Harihar II (1377-1404 A.D.), as is evident from his assuming imperial titles even while his father was reigning.

⁶ See *ibid.*, pp. 23 and 58.

⁷ *Jour. Univ. Bombay*, Vol. I, part I, p. 183.

former appears to have received a check not only from Hindu reformers, but also from Jaina teachers, who seem to have been numerous in the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries. Both Tamil and Sanskrit literature clearly point to the triumph of the Jainas over the Buddhists.¹ Without proper leaders and with the withdrawal of royal support, Buddhism seems gradually to have declined after the seventh and eighth centuries A.D.² The rise of the Śaiva saints, Appar, Tirujñāna Sambandha, Maṅkiyavāchaka and Sundaramūrti to mention a few, and of the Vaiṣṇava Ālvārs, Nammālvār, Madhurakavi and Tirumaṅgai to mention a few, and of the Advaita philosopher Śaṅkarāchārya, and the establishment of mutts (*maṭhas*) in various parts of the country by Appar, Sambandha and Śaṅkara and a few of the Ālvārs, effectively removed the remnants of Buddhism almost from South India and greatly checked the growth of Jainism. Thus Buddhism disappears in South India in a manner "unparalleled in the history of any country or time,"³ while Jainism continued to survive especially in Mysore, though it received further setbacks from the Lingāyat rising and the advent of Rāmānuja in the 12th century A.D.⁴

In the light of what has been narrated above it is surprising that Jainism was not extinguished in the storm of persecution and reformation which swept Buddhism out of India. Mrs. Stevenson supplies the answer by saying that "the character of Jainism, however, was such as to enable it to throw out tentacles to help it in its hour of need."⁵ Then too among its chief heroes it had found niches for some of the favourites of the Hindu pantheon, Rāma, Kṛishṇa, Baladeva or Balarāma and the like. Though it denies the existence of a creator and of the Hindu *Trimūrti* it believes in many of the Hindu minor gods.⁶ Thus for instance, according to the Jainas, Indra or Devendra (Saudharmendra) "belongs specially to them, but has been stolen from them by the Brahmans."⁷ Another instance, more telling than any other, is the inclusion by the Jainas of the Hindu *avatār* Kṛishṇa in their list of the future Tirthaṅkaras of whom Kṛishṇa is to become the 12th, Amama by name. The fact that they were inclined in early days to absorb popular Hindu mythology is proved by their including in the list of future Tirthaṅkaras not only Kṛishṇa's brother, Baladeva, who is to become the 14th Tirthaṅkara Nishipulāka, but also Kṛishṇa's mother, Devaki, who becomes the 11th Tirthaṅkara Munisuvrata, Baladeva's mother, Rohiṇī, who becomes Chitragupta, the 16th Tirthaṅkara, the Hindu ascetic Dvalpāyana, who set fire to Dvārakā and Kuṇika, who in his past life was Javakumāra.

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 215.

² *Ibid.*, p. 216.

³ The latest Census Report (1931) gives the number of Jainas for the Madras Presidency as 31,237, Madras City and South Kanara, Chingleput and Arcot (South and North) districts alone containing 25,976, the majority of the number quoted. Though Jaina traditions are fast dying and the number of Jainas is decreasing, the memory of the sickening struggle between Jainism and Brahmanism is kept alive even to-day in the fresco-paintings on the ceiling of the *maṇḍapa* of the Golden-lotus tank of the Mṇākhaḥ temple at Madura, which illustrate scenes of impaling and tortures to which the Jainas were said to have been subjected at the instance of Tirujñāna Sambandha. It is sad to note that this humiliation, in the shape of a mock-persecution and mock-impaling, is made an item in five out of 12 annual festivals at the Madura temple. For details see *Studies in South Indian Jainism*, part I, p. 79.

⁴ *The Heart of Jainism*, p. 18.

⁵ See Appendix III, pp. 186, 191-195, 200, 202-204 and 207.

⁶ Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, p. 26 ff.

The former becomes Yaśodhara, the 19th Tīrthaṅkara and the latter becomes Vijaya, the 20th Tīrthaṅkara.¹ An examination of the details given in Appendix III (pp. 185-235) under iconography and classification of souls will give many more instances of what Mrs. Stevenson styles as "Hindu influence."

These elements of "Hindu influence," it should be understood, cannot have been forced on Jainism but must have been absorbed either deliberately or unconsciously. Interpolations embodying Brahmanical ritual, like the observance on the part of the Jaina of the sixteen kinds of ceremonies² known to the follower of the Vedas³ and the recognition of the Brahmana class as an integral part of the Jaina caste system⁴ appear to have been made to soften Brahman opposition and to "placate the Brahmanical hatred and win them over to protect the Jainas against bitter persecution at the hands of their co-religionists (Hindus)."⁵ Probably this was the only means left under the then existing conditions of preserving the Faith so dear to them. They gave some of the minor gods of the Hindu pantheon places in their own and the gods thus included came to be called *Kṣhetrapālas* or protectors of the place and they "certainly protected the temples from Hindu fury."⁶ When, therefore, storms of persecution swept over the land, Jainism found it easy to take refuge in Hinduism⁷ "which opened its capacious bosom to receive it and to the conquerors it seemed an indistinguishable part of that great system"⁸ (i.e., Hinduism). Jaina monuments such as those forming the subject of this paper have therefore been allowed to exist side by side even with such important Hindu temples as those of Kāñchi.⁹

THE TEMPLES.

The two temples at Tiruparuttikunṅam are among the oldest temples of the district. The older of the two is a small shrine dedicated to Chandraprabha, the eighth Tīrthaṅkara. The other, which is later, is larger, being in fact the largest Jaina temple in the Conjeevaram taluk. It is dedicated to Vardhamāna, the twenty-fourth Tīrthaṅkara, popularly known as Mahāvīra and locally as Trailokyanātha. The history of these

¹ Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, p. 277; see below, pp. 212-213.

² E.g., *Garbhādāna*, etc.; for details see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 460-461.

³ *Ariatic Researches*, Vol. 9, p. 247.

⁴ C. R. Jain, *Śīkhahādava*, p. 102—"The recognition of the Brahmana class as an integral part of the Jaina caste system is attributed by some Jaina authorities to Bharata, the son of the first Tīrthaṅkara, who, it appears, on being apprised of it, condemned his son's action in 'undisguised language.' But most Jainas are agreed in saying that it was the work of some interested persons probably about the time of the author of *Ādi Purāṇa*."

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 102.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. VIII, see below, pp. 202-204.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II, p. 199—"... in some points they considered it advantageous to approach the Brahmanas, probably in order thereby to escape being persecuted by them."

⁸ Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, p. 19.

⁹ By an irony of fate, indeed, a few secluded places of considerable importance to the Jainas, like the ones under description, a few scattered shrines, statues and sculptures (some of these are now in the Madras Museum) of their Tīrthaṅkaras and martyrs and other gods, and a few books and manuscripts alone remain to-day to testify to the "high purposes, the comprehensive proselytising zeal and the political influence" that Jainism should have inspired in "her fiery votaries of old."—*Studies in South Indian Jainism*, p. 80.

temples is clearly recorded in their styles of architecture and in the inscriptions found in them. It is for this reason, and on account of a series of paintings in the larger of them, that they are specially interesting. Local tradition says that they owe their existence to a Pallava king and that he built them at the instance of two Jaina teachers, who lived in the village.¹ The first of the tradition is in accordance with the style of architecture of the earlier of the two, but the second part does not agree with inscriptions in the later temple which show that the two teachers mentioned were not contemporaneous with the Pallavas, but flourished some six centuries after them, *i.e.*, in the 14th century.

THE CHANDRAPRABHA TEMPLE (Pl. i, fig. A; pl. iii, fig. 1).

The small temple dedicated to Chandraprabha lies to the north of the larger temple and is situated in one corner of a garden attached to it. The entrance, which faces east, leads into a narrow transverse passage bounded on the opposite side by a wall. Two Pallava pilasters (pl. i-B, 2) flank the entrance, one on either side of it, with their inner sides (*i.e.*, the sides facing the entrance) flat. The lintels over them form part of a row of sunk bands placed at equal intervals, giving thereby no room for the assumption that the entrance was built in the wall later than the time of the wall itself. Thus the entrance made on the wall is as originally designed. The wall on the inner side of the passage is 10' 1½" × 8' with the corbels of the pilasters at either end flat as in the case of the pilasters flanking the entrance. The northern end of the passage is occupied by a flight of steps. These steps have been clearly inserted after the temple was built. The inner wall bears six pilasters of the Pallava type as found on the outer walls of the temple (pl. i-B, 2). The first two from each end have shallow spaces between them, while the spaces between the rest are deep. The space between the central pair forms a niche in the centre of the wall opposite the door. Presumably, therefore, the wall extended on its left to the same extent as on its right. The deep sunk central niche is 4' high and 1' 6½" wide. The first pilaster from the left has its southern side, now covered partially by a narrow wall blocking the gap between it and the outer wall of the temple, cut like the sixth, *i.e.*, the corresponding one at the right hand end of the wall. This suggests that a passage about the width of the opening now occupied by the stairs, 2' 9", must have gone round the inner shrine as in the Vaikunthanātha or Vaikunthaperumāl temple at Conjeevaram. The Vaikunthanātha temple, being larger, has this passage 3' in width. The blocking of the southern end of the transverse passage has been done irregularly, the joints becoming apparent on examination. The inner wall has been so very thickly plastered with undressed chunam above the pilasters that any ornamentation it may have had here is no longer visible. Over it are placed granite beams irregularly, suggesting a later age for the superstructure. The plinth of this inner wall shows two mouldings with a sunken band between them as in the Kailāsanātha, Vaikunthanātha, Matañgeśvara and Mukteśvara temples of Conjeevaram.

¹ *A.R.S.I.E.*, 1922-23, p. 4.

The wall under discussion is somewhat puzzling. Presumably it must either have formed the eastern wall of a shrine resembling the *Mahendravarmanśvara-Griha* in the Kailāsanātha temple, but with its opening on its west wall or have been intended to screen the inner part of the temple from public view through the doorway. If the former surmise be admitted then the present passage would have been a vestibule corresponding to the small entrance court of the Kailāsanātha temple in front of the *Mahendravarmanśvara-Griha* shrine, and the shrine itself would be a subsidiary one with its opening on the west, doubtless facing another bigger shrine which opened on the east. This would lead one to assume that the whole temple was planned on the model of a Viṣṇu or Śiva temple, with the sanctuary and the small shrine for Garuḍa or Nandi, the *vāhanas* of Viṣṇu or Śiva facing it. The temple under discussion is at present Jaina and we know of no Hindu temples later converted into Jaina ones. Neither, however, do we know of any Jaina temple with two shrines, one for the main god, say a Tirthaṅkara, and the other for some attendant god of his like, a Yaksha. Therefore, if the present temple did contain two shrines and originated as a Jaina one, it was probably designed in imitation of say, a Śiva temple consisting of the Śiva shrine and the Nandi shrine, the latter facing the former. There is, however, also the possibility that the inner wall of the transverse entrance passage was not the back of a subsidiary shrine, but just a simple screen. In either case the main shrine would have served as the basis on which the present *garbhagriha* of the Chandraprabha shrine above has arisen, when it was closed. The latter's present measurements are probably the former's original measurements. A processional path about 3 feet wide, can be seen on three sides of the shrine above, the *antarāla* occupying its front, where the fourth side could be expected. This path indicates that it arose over a similar processional path below, now closed. The walls of the temple that we see from outside, standing in the garden, would thus be the *prākāras* or outermost walls, as in the case of the Kailāsanātha temple.

The steps at the right hand end of the transverse passage lead to an upper floor where the present Chandraprabha shrine is situated. It is built at a height of about 12 feet from the ground. It is said to-day that such a construction was necessitated, owing to the fact that cotton cultivation was once extensively carried on here, from which the village came to be called "(Tiru)paruttikunṇam" or "the hill of cotton" and that the image had to be placed on the second floor in order that it might not be hidden. The Jains of the locality call this temple by such names as "Ērvāna-sthālam," and "Malayanār-kōyil," names which are associated with this temple probably because of its elevation.

The upper floor (pl. iii, fig. 1) consists of the sanctuary (*garbhagriha*) with the usual *antarāla* attached to it in front, a small *maṇḍapa* (this is probably intended to answer the *ardha-maṇḍapa*) in front of the *antarāla*, and the narrow processional path already alluded to, which goes round the shrine. A *vimāna*, of brick and mortar, has been put up over the sanctuary, the workmanship of which is clearly recent.

While both the *garbhagriha* and the *antarāla* are of brick, the ceiling of the latter is of granite and sandstone slabs, combined irregularly, the latter probably removed from

the old structure. These are arranged one above the other in the form of an octagon. The *ardhamandapa* in front of the *antarāla*, to which the steps from below lead, has two pillars standing on a modern brick flooring and supporting an equally modern chunam ceiling.

The sanctuary contains a big image (now coloured) of Chandraprabha, of stucco, repaired some thirty years ago, which is the principal image, and two other smaller images, one of Kunthunātha, the seventeenth Tirthāṅkara, made of white marble, and the other of Vardhamāna made of granite. All the three are seated in the *paryāṅka* attitude, i.e., with the legs crossed and the palms placed one over the other on the lap. Two *Devas*, also of stucco, with *chāmara* in hand, stand behind, one on either side of the Chandraprabha image and like the latter are coloured over. The history of the Chandraprabha image seems to be unknown. The images of Kunthunātha and Vardhamāna are recent additions, that of the former being a present made by Mr. Bapu Jain of Perambur, near Madras. The image of Vardhamāna was bought in 1922 from Mr. Bhujanga Rao of Conjeevaram by the temple authorities who considered its acquisition for their temple as a work of deep merit. About 15 years ago this image was found as treasure trove under an old cocoanut tree blown down by a strong wind in the vicinity of the Kāmākshī Amman temple in Conjeevaram.¹ The image is in a good state of preservation and represents Vardhamāna in the *paryāṅka-āsana*, with the *bhā-maṇḍala* or the halo over his head in the form of a semi-circle. Service has been conducted in this temple only since the arrival of this image. On the pedestal of the other image, which as we have said represents Kunthunātha, the seventeenth Tirthāṅkara, are incised the following letters in modern Grantha script:—

"Kunthunāthāya namaḥ" meaning "Salutation to Kunthunātha."

In the *garbhagriha*, on its two side walls, some modern paintings, recently white-washed over, show six *Devis* or attendant goddesses of half life-size, three on each side. All the six are standing, with conical crowns (*kirita*) on their heads, and are turning towards the god whom they have come to worship. The first, on the northern wall (i.e., the one farther away from the god) holds in both her hands a tray (*tambālam*), the second a garland with a lotus at each end, and the third (i.e., the one nearer the god) a similar garland in her right hand while her left hangs down. The three on the southern wall are engaged as follows: the first (i.e., the one farther away from the god) holds in both her hands a tray (*tambālam*), the second a garland in her left hand while her right hangs down, and the third (the one nearer the god) with both hands holding something not clear, but probably a garland.

Attempts were made to find out what lay inside the lower shrine by doing trial diggings from above, i.e., from the upper shrine and from the *antarāla*, but only sandy mud was revealed as far as the eye could see or the crowbar could reach. It is evident that the lower room is completely filled with this sand.

¹ I am indebted to Mr. Parvānath, one of the Temple Trustees, for this information.

The temple itself shows certain architectural details that place it among the temples that are said to have been built by the later Pallava kings beginning with Narasimhavarman II *alias* Rājasimha. Dr. Jouveau Dubreuil, while speaking of the later Pallava antiquities, divides them into two:—(1) Those without inscriptions and (2) Those with inscriptions.¹ He mentions this temple among the former and assigns it on grounds of architectural details to a period ranging from 720-903 A.D. He does not appear to be right in classifying this temple under those without inscriptions, for there are inscriptions all along its lower plinth and the base. Unfortunately the temple was built with the same kind of sandstone with which the Kailāsanātha temple and the Vaikunthanātha temple and the other Pallava temples in Conjeevaram were built, and it has been crumbling and peeling off layer after layer as in the other temples, carrying with it the inscriptions it once contained on its surface. While it is true that I could not trace any inscription in the Pallava Grantha script either on the base or on any other part of the temple it is impossible to conclude that there were no Pallava inscriptions here. The base, where one should look for the earlier inscriptions, is badly weathered and has received many chunam coatings during the periodical repairs done by the temple authorities as in most of the other temples in Conjeevaram. Also it is submerged in the earth to a great extent.

The plinth has two rectangular mouldings, one above and the other below, with a sunk band between them. The lower moulding is of the same sandstone as that of the rest of the temple, while the moulding above is of granite. Inscriptions are found on both, but while those on the granite one are in a fairly good condition and are confined to parts of its upper side, those on the lower one are fragmentary, owing to the stone having fallen out layer after layer in many places, and run the entire length of the plinth round the temple. The inscriptions on the upper moulding appear to be two, both of the same king, Rājendra Chola I. One of them, commencing from the right of the entrance on the eastern wall of the temple runs due north and turns west running the entire length of the temple's northern wall (No. I, see *below*, p. 49). It is a fairly complete *prasasti* or glorification of Rājendra Chola's and is unfortunately incomplete. After a stage the letters become faint gradually owing to the stone getting smooth and the long line of inscription disappears.

The moulding on the eastern wall of the temple and on the left of the entrance which at once catches the eye as we face the door of the temple contains the other inscription, which consists of a few letters running in a single line from the south to the north (No. II, see *below*, p. 49). The letters are so very faint that they can hardly be read satisfactorily. Also the latter part of the inscription has been permanently hidden from view by a flight of steps, of brick and mortar, built against the plinth in front of the entrance. This is unfortunate as to read the rest of the inscription one would have to demolish the

¹ G. J. Dubreuil, *Pallava Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 9.

steps. The few words that can be read constitute the beginning of the *praśasti* or glorification of Rājendra Chola I (1012-1044 A.D.).

The inscription on the lower moulding, which we have said is hopelessly fragmentary, appears to commence on the north wall of the temple and runs all along the base of the north wall and of the western and southern walls too. While, however, a few letters are clearly seen on the northern wall which help to make out the sense, those found on the western and southern walls are so completely lost (No. III, see *below*, p. 49) that what remain convey no sense. The few words that can be deciphered also appear to constitute the *praśasti* or glorification of Rājendra Chola I.

It is unfortunate that all these inscriptions are incomplete and tell us nothing regarding what Rājendra Chola I did for this temple. The portions that contain the subject matter are badly damaged, the stone having peeled off in those places. Though none of these inscriptions appear to date earlier than Rājendra Chola I, who succeeded Rājārāja I in 1012 A.D. and ruled the Chola kingdom till 1044 A.D., and no Pallava letters have yet been found, the inscriptions indicate that the temple was built earlier than the time of the adjoining Vardhamāna temple, where, as we shall see while describing that temple, the earliest inscription is that of Kulottuṅga I (1070-1120 A.D.)—a hypothesis confirmed by its architecture, which is in Pallava style.

The corners of the walls bear pilasters with rearing lions at the bottom (pl. iii, fig. 1).¹ The corbels above these pilasters, show a curved profile suggesting the extremity of a joist and are ornamented with horizontal mouldings called by Dr. Jouveau Dubreuil "rollers," a motif which is exclusively Pallava "very probably borrowed from the art of the carpenter." The niches (*koshtas*) (pl. i-B, fig. 1) on the walls are simply outlined, not deeply sunk as are those of Chola times. This is also the case with niches found on the walls of the Vaikuṇṭhanātha or Perumā temple and the southern wall of the Maṭaṅgeśvara temple at Conjeevaram.² An interesting feature of the niches both here and in the Vaikuṇṭhanātha and Maṭaṅgeśvara temples is that the lintel, which is otherwise plain, has a handle-like projection in its centre pointing downwards and marking the central line of the niche below. The *torana* which we find in the Pallava monuments of Mahendra Varman I,³ of Narasimha Varman I (Māmalla) at Mahabalipuram⁴ and later on in monuments of the Chola period such as the Tanjore and Chidambaram temples is absent here. This is strange, especially when we remember that this type of niche has to be placed, in point of time, between the niches of the Mahendra-Māmalla and early Chola epochs. So when we are expecting to find in the later Pallava niches *toranas* of more ornate and developed form leading into the early Chola type⁵, it is surprising to find here that they have disappeared. No explanation

¹ Longhurst, *Pallava Architecture*, Part III, pls. IV c, d, VII a.

² *Res.*, *Pallava Architecture*, pls. XIV, XV and XVII; Longhurst, *Pallava Architecture*, Part III, pls. VII a, VIII b.

³ Longhurst, *Pallava Architecture*, Part I, pl. II b.

⁴ *Ibid.*, part II, pls. VI b, X a.

⁵ G. J. Dubreuil, *Dravidian Temple Architecture*, pp. 44-45, figs. 33 (a) and 33 (b).

for this sudden disappearance is readily available; but the similar absence of this feature in the Vaikunthanātha temple suggests that the two are likely to date from about the same period. As the construction of the Vaikunthanātha temple is established on epigraphical grounds to fall within the reign of the later Pallava King Paramēśvara Varman II, the son and successor of Rājasimha to whom the Kailāsanātha temple is attributed,¹ we may safely assign the Chandraprabha temple also to this period.

In this connection it will be useful to quote the opinions of three scholars that deal with the subject of Pallava Architecture; they are Rea, Longhurst and Dubreuil. The first says that the Chandraprabha temple "is a small building with few architectural details, and no sculptures worthy of note. A peculiarity about it, due to modern additions, is the blocking up of the original shrine on the ground floor, and constructing another in the upper storey of the tower with a stair leading up to it. The temple seems of late Pallava date."² The second has the following words:—" . . . and at Tiruparuthikundram, a hamlet three miles from the city, there is a Jaina temple built in the Rājasimha style and known as the Varthamāna temple.³ It contains a number of mural paintings which although of no particular artistic merit are interesting from an iconographical point of view. This temple is still in use as a place of worship."⁴ Dubreuil assigns this temple definitely to Nandivarman Pallavamalla, the successor of Paramēśvara Varman II, who built the Vaikunthanātha temple, and his words on this point are:—"Certain temples that do not bear any Pallava inscription, perhaps belong to the time of the Nandivarman dynasty. Such are . . . the Jaina temple of Varthamānasvāmī⁵ at Tirupparuttikunru near Conjeevaram."⁶ While all the three are agreed on assigning this temple to the later Pallava period, the last named writer goes a step further and definitely places it in the reign of Nandivarman Pallavamalla. In his book dealing with this subject he does not give any reasons for his conclusion but I take it that he was led to it by observing the same architectural details in this temple and on the southern wall of the Mataṅgeśvara temple which has been assigned to the Nandivarman period (800-900 A.D.) by Longhurst.⁷ To assign the Mataṅgeśvara temple to Nandivarman Pallavamalla is both easy and natural, for it is strikingly similar in plan to the Mukteśvara temple,⁸ which must be placed in the reign of Nandivarman Pallavamalla on epigraphical grounds. But it is not equally clear that the Chandraprabha temple belongs to the same period. It resembles the Vaikunthanātha temple in that the niches on its walls, instead of being occupied by figures as are those of the Mukteśvara temple, are empty, their surfaces being on a level with that

¹ Longhurst, *Pallava Architecture*, Part III, p. 16.

² Rea, *Pallava Architecture*, p. 48.

³ Dubreuil and Longhurst somehow call the temple in the Rājasimha style the Vardhamāna temple, though it is called locally Chandraprabha temple or *Ēvānathalam* or "Malaiyūr Kōyil." The real Varthamāna temple where the mural paintings are found is the bigger temple which lies to the south of the Chandraprabha temple.

⁴ Longhurst, *Pallava Architecture*, Part III, p. 9.

⁵ G. Jouveau Dubreuil, *Pallava Antiquities*, Vol. II, p. 9.

⁶ *Pallava Architecture*, Part III, p. 19.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pls. VIII (a) and (b).

⁸ *Ibid.*, pls. VIII (a) and (b).

of the wall, the lintel bearing a central downwardly-directed projection (pl. I-B, fig. 1). The same features can be found on the southern wall of the Maṭaṅgeśvara temple. While it would be easy and perhaps even safe to ascribe the Chandraprabha temple to the Rājasimha period (674-800 A.D.), its close similarity to the Vaikunthanātha temple in the matter of the closed vestibule and the upper shrines, and to the *Mahendravarmeśvara-Griha* in the Kailāsanātha temple in the matter of the narrow processional path around the shrine, will warrant its being ranked as one falling in the reign of Rājasimha's sons, Mahendravarman III, the one who built the *Mahendravarmeśvara-Griha* in the Kailāsanātha temple, and Parameśvaravarman II, who built the Vaikunthanātha temple. The Chandraprabha temple, as has been observed already, presents more points of similarity with the Vaikunthanātha temple than the *Mahendravarmeśvara-Griha* and we therefore assign it to Parameśvaravarman II (715 A.D.). The fact that he has built a temple for Vishṇu, thereby deviating from the path of his father and brother who have concentrated on Śiva temples, and that, though he bore the name Parameśvara, which was a name of Śiva, he was attracted to Vaiṣṇavism, would lend support to the surmise that he was probably very liberal and tolerant towards the other faiths, and may consequently have devoted a little of his attention to Jainism also.

It has already been said that the three inscriptions of Rājendra Chola I, the illustrious and tolerant son of a still more illustrious and tolerant father, Rājarāja I, are silent about what he did to the temple. Still they give rise to the question why they are found in this temple and not in the next temple dedicated to Vardhamāna, which is bigger and so close to it. But, as we shall see while describing the Vardhamāna temple, the earliest inscription there is one of Kulottuṅga I (No. 5, pp. 52-54), dated in his forty-sixth regnal year. The earlier inscriptions such as those of Rājendra Chola I are found only in the Pallava temple, while all the later inscriptions beginning with that of Kulottuṅga I (No. 5) and ending with comparatively recent ones are found in the Vardhamāna temple. This could happen only if the latter temple came into existence after the time that the records of Rājendra Chola I were incised on the Pallava temple. It is also evident from what has been said above that from the time that the Vardhamāna temple was erected the Pallava temple was completely neglected, at least so far as the inscribing of records was concerned.

Another question which is as interesting as its solution is puzzling, concerns the closing of the ground floor of the Pallava temple. When and why was it closed? Can it have been a Śiva temple, like the other Pallava temples of the neighbourhood, later closed by the Jains? This seems most unlikely, for rival sects do not close each others' temples; they usually destroy them. It can hardly have been closed merely as being unnecessary after the erection of the Vardhamāna temple, for had it still been in use at that time, it would almost certainly have remained as a subsidiary shrine hallowed by its antiquity and long usage. Presumably, therefore, the gap between the latest inscription on the Pallava temple and the earliest on the Chola temple implies a period between the closing of the former and the building of the latter. For this, only one possible cause

suggests itself—pollution such as could not well be purged. Why the Vardhamāna temple was not erected immediately is not clear—possibly because the means were not available at once. Worship must presumably have been carried on in some temporary erection. Or possibly the original shrine of the Vardhamāna temple may have been built at once and the rest added later.

THE VARDHAMĀNA TEMPLE (Pl. ii).

Adjacent to the temple of Chandraprabha and a little to the south of it, is the second and bigger temple, where several other Tirthaṅkaras are worshipped, chief of them being Vardhamāna (the twenty-fourth Tirthaṅkara) or Trailokyanātha as he is locally called, from whom the temple derives its name. Service is mainly conducted here. Crole mentions this temple on page 116 of the Chingleput District Manual¹.

The temple consists of two blocks, an inner one and an outer one, the former located in the centre of the temple and the latter attached to the compound wall of the temple. The various parts of the inner block are as follows:—

An apsidal shrine dedicated to Vardhamāna (pl. ii, 1) stands in the centre with two other shrines (pl. ii, 2 and 3), one on each side of it. The latter shrines are dedicated to Pushpadanta, the ninth Tirthaṅkara, and Dharmadevi, respectively. In front of these three shrines is a pillared hall or *ardhamandapa* which we may call the *Vardhamāna-ardhamandapa* (pl. ii, 4). To this is attached in front a *mukha-mandapa* which we shall term the *Vardhamāna-mukha-mandapa* (pl. ii, 6). Adjoining the above three shrines and to the left of them is a group of three other shrines (pl. ii, 7-9) dedicated to three other Tirthaṅkaras, Padmaprabha, Pārśvanātha and Vasupūjya, sixth, twenty-third and twelfth Tirthaṅkaras, respectively. In front of these three shrines which we shall call the *Trikūṭa-Basti* shrines is an *ardhamandapa* similar to the *Vardhamāna-ardhamandapa* (pl. ii, 10). This will be referred to as the *Trikūṭa-Basti-ardhamandapa*. As in the case of the *Vardhamāna-ardhamandapa* here also there is a *mukha-mandapa* (pl. ii, 11) attached to the *Trikūṭa-Basti-ardhamandapa* which shall be termed the *Trikūṭa-Basti-mukha-mandapa*. And in front of the *Trikūṭa-Basti-mukha-mandapa* and the *Vardhamāna-mukha-mandapa* and attached to them is a pillared hall (*kalyāṇa-mandapa*) (pl. ii, 12) which we shall call the *Saṅgīta-mandapa*, a name by which it is referred to in one of the inscriptions (No. 7, see below, p. 57).

Vardhamāna, Pushpadanta and Dharmadevi shrines.—A closed shrine in which the principal Tirthaṅkara Vardhamāna is installed, with the *Vardhamāna-ardhamandapa* attached to it in front, is what appears to be the earliest part of the temple (pl. ii, 1). There appears to be nothing left of the original shrine, the present structure being built completely of brick and mortar. Its apsidal shape, coupled with the fact that no structural temple in South India is without a shrine over which the *vimāna* arises, suggests that the earlier

¹ "Its florid architecture and the considerable artistic beauty of some of the details, notably of the sculptures in the cloistered court which surrounds it, and of the colouring of the paintings which adorn the ceilings, lead to the assumption, which is confirmed by various inscriptions on the walls, that it belongs to the period when the Chola power was at its zenith and extended even into Bengal, as well as over the entire south and Telingana and Karnata"—p. 116.

shrine, presumably of sand-stone, of which the *Vardhamāna-ardhamandapa* is also built, may have fallen owing to dilapidation and that at a very late stage the present brick-work probably came into existence. According to the temple priest a base in granite, resembling the base of the present Vardhamāna shrine, was prepared for this temple in a place about 12 miles from Tiruparuttikunram, but for some unknown reason was not removed to the temple. It was lying there for many years, ever since the priest could remember (the priest is now 60 years of age), till very recently when it was removed to the Jaina temple at Karandai, about 12 miles from Tiruparuttikunram, a place that is said to have been the seat of the famous sage called Akalan̄ka.¹ The other shrines stand, as narrated above, one on either side of the Vardhamāna shrine, one for Pushpadanta, also called Suvidhinātha, the ninth Tīrthaṅkara, to the right (pl. ii, 2), and the other for Dharmadevi, also called Āmbikā, the Yakshi of Neminātha, the twenty-second Tīrthaṅkara² to the left (pl. ii, 3). The fact that the deities to whom these two shrines are dedicated have nothing to do with Vardhamāna, who is the principal Tīrthaṅkara of the temple, and that the shrines themselves seem to have been designed so that they might be crowded into the spaces on either side of the Vardhamāna shrine suggest for them a later date than that of this shrine.

It may be suggested that the original Vardhamāna shrine was located within the *Vardhamāna-ardhamandapa* now attached to it. But there is evidence which indicates that this was not so. At the point where the present Vardhamāna shrine joins the western wall of its *ardhamandapa*, the upper moulding of the outer side of this wall bears on each side of the shrine a projection, which clearly proves that either a niche or an opening originally existed between them. That it was an opening and not only a niche is shown by the moulding on the plinth. This is obscured on the southern side by the overlapping brick moulding of the shrine itself, but can be seen on the northern, where it shows a precisely similar projection.

Thus it would appear that there was an opening on the west wall of the *ardhamandapa* in front of the present shrine of Vardhamāna. The shrines of Vardhamāna and Pushpadanta are both apsidal, that of Pushpadanta (pl. ii, 2) being smaller than that of Vardhamāna. As proof of frequent interference with these shrines till very recently by way of repairs it may be noted that a little part of the southern wall of the brick shrine of Pushpadanta is built of irregular granite pieces loosely laid.

The shrine dedicated to Dharmadevi, the Yakshi of Neminātha (pl. ii, 3), is situated on the south of the Vardhamāna shrine and is totally different from the other two shrines in that it is very small and square instead of being apsidal. According to local traditions the image of Dharmadevi appears to have been introduced into the temple, according to one version, in the thirteenth century A.D. from the Kāmākshi temple at Conjeevaram, and according to another in the ninth century A.D., soon after Śaṅkarāchārya established the *Kāmakoṭi-pīṭha* in the Kāmākshi temple, both versions regarding

¹ See Appendix III, p. 216.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 209-10.

Kāmākshī temple as having originally been a Jaina shrine dedicated to Dharmadevi, the Yakshi of Neminātha. The veracity of these two versions is much disputable as the traditions themselves are of late origin, probably two centuries old. These traditions clearly suggest that the image of Dharmadevi was a late acquisition to the Vardhamāna temple. Little care seems to have been bestowed upon the small shrine in which this image is housed nor have any of the adjoining shrines been used as its model. Like them, however, it is of brick. It has been joined to the *Vardhamāna-ardhamandapa* by making a very narrow opening in its west wall.

While the images of Vardhamāna and Pushpadanta are of wood, huge and coloured and are seated on pedestals in the *pariyāṅka* attitude, i.e., cross-legged, with the hands placed one over the other (the right over the left), the image of Dharmadevi is small, of granite and is standing on a *padmāsana* in the *tribhanga* pose, i.e., with three bends in the body. She is shown with two hands, the right holding a blue water-lily (*nilotpala*) and the left hanging down "like the tail of a cow."¹ Behind her legs a lion can be seen and on the *padmāsana*, on which she is standing, are carved in relief her two sons and an attendant woman.²

Vardhamāna-ardhamandapa (pl. ii, 4).—The *ardhamandapa* is a hall, practically dark, for light can pass in only through a door-way on the eastern wall of the hall facing the main shrine and through small windows, one on either side of the door, which hardly let in any light, being of pierced stone with a design composed of two intertwining creepers. It contains three rows of six pillars each, all of them in a simple style that originated in the early Chola period and is still in use (pl. i-B, 3). Two of these pillars are partly hidden by the walls of the Pushpadanta shrine, the front of which actually extends forwards into the *ardhamandapa*.

The outside of the north wall of the *ardhamandapa* which is visible from the processional path, is of granite in the region of its plinth and of sandstone above, as in the adjoining Chandraprabha temple, except the lowest layer of stone near the top moulding of the plinth, which is of granite. Four pilasters of the Chola type (pl. i-B, 4) are found on this wall. They support two lintels, one plain and the other curved, one above the other. Over this is the eaves (*kodūṅgai*) fitted with granite slabs designed as drooping lotus-petals. Above this is the terrace.

The eastern wall of this *ardhamandapa* is just like the northern wall described above. Granite continues for the plinth and the lowest layer of the wall above it, but diminishes in the case of the latter as we proceed south. There are six pilasters on this wall (pl. i-B, 4), of which the one in the northern corner is common to this and the northern walls. Between the middle pair of pilasters is the entrance to the *ardhamandapa*. This door-way is decorated with a lotus petal moulding above and on either side, supported by a single snake-hood ornament (*nāga-bandha*) issuing from a low pedestal. This design is also

¹ Cf. pl. xxxii, fig. 3; see below, pp. 157-160.

² For details regarding their iconography, see Appendix III, pp. 209-10.

found on the door-ways of the *Trikūṭa-Bastī*, *Munivāsa* and the store room which will be dealt with subsequently. It appears to have been in general use at the time of Kulottuṅga III and Rājarāja III¹. A pilaster on the southern corner of the wall carries a projecting Chola corbel such as we find in the various structures of the temple, suggesting that the wall originally took a turn to the west there. The two windows already noticed have been subsequently interpolated in the eastern wall, one facing the Pushpadanta and the other the Dharmadevī shrines. The later age of the latter shrines warrants a similar later date to these windows, for they were intended to show the deities in these two shrines to the faithful that could not get admission into the *ardhamandapa* and had therefore to satisfy themselves by looking from outside, as non-Jainas and Europeans desiring to see the deities have to do to-day. The lintels of this wall are two, one plain and the other above it with the lotus petal double curve so frequently found in temples of this and later dates, a motif which is also found on the lintels of the verandas and the *Trikūṭa-Bastī* shrines to be described subsequently (see *below*, pp. 23-26).

The southern wall of the *ardhamandapa* is similar to the north wall with the difference that the lower layer of the wall above the granite plinth is of sandstone like the rest of the wall above. Only three pilasters can be seen on it, the fourth being hidden by the wall of an adjoining shrine dedicated to Vāsupājya, included in the structure called *Trikūṭa-Bastī*. Even these three are partially hidden by the pillars of the *Trikūṭa-Bastī-ardhamandapa*, one of which has its top broken. On the lintels of this wall, where the wall of the Vāsupājya shrine covers it, a few lines of an inscription to be assigned to Kulottuṅga I (No. 5, see *below*, pp. 52-54), are visible, a copy of the hidden part of which is found on granite lintels of the *Trikūṭa-Bastī* shrines. Below these lines and reaching up to the plinth, the first and the second mouldings of which alone are visible, are two inscriptions dated in the reign of Vikrama Chola (No. 6, see *below*, pp. 54-57), several lines of which are now hidden by the Vāsupājya shrine wall. These two inscriptions are dated in Vikrama Chola's reign, one in his thirteenth year and the other in his seventeenth year. The former corresponds to 1131 A.D., and the latter to 1135 A.D. (see No. 6, p. 57) and both record grants and sales during the reign of the said king for the benefit of the temple. These two and the inscription of Kulottuṅga I (1070-1120 A.D.), the father of Vikrama Chola, were originally incised on the southern wall of the *Vardhamāna-ardhamandapa* when there was neither the *Trikūṭa-Bastī* nor its *ardhamandapa* to hide them from view. Here it has to be remarked that almost all the inscriptions in this temple are incised in prominent places, the idea being that the public should be able to see them, so that those benefited by them might receive their dues without any question. Thus the temple walls and other parts that show these inscriptions functioned as registration documents. The utmost care would therefore be taken by those that made additions to the temples to see that no inscriptions were removed or hidden. When this was however unavoidable it was customary to take copies of them². This practice was evidently widespread in

¹ Cf. Tridūlam temple near Madras.

² T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Chola-Varāha-Charitam*, p. 63; *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, p. 99.

South India, instances being known at Tiruvallam, Tindivanam, Tirupati, Tirukurrālam, Tirumalapādi, Kudumiyāmalai and elsewhere.

The earliest inscriptions in the temple are the three already referred to, *viz.*, one in the forty-sixth regnal year of Kulottuṅga I (1116 A.D.) and two dated in the reign of his son Vikrama Chola (1118-1136 A.D.). All these three were originally inscribed on the southern wall of the *Vardhamāna-ardhamandapa*. The existence here of Kulottuṅga's inscription of the forty-sixth year of his reign proves that the *Vardhamāna-ardhamandapa* was earlier than this date (*i.e.*, 1116 A.D.), but how much earlier we cannot definitely say.

Kulottuṅga I appears to have developed a tolerant outlook on alien faiths¹, and many of his inscriptions dated in the early years of his reign are found in Conjeevaram², in temples there that are only a couple of miles from Tiruparuttikunram. His first known inscription in this temple being dated as late as the forty-sixth year of his long reign which lasted for fifty years (1070-1120 A.D.), therefore suggests that probably till about then there was no temple here apart from the Pallava temple which has the inscriptions of Rājendra Chola I (1012-1044 A.D.). The *Vardhamāna* shrine probably came into existence between the reigns of Rājendra Chola I (1012-1044 A.D.) and Kulottuṅga I (1070-1120 A.D.), for we cannot conceive of a Chola temple without a definite shrine. But the *Vardhamāna-ardhamandapa*, on the wall of which these inscriptions are found, must be assigned to the reign of Kulottuṅga I. It has therefore to be inferred that the starting point in the history of the existing structures of this temple is little if any earlier than the forty-sixth regnal year (1116 A.D.) of Kulottuṅga I.

The visibility of these inscriptions has been affected, as already pointed out, owing to later additions made to the original structure. Later copies of them have therefore been made on separate granite slabs and inserted elsewhere. In certain cases, as we shall see presently, it has also resulted in the misplacing of these inscribed slabs (see *below*, pp. 51, 52, 60 & 61, Nos. 4 and 20). The earlier part of Kulottuṅga's record has therefore been incised on granite lintels that have been inserted in front of the three shrines that constitute the *Trikūṭa-Bastī*, while a copy of the earlier record of Vikrama Chola (dated 1131 A.D.) has been incised on the beams of the veranda (*mukhamandapa*) attached to the *Vardhamāna-ardhamandapa* so that they would still be prominently shown. Here there is another point of interest to be noted. Inscription No. 4 (pp. 51-2) which is the copy of Vikrama Chola's inscription found on the veranda beams, embodies only one inscription of Vikrama Chola, the one dated in his thirteenth regnal year, the other one, which is small consisting of 6 lines, dated in his seventeenth regnal year, being omitted. The former is a long one and the more important of the two, and it may be inferred that the latter was probably considered not worth copying. Kulottuṅga's inscription was put on the lintels within the *Trikūṭa-Bastī*, doubtless because the latter part of the inscription remained exposed at about the level of these lintels on its northern wall, which is also

¹ See Leiden grant—Burgess and Natesa Sastri, *Tamil and Sanskrit Inscriptions*, pp. 224-7.

² *S.I.L.*, Vol. II, pp. 390-393.

the southern wall of the *Vardhamāna-ardhamandapa*. Light falls to-day on these lintels when the *Trikūṭa-Basti-ardhamandapa* door is open so that the inscription is readily seen.

Vardhamāna-mukhamandapa (pl. ii, 6).—This is a pial-like veranda, 8' 5" wide, and is attached to the *Vardhamāna-ardhamandapa* in front. It extends along the latter's entire length, which is 40'. Its base (*adhiṣṭhānam*) bears mouldings of the form that came into general use about 1200 A.D., and an inscription found on it (No. 3, p. 50) which is dated in the twenty-first regnal year of Kulottuṅga III enables us to assign the veranda to the period of the later Cholas (1070-1250 A.D.). The ceiling of this veranda which bears some paintings, now badly damaged¹ rests, on its western side, on the eastern wall of the *Vardhamāna-ardhamandapa*, and on its eastern side, on beams supported by a row of pillars. These pillars are like those in the *Vardhamāna-ardhamandapa* (pl. i-B, 3). The length of the elevated base of the veranda seems originally to have been less than the length of the eastern wall of the *Vardhamāna-ardhamandapa*. The veranda is approached by two flights of steps attached to its base, one towards its northern end and the other its southern end, both facing east. The northern one is flanked by a pair of *Śuṇi-Yali* heads, the other by an elephant balustrade. On examination it becomes clear that the present position of the steps is different from what it was originally. The structure of the floor of the veranda at either end reveals that originally the steps led up to it there. They have evidently been removed to their present positions when alterations were made to the veranda to suit later constructions in the temple, such as for instance the *Saṅgita-mandapa* in front of the *mukha-mandapa*. At the same time the veranda was extended by about 4' by filling up the places they had occupied, rather carelessly, the arrangement of the slabs found in these spaces betraying the original position of the steps. Though both ends have been filled up, the corner of the original northern end of the base still bears a lion's head projecting parallel to the wall of the *ardhamandapa* and at a distance from it that exactly agrees with that of the steps. At the southern end there was evidently another such lion's head, but it is now broken. An attempt has been made to continue on the new southward extension of the base the ornamentation found on the original base. But the change from the original to the later and inferior work is very clear, especially in the carving of the frieze of lions' heads. Another point to be noted is that an inscription of the Vijayanagara king Krishnadevarāya dated Śaka 1439² (1517 A.D.) commences on this extension while that of Kulottuṅga III (No. 3, p. 50) commences only on the old base. This supports the suggestion that the shifting of the steps took place between the reigns of Kulottuṅga III (1178-1216 A.D.) and Krishnadevarāya (1517 A.D.), probably as suggested below (p. 27) in 1387-88 A.D. when the *Saṅgita-mandapa* was built. In its present form the northern end of this veranda is closed by a wall which must also have been built not later than the time of the construction of the *Saṅgita-mandapa*, as some of the beams of the latter rest upon it. The inner side of this wall contains a niche within which a *balipitha* is placed with an

¹ See below, pp. 124-132.

² See No. 10. below, p. 58.

inscription on its lintel¹, containing a verse in praise of Mallishēṇa Vāmana, one of the five sages that lived in the village,² to whom the *balipīṭha* was dedicated. On a brick elevation below this niche, is placed another *balipīṭha* which is intended for Pushpasena, a disciple of Mallishēṇa.³ During the construction of the *Saṅgita-maṇḍapa* two slabs from the upper parts of the veranda were also shifted without much attention being paid to the inscriptions found on them. One of them which must evidently at first have formed the cross-beam supporting the roof at the northern end of the original veranda has been turned through an angle of 90° about its eastern (outer) end, so as to fill the space between the end of the original architrave and the extension of the original northern wall of the shrine. Several letters on this beam forming part of inscription No. 4 (pp. 51-52) are partly hidden by this extension wall. Another slab thus interfered with faces the Vardhamāna shrine. It has some letters which run in continuation of inscription No. 4 found on the other slabs. While all these contain the letters on their inner sides this slab alone shows them on its outer side, i.e., the side that faces the *Saṅgita-maṇḍapa*, for which reason it can be said to prove that alterations were made in the veranda during the construction of the *Saṅgita-maṇḍapa*.

Two inscriptions situated in this veranda, both dated in the reign of Kulottuṅga III, one dated in his twenty-first regnal year (1199 A.D.) and engraved on the lowest moulding of the base in front (No. 3, pp. 50-51) and the other dated in his twenty-second regnal year and found on the architrave of the outer side of the veranda and on the eastern wall of the *Vardhamāna-ardhamāṇḍapa* (No. 4) show that the veranda was already in existence at that time. The fact that the latter speaks of the erection at that time of the *Trikūṭa-Bastī*, but that no mention is made in either of the inscriptions of the erection of this veranda seem clearly to indicate that the veranda was not then new. The latter inscription is a copy of one of the two inscriptions of Vikrama Chola, dated in his thirteenth regnal year (No. 6), which had to be shown in a prominent place as the *Trikūṭa-Bastī-maṇḍapa* which was contemplated was likely to hide it from view. This inscription is dated in the twenty-second regnal year of Kulottuṅga III and is important for two reasons; in the first place it speaks of the construction of the *Trikūṭa-Bastī-ardhamāṇḍapa* as falling in 1200 A.D.; and in the second place it fails to add the name Karuvūr in the *prāśasti* of the king. As Kulottuṅga III captured Karuvūr in 1200 A.D. and included its conquest in the glorification part of his inscriptions subsequent to this event, the failure to mention it here signifies that this inscription is prior to that conquest.

Two other inscriptions, of less importance, are also incised on the eastern wall of the *Vardhamāna-ardhamāṇḍapa* and ought to be referred as located in the *Mukha-maṇḍapa* (Nos. 20 and 21, pp. 60-61). They are both of the time of Rājaraṅga III, the successor of Kulottuṅga III who ruled between 1216-1246 A.D., one of them being dated in the seventh regnal year of the king (1223 A.D.). These two inscriptions were no doubt engraved on the wall of the *Vardhamāna-ardhamāṇḍapa* eastern wall as there was no room for them

¹ No. 15, p. 39.

² See below, pp. 42-46.

³ See below, pp. 44-45.

elsewhere, and could more conveniently have been placed on the extension of the veranda in front of the *Trikūṭa-Basti* if such had existed when they were cut.

Trikūṭa-Basti (pl. ii, 7, 8 and 9).—As narrated above the name *Trikūṭa-Basti* meaning the "three-peaked residence" ('Basti' from the Sanskrit 'Vasati'=residence) is given to the group of three or to speak more correctly of two shrines adjoining the Vardhamāna shrine and to the south of it.

A clear idea of these shrines can be obtained from the back of the temple, if we stand on the processional path behind them. The shrines themselves are only two and are similarly designed. Both are square, their western (back) walls projecting beyond the level of the Vardhamāna and Pushpadanta shrines. The shrine on the proper right is dedicated to Padmaprabha, the sixth Tirthaṅkara and the shrine on the proper left to Vāsupūjya, the twelfth Tirthaṅkara. While that of Padmaprabha is completely of brick with a plinth of plain mouldings, that of Vāsupūjya is of brick above but with a plinth of granite below consisting of the usual Chola mouldings. The uppermost of these is supported by a row of couchant lions and in the sunk band below it there are panels still further sunk, three on each side, and one in the centre of the back wall. The wall between these two shrines is of brick and encloses a small chamber in which Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third Tirthaṅkara is installed, without even a *vimāna* above it. As already pointed out¹, the lintels of these shrines bear a copy of the earliest inscription in the temple, i.e., that of the forty-sixth regnal year of Kulottuṅga I, the greater part of which was hidden from view when the Vāsupūjya shrine was erected. At that time the lintels must have been very conspicuous as there was only a small detached *maṇḍapa* in front of them (see No. 4, pp. 51-52). The date of the shrines can be determined by a reference to inscription No. 4 which speaks of the demolition of an older *maṇḍapa* to the south of the Vardhamāna block to give room for the present *Trikūṭa-Basti-ardhamāṇḍapa*. The higher level of these shrines (higher than that of the adjoining Vardhamāna shrine by 9"), was presumably taken from that of the older *maṇḍapa* just mentioned. It is well known that the level of a *maṇḍapa* in a temple is always higher than that of the shrine. Thus the old level of the *maṇḍapa* was preserved by the *Trikūṭa-Basti* shrines and transmitted to the new and consequently later *ardhamāṇḍapa*.

The three shrines which are accessible from within the *Trikūṭa-Basti-ardhamāṇḍapa* show clear traces of joints where the roof of the latter rests on the lintels of the former. The temple authorities have filled up the cracks that show at the joints with thick coatings of chunam, but they are not sufficient to hide the cracks and are easily removable, though I did not venture to do so as I was reminded by the temple priest that I should make good the loss that the temple would sustain thereby, by undertaking to fill the joints with chunam.

It is likely that when the three shrines were built some of the slabs that were originally in the southern wall of the *Vardhamāna-ardhamāṇḍapa* were removed lest they should

¹ See above, p. 22.

get hidden by the new construction, or, more probably, that a copy of the said inscription, in so far as it was likely to be hidden from view, was taken on different slabs which were inserted in front of the three shrines in the places where we find them to-day.

Thus it would appear that the *Trikūṭa-Basti* shrines have been erected a little earlier than the present *Trikūṭa-Basti-ardhamandapa*, i.e., earlier than 1200 A.D., the date arrived at for the latter from a study of inscription No. 4.

Trikūṭa-Basti-ardhamandapa (pl. ii, 10).—The *ardhamandapa* in front of these shrines, which as already noted replaced, according to inscription No. 4, an earlier *mandapa* on the same site has three rows of four pillars each, eleven pillars resembling those of the *Vardhamāna-ardhamandapa* (pl. i-B, 3) and the twelfth which is near the entrance of this *ardhamandapa* showing different workmanship as indicated in fig. 6 of pl. i-B. It may be that the original pillar was replaced at some time later by the present one. The ground level of this *ardhamandapa* is higher by 9' than that of the *Vardhamāna-ardhamandapa*. Some of the pillars on its northern end touch the southern wall of the adjoining *ardhamandapa* and hide the inscriptions on it. The southern wall bears a granite window consisting of five square holes laid on a square, four holes for the corners and the fifth laid in the centre. The eastern wall which is a continuation of that of the *Vardhamāna-ardhamandapa*, where the entrance is located, has two windows, one big with twisted-knot design and the other small, designed like a square with nine holes in it. At the top of the former are two medallions formed by intertwining creepers in which are seated two sages, one in each. Both are in meditation and face each other. They are seated in the *virāsana* pose, the one on the left with his left leg placed on his right, and the one on the right with his right leg placed on his left. The former has a book placed on a book-rack by his left side and a peacock's feather by his right. The latter has only the peacock's feather on his left side. They are believed to be the two sages, Mallisheṇa and his disciple Pushpasena. But it is more probable they are Chandrakīrti and his disciple Anantavīrya Vāmana, two other earlier sages that flourished in the village, as the wall in which the window showing these two sages is located seems to have come into existence in the time of Kulottuṅga III (1200 A.D.). The former sages are, as we shall see presently, persons of the fourteenth century A.D.¹

The central space in the *Trikūṭa-Basti-ardhamandapa* is enclosed by four pillars, as is also the case in the *Vardhamāna-ardhamandapa*, and is elevated a little by 4" (pl. ii, 5) probably for placing *utsava-vigrahas* as is the custom in Hindu temples, for the purpose of decorating them during temple festivals, before they are carried in procession. The temple priest however informed me that this elevation in both the *ardhamandapas* was for "kalaśa archana," i.e., for keeping vessels full of water and for bathing the images with it after sanctifying it by the chantings of *mantras*, etc.

Trikūṭa-Basti-mukhamandapa (pl. ii, 11).—A veranda similar to the *Vardhamāna-mukhamandapa* but measuring 20' 4" × 8' 10" and running continuously with it, but not so long, is attached to the above *ardhamandapa*. Its base, unlike the adjoining

¹ See *ibidem*, pp. 44 and 46.

one, is plain and also a little higher. While the builders took care to see that at least the ceiling of the veranda was on a level with that of the *Vardhamāna-mukhamandapa*, they paid no such attention to the base which in workmanship is quite different from its neighbour. The steps were probably placed at the southern end of the extension where we find them to-day. These steps are flanked by a pair of elephants' trunks. On the eastern wall of the *Trikūta-Basti-ardhamandapa* can be seen three pilasters (pl. i-B, 4) of the type occurring in the *Vardhamāna-ardhamandapa* wall, one on either side of the entrance and the third further to the north. The latter two support corbels of the Chola type (pl. i-B, 3) that project outwards. The purpose of one corbel on the left of the doorway is to support a cross-beam that marks the southern end of the veranda. But the purpose of the other on the right of the doorway is not clear, as it is supporting no beam, unless it has been inserted to match the corbel on the other side of the doorway. The base is of plain workmanship and the top of its northern end is laid over the *Vardhamāna-veranda*. This, coupled with the absence of any inscription on this veranda, suggests a later date for this veranda. Also the change in level and in design seems to show that it was later than Kulottuṅga III, though perhaps by a few years only, as its pillars are just like those of the adjoining veranda, of which it is only a continuation. The location of all the inscriptions elsewhere, even including those of Rājaraṇa III (1216-1246 A.D.) proves beyond any doubt that this veranda must have come into existence some time later than 1234 A.D. (the date of inscription No. 1) but before 1387-88 A.D., the date of the construction of the *Saṅgita-maṇḍapa*, as some of the beams of the latter are laid over the former. The ceiling contains paintings illustrating the *sama-varaṇa* of Vardhamāna, the twenty-fourth Tirthankara¹.

Saṅgita-maṇḍapa (pl. ii, 12).—Part of the courtyard in front of the *Vardhamāna* and *Trikūta-Basti-mukhamandapas* is now occupied by a pillared hall or *maṇḍapa* that has been built on to the verandas. Its ceiling is higher than theirs and bears the majority of the temple paintings described below (pp. 64-124, 133-157, 161-164). It rests on three rows of eight pillars each, while its western and south-eastern sides rest on plain granite slabs laid vertically upon Chola structures, the former on the *Vardhamāna* and *Trikūta-Basti-mukhamandapas* and the latter on a Chola veranda in front of a store room on the south-east. This *maṇḍapa* is not only higher than the Chola verandas but also larger, measuring 61' 9" × 26' 4" in plan and extending the entire length of the *Vardhamāna* and *Trikūta-Basti-mukhamandapas*. The pillars are all in early Vijayanagara style (pl. ii-B, 7) and lack the elaborateness and intricacy of detail of ornamentation that characterise later Vijayanagara style, as for instance in the *Kalyāṇa-maṇḍapas* of Vellore and the Varadarāja temple at Conjeevaram. Their bases are all cubical in section showing carvings such as lions, plants, creepers, twisting snakes, knots, dancing girls, dwarfish *yakshas* playing on musical instruments like the drum, flute and the conch, *dvarapālakas* or door-keepers, monkey with fruit in hand, etc. Above each corner of these bases a motif resembling a cobra's hood is designed, the

¹ See below, pp. 130-132.

area occupied by it being known as *nāgabandha*. This motif is however absent in two pillars, one of which, the sixth from the north in the innermost (western) row, shows dwarfish *yakshas* blowing the conch and the other, on the extreme north-east corner, squatting lions, in the place of the *nāga*-designs. Above these *nāgabandhas* the pillars are sixteen-fluted except in the case of the one on the extreme north-east corner which is twenty-four fluted (pl. ii-B, 9); they bear no carvings till they reach the capital except for a band or bands on some of them. Seven bear three bands, six two bands, five one band, and five others are without bands. The one twenty-four-fluted pillar however, has seven bands. The capitals are square in section. On two sides of each are carvings in a circular area in which the royal *hansa* and the conventional lotus often occur. The capitals of two pillars alone show different carvings. On one, the fourth from the north in the middle row, is a Tirthankara seated facing the Varuhamāna shrine, thereby proving that the latter shrine is the most important part in the temple. On the other, the fifth from the north in the outermost row, a warrior is shown as engaged in a deadly struggle with a lion. The other two sides of each capital bear corbels in the form of lotus flowers from out of which issues a motif representing the seed-vessel, a very popular design with which most Indians are familiar, as this is found in almost all temples in South India that date from Vijayanagara times. In later times it developed into a plantain flower.

The pillar on the southern corner in the middle row has been placed on the Chola veranda (pl. ii, 14) in front of the store-room and its corbel is not finished like the rest as it has to go over the lintel of the veranda. This pillar touches the Chola pillar at the corner of the veranda and shows creeper-designs on its inner side or the side facing the *mandapa*. Yet another pillar, parallel to this, the eighth of the third row from the north, is placed on the same Chola veranda and shows so much of Chola work in it that it has to be likened to the other Chola pillars in the temple. Possibly one of the earlier pillars of the veranda was utilized for supporting the Vijayanagara *mandapa*, without any of its Chola details being interfered with. This pillar supports the lintel of the veranda which in turn supports the beam of the *mandapa*.

The pillar on the north-east corner (pl. i-B, 9) bears a portrait of the donor of the *mandapa*, and has evidently been singled out for special treatment. As already mentioned it has squatting lions in place of *nāgabandhas*, being one of two pillars in which the latter conventional ornaments are replaced by something else. It is the only pillar that has seven bands above the base and twenty-four flutings. Of these flutings the central four facing the four cardinal points bear a well executed creeper-design. On the base, four human figures are carved, one on each side, standing over a moulding showing at each end a *kūḍa* or window-ornament surmounted by a lion's head as occurs also in the *gopura* of the temple. The side that faces north contains the carving of a woman standing in the *tribhanga* pose, naked above the waist and holding in her right hand a fly-whisk (*chāmara*), the tail of which can be seen on the right, while her left hand is hanging loosely (*lamba-hasta*) like the "tail of a cow." *Kundalas* adorn her ears; and her hair (which is sumptuous) is secured in a side-knot known as *kondai* and is thrown a little

to the right. The side facing east, shows a similar woman but holding in her right hand a lotus and placing her left on the hip in a pose known as "katyavalāmbita". The side facing south also shows a woman, but this figure is totally different from the other two being larger and more elaborately decorated and better executed.

She stands like the others. Her right hand hangs down loosely while her left is bent, as in the case of women carrying water-vessels on their waists, and holds between the elbow and the waist a vase with a blue water-lily inserted in it—the vase of plenty and auspiciousness in Jaina as well as in Hindu iconography. Her hair is also secured in the "konḍai" knot and is thrown to the right. She is naked above the waist. Among the ornaments with which she is bedecked mention may be made of *patra-kundalas* (rather big) in the ears, necklaces, armlets, wristlets and anklets, the last-mentioned resembling those worn to-day by the women of the Telugu country, especially in Godāvari and Kistna districts. Curiously enough she has a *yajñopavīta*, the Brahmanical sacred thread. While she cannot be taken to represent any goddess known to the Jaina there is nothing preventing us from surmising that a portrait was intended. If so we can perhaps associate her with the household of Irugappa, whose portrait on the adjoining side we shall examine presently. The *yajñopavīta* perhaps indicates that the woman was of Brahmanic origin. (The present day Jains have somehow adopted the *yajñopavīta*.)

The side facing west and consequently the shrine, shows in relief the figure of a man of about the same size as that of the woman just described. He is believed to be the builder of the *Saṅgita-maṇḍapa* (pl. v, 1). This local tradition is corroborated by an inscription (No. 7, see below, p. 57) found on the ceiling of the *Saṅgita-maṇḍapa* which records that Irugappa, a general and minister of Bukka Rāya II built the *maṇḍapa* in the year *Parābhava* (1387-88 A.D.) at the instance of his preceptor Pushpasena and also paved the flooring around with granite. It is said in this inscription that this *maṇḍapa* was intended for holding musical concerts, etc., in it, for which reason it has acquired the name "Saṅgita-maṇḍapa" or the "music-hall."

The Irugappa referred to in this inscription can be definitely identified with the Iruga or Irugappa referred to in an inscription on a lamp-pillar in front of a Jaina temple dedicated to Kunthunātha, the seventeenth Tirthankara, at the city of Vijayanagara,¹ for both the inscriptions tell us that he was the son of Chaicha or Chaichapa (the Vaichaya of our inscription), the hereditary minister and general of Harihara II. The Vijayanagara inscription further states that Iruga built that temple in Śaka 1307 (1385 A.D.), i.e., only two years before he constructed the "Saṅgita-maṇḍapa" at Tiruparuttikunram.

Another inscription (No. 8, see below, pp. 57-58), partly in Grantha and partly in Tamil helps to show under which king of Vijayanagara Irugappa was a general and minister. In it he is said to have made the grant of the village of Mahendramaṅgalam in the division of Māvandū to the temple in the year *Dundubhi* (1382 A.D.) for the merit of his

¹ S.I.I., Vol. I, pp. 156-8.

suzerain, Bukka Rāja, the son of Arihara Rāja or Harihara. The Bukka Rāja that is referred to is Bukka II, the son and successor of Harihara II. It is known from other records that Bukka II ruled between 1377-1404 A.D.

While local tradition clearly associates this figure with the person that built the *mandapa*, viz., Irugappa, other factors point towards the correctness of such a tradition. A study of the *mandapas* and the *gopuras* that arose in the time of the Vijayanagara kings brings into relief the custom then prevailing to show the figures of the builders or donors in some part of the constructions themselves, preferably on the bases of pillars. In some *mandapas* these figures are shown in a prominent place and in others in places that will not catch the eye of the casual visitor. The reason for such a representation is not far to seek. It only reflects the mentality of the builders or the donors, reserve on the part of the unostentatious and a love to win the approbation of the world on the part of the vain. The figure of Irugappa stands in a prominent place and catches the eye of the visitor easily. The general deportment of the figure and its features mark it out as that of the person indicated in the tradition. To understand the features of the figure it is necessary to know the history of the person portrayed.

He was a staunch Jaina and was serving Bukka II, in the capacity of a minister and a generalissimo, a vocation that was his legacy, his father Vaicha or Chaichapa having held similar office under Harihara II. It appears that he won for his lord several battles, the victory in which only made the transitoriness of life, wealth and pleasure too glaring to him. Highly impressive and a lover of art and letters that he was¹, the day came too soon for his renunciation which was impending. And at Tiruparuttikunram, Jina-Kāñchi as it was then known, the yearning soul discovered its mentor in the person of sage Pushpasena about whom we shall speak later (pp. 44-45). The sincerity of the sage and his asceticism won Irugappa over to him so much so that Irugappa vowed to serve the sage in any manner that he commanded. From then the general appears to have discarded the sword and devoted himself solely to service and deeds that were calculated to bring him virtue (*punya*) and secure for him liberation (*moksha*). Among the deeds mention may be made of building of temples² or parts of them, as for instance the *mandapa* in the present case.

The figure shown here represents just such a person. Its spirit is one of extreme devotion, humility, asceticism, self-sacrifice and eagerness to be at the service of humanity, a precept for which Jainism is remarkable. The hair on the head is secured in a knot and the knot is thrown on the left side of the figure. In the manner of securing the hair it is suggested by the tips standing erect that locks of unbraided hair which characterise a sage or ascetic are intended. A beard and moustache are present. The hands are held in the *añjali* pose against the breast, a pose of devotion, humility, and worship. The under-garment which is tied in the *kachcha* fashion, as is done in South India

¹ He is said to be the author of a work on literary criticism called *Nānārtharatnamālā*.

² *S.f.A.*, Vol. I, pp. 156-8.

to-day, extends only up to the knees being drawn up. There is nothing strange in this, for, to most South Indians the drawing up of the under garment indicates reverence or regard for the person in whose presence they stand. There is not a second garment here which is also significant, for a mode of showing respect to people that deserve it is to take the upper garment away, or tie it in the form of a sash over the under garment, leaving the breast bare. With this mode also most South Indians are familiar. Hence in the figure the upper garment is omitted, the under garment is drawn up and as if this was not enough to show the feelings of the person portrayed the hands are folded and drawn against the breast—a pose which stands in Indian iconography for humility and devotion. But the wrists are provided with bangles. This is in great contrast to the other limbs of the figure where ornaments and other decorations are conspicuous by their absence. What would be, therefore, the significance of the bangles? They only stand to indicate the status of the figure, which was that of an erstwhile man of the world in affluent conditions, who had become a disciple of sage Pushpasena by coming into contact with his superior spiritual force. This appears to be the only significance in such a rendering.

The bangles also indicate that there can be no mistaking the person intended, for no mere sage or ordinary person can be shown with them. Thus it would appear that all safeguards were taken at the time of making the portrait to make the identity of the person clear. And tradition and the inscriptions in the temple give his name as Irugappa.

The *Saṅgita-mandapa* has the curved eaves (*koḍuṅgai*) which is found on all the other parts of the temple also. But on its north-east corner, a number of lotus petals, placed one above the other, is designed indicating that the whole is modelled on the lotus petal. All the pillars of the *Saṅgita-mandapa* bear traces of recent colouring.

At the northern end of this *mandapa*, just where its beams rest on the *Vardhamāna-veranda* is a pillar, plain with the usual sixteen flutings but supporting a Chola corbel which stands as a clear proof to-day of the shiftings and alterations made in the *Vardhamāna-veranda*, presumably at about the time of the construction of the *Saṅgita-mandapa*. The *mandapa* continues to the south of the *Trikūṭa-basti-veranda* till it reaches the cloister. The ceiling of this part of the *mandapa* is higher than elsewhere and rests on the *Trikūṭa-basti*, its veranda, the store-room and its veranda and the cloister on the south. Only one pillar is found which, though resembling the other pillars in the Vijayanagara style, supports a Chola corbel and has three bands and a base cut from a separate stone.

Round the temple there is the temple cloister interrupted at intervals by store-rooms, kitchen, etc. It is raised on the east with its base like that of the *Trikūṭa-basti-veranda*, with the usual Chola pillars (pl. I-B, 3) supporting lintels and curved eaves (*koḍuṅgai*).

Gopura (pl. II, 27; pl. xxx, I).—The *gopura* divides the cloister here into two as it is located in its centre. It (the *gopura*) is of moderate dimensions (pl. xxx, I) and is built of granite except the top tiers which are of stucco and brick. The base is of the Chola type with six mouldings, five rectangular and one octagonal on which are found inscriptions (Nos. II and I9, see below, pp. 58 and 60). The sides of the *gopura* bear pilasters with

corbels of the Chola type (pl. i-B, 4) but with chamfered sides as is also the case with the *Munivāsa*, another part of the temple which we shall describe presently. The lintels support curved eaves with four *kūḍus* or window-ornaments on each wide side. These *kūḍus* are of floral design surmounted by a lion's head as in the case of the pillar base containing the portrait of Irugappa. They are occupied each by a Tirthaṅkara seated in the *paryāṅka-āsana*, i.e., with legs crossed and hands placed on the lap, one over the other, the pose prescribed for meditation. Over the eaves is a line of lions' heads with mane, and at each end a projection shaped like a lion's mouth.

Over this rises a superstructure of brick which rises in three tiers. An inscription (No. 9, see below, p. 58) on the inner side of the lintel of the *gopura* speaks of the construction of this superstructure as due to the benevolence of the sage Pushpasena, the preceptor of Irugappa.

It is unusual to find an ascetic-sage venturing on construction work which requires finance behind. But if it be remembered that it was the same sage that ordered Irugappa, his disciple, to build the *Sāṅgita-maṇḍapa*, as the latter proclaims in inscription No. 7, it is only natural to suppose that the *gopura* also was financed by Irugappa and was probably built about the same time as the *maṇḍapa* or a little later. It may however be asked why Irugappa, if he were really responsible for this construction, should be silent about his association in this work when one would expect him to proclaim his share just as he had done in inscription No. 7. To most Indians who can realize the import of *Gurukula* and *Gurūśiṣya-bhava* or relationship between master and pupil the answer to this question is apparent. His reverence for his *guru* may have stood in the way of proclaiming himself as the author of the *gopura*—a course of action that could be expected of him, more so because he firmly believed as every ardent follower of the faith will do, that what all he did or achieved was at the bidding of his *guru*, the guide that was to lead him through and in whose hands his liberation (*moksha*) lay. His share in any work of merit would, in his opinion, pale before the superior spiritual force and merit of his mentor. Thus the devotee, a little vain at the outset, as proved by the personal touch in inscription No. 7, reveals himself here as a convert to humility, meekness, service and devotion and lays the humble work "that he was destined to perform as a result of the blessings (*prasāda*) of his spiritual guide" at the feet of his master, at the same time proclaiming to the world in unmistakable terms that it was the work of his *guru*, who therefore deserved the praise, while his own share was little, he merely functioning as a machine set at work by the spiritual force of the *guru*.

The Cloister (pl. ii, 14).—The cloister appears to have been interfered with and altered in the course of subsequent constructions in the temple. On the south-east corner it was altered to make room for the temple kitchen (*maḍapalli*) which shows four pillars of the Chola type placed in the middle enclosing a rectangular pit which serves to-day the purpose of a gutter, while above it the ceiling is open to allow smoke to escape (pl. ii, 26). When this alteration was effected we have been unable to ascertain. There is a veranda in front of the kitchen which is a continuation of the cloister.

The adjacent part is a store room for storing paddy, etc. (pl. ii, 15) built in the twentieth year (1236 A.D.) of the reign of Rājārāja III as proved by an inscription on its north wall (No. 2, see below, p. 50). It is not on a line with the wall of the kitchen but is drawn in by 22". The room thus enclosed has in its centre two Chola pillars, a half-cut Chola pillar on the west placed against the western wall of the room, and a Chola corbel, without its pillar, peeping out of the eastern wall of the room. The pillar of the last-mentioned corbel was probably removed from its original place when the kitchen was added as the erection of a wall between the kitchen and the store room has made it unnecessary. On the sides of the doorway may be discerned the *nāgabandha* with a string of lotus petals, also found on the *Trikūṭa-bastī* and *Vardhamāna-ardhamandapa* doorways. This motif might therefore be taken to have come into existence in the later Chola period itself. A veranda is attached to this store room in front partially, leaving almost a third of its north wall to face the *Saṅgita-mandapa*, the beams of which rest both on this wall and on the veranda. The level of the store room being elevated, the level of the veranda has been likewise elevated. The exposed side of the north wall of the store room contains two inscriptions, one above recording the construction of the store room itself (No. 2, see below, p. 50) and the other on its plinth (No. 8, see below, p. 57) which records the gift of a village by Irugappa.

From the west wall of this store room the cloister runs due west. It has become very low, almost approaching the ground level but slightly raised by 3". The compound wall bounds it on the south. On the south-west corner of the temple, where the cloister takes a turn to the north (i.e., running from south to north), is a small shrine (pl. ii, 16) dedicated for Brahmadeva Yaksha (pl. v, 2), the Yaksha of Śīṭalanātha¹, on a level elevated as near the *gopura*. The shrine has been walled up by brick work and is clearly of recent origin. The Yaksha has his *vāhana*, the elephant, below his pedestal. The iconography of this image is so exactly like that of the Hindu Aiyaṇār or Śaṣṭa² that one might easily take it to represent Aiyaṇār and not Brahmadeva if it were not for the fact that it is placed and worshipped in a Jaina temple. The cloister from east to west has eaves (*koduṅgai*) of brick instead of granite. This presumably happened when the old one, which was probably of granite, fell and was renewed by the present brick one.

The cloister now continues from the south to the north and is elevated as near the *gopura* (pl. ii, 14), except for a distance of about 30' in the middle (pl. ii, 13), where it is on a level with the cloister between the store room and the Brahmadeva shrine. Facing this low space, in the western wall of the compound that bounds it, there was once an entrance, 6' × 3', now blocked, placed slightly, though not directly on a line with the Vardhamāna shrine, which opened into the huts and the fields behind the temple. While the Brahmadeva shrine bounds this part of the cloister at its southern corner, it has been converted into a room recently with brick to the right of the back entrance referred to

¹ See below, pp. 202-3.

² Madras Museum Bulletin, New Series—General Section, Vol. I, part 2, pp. 14, 128-9.

above for keeping the temple *sāmāns* and *vāhanas*. The eaves (*koṇṇūgai*) of this part of the cloister is bigger and of granite while it is of brick work to the left of the back entrance. Surely the brick eaves is a later work that had come in the place of older ones built of granite that had probably to be renewed. The rest of the temple, *viz.*, the *Śānti-maṇḍapa*, the *Munivāsa*, the *Saṅgīta-maṇḍapa*, and the cloister on the east bear four granite eaves.

Śānti-maṇḍapa, (pl. ii, 19).—The cloister now runs from west to east and has been converted into a big elevated *maṇḍapa*, 78' × 27' in area, now known as "*Śānti-maṇḍapa*." It is here that the *mahābhisheka* or the grand bathing ceremony of the gods of the temple is held. Its western end has been elevated by 3' above the rest of the *maṇḍapa* as the *mahābhisheka* ceremony was originally intended to be done there. The gods would be installed on the elevation while the priests attended to the baths with due ceremonies and the faithful witnessed them from the rest of the *maṇḍapa* which has been said is lower in level. In the centre of the elevation referred to is a small shrine (pl. ii, 18), built of brick about 37 years ago, in the time of the present trustee's father, in which a marble image of Rishabhadeva, the first Tīrthaṅkara, obtained from Jaipore is worshipped. The construction of this shrine was necessary in order to provide support for a small *maṇḍapa*, also of brick-work, called the "*Janmābhisheka-maṇḍapa*" built on the roof at about the same time. The latter was given then the name "*Janmābhisheka-maṇḍapa*" as the Tīrthaṅkaras in the temple, whose life-stories were enacted during the temple festivals (*utsava*) were carried to this part and anointed with waters, the idea being that these Tīrthaṅkaras were undergoing the anointing ceremony that they underwent as soon as they were born¹. As they were carried by the *devas* to Mount *Meru* for the above-said ceremony, a higher place was required and consequently we get the present *maṇḍapa* on the roof. And the priests who perform the ceremony officiate for the *devas*. Access to this *maṇḍapa* is by a flight of steps facing south, situated between the *Śānti-maṇḍapa* and the building adjacent to it on the east which is called "*Munivāsa*" or "the abode of sages."

As the ceiling of the *Śānti-maṇḍapa* was shaky, especially at its northern end (to the north of the present Rishabhadeva shrine) some support has been given recently by inserting two Chola corbels (pl. i-B, 3) and a Chola pillar with its corbel from some other part of the temple into the compound wall and placing over them three cross-beams, the other ends of which rest on Chola pillars (pl. i-B, 3), now hidden by the Rishabhadeva shrine. These pillars are visible from within the Rishabhadeva shrine. A similar thing has been done on the southern side of the shrine and three cross-beams are laid between the Chola pillars enclosed by the shrine and those forming the first row in the *Śānti-maṇḍapa*. The shrine encloses therefore two rows of three pillars. Including these the *Śānti-maṇḍapa* should have had at the time it was erected three rows of ten pillars each, resembling those of the temple veranda (see pl. i-B, 3). The first row contains all

¹ See *Atlas*, pp. 65, 83-5, 119-122, 150-1.

the ten, one of which, on the western corner, is partially hidden by the brick wall of the room in which the temple *vāhanas* are housed. The middle row has three of its pillars enclosed in the Rishabhadeva shrine; six of its pillars (4-9) can be seen, while the tenth on the extreme east shows only its corbel. This originally stood in a line with the tenth pillar of the first row, and was probably removed when the *Munivāsa* was built, as the latter's western wall made this pillar unnecessary. The third row is just like the middle row, with its tenth pillar showing its corbel from within the western wall of the *Munivāsa*. The tenth pillar of the first row is drawn nearer to the ninth of the same row as it stands at the corner of the *Śānti-maṇḍapa*.

From an inscription found on the west wall of this *maṇḍapa* which is also the compound wall (No. 1, see *below*, pp. 49, 50), we have to infer that this *maṇḍapa* came into existence probably in the reign of Rājārāja III, for it is dated in the eighteenth year of the said king (1234 A.D.). The position of this inscription on this wall is interesting. It is found on the second layer of stone from the bottom (*i.e.*, the ground level of the *Śānti-maṇḍapa*). While there are four more granite layers above it, not to speak of lintels and beams above, this is curiously incised so low, far below the eye-level. This suggests that the original *maṇḍi* or compound wall was a low one and was probably raised to its present height and shape during the time of Aḷagiya Pallavan (see *below*, pp. 39, 47-8). The latter's inscription speaking of the construction of the *maṇḍi* (No. 12, see *below*, p. 58), is found on the outer side of the *maṇḍi* and is placed sufficiently high so that it lends support to the above suggestion. Either the *maṇḍi* was renewed or some more layers of stone were added on to it by Aḷagiya Pallavan.

Munivāsa (pl. ii, 21 and 22).—The *Munivāsa* or "the abode of the sages," so named because it has five cells in a row opening towards the south, in which the souls of five sages that flourished in Tiruparuttikunṇam are believed to live engaged in doing penance even to-day, is a long corridor adjacent to the *Śānti-maṇḍapa*, 54' × 21' in area. There is nothing in the construction of this part of the temple to suggest any great antiquity. Two of the cells are intended for Mallishēṇa and Pushpasēṇa, sages that lived in the fourteenth century A.D.¹ For these sages to get deified and worshipped in the *Munivāsa* along with the other three sages some years should be allowed after their demise. Thus arguing it seems likely that the *Munivāsa* may have been built sometime in the fifteenth century A.D.

Though, according to local tradition, these five cells (pl. ii, 21) were intended for five sages, the central room contains stone images of Vardhamāna (pl. iii, 2) and Pārśva-nātha, the former facing west and the latter south, while the other four are empty. The placing of these two images in a place where they are inappropriate came about as follows:—In 1906, *i.e.*, the Tamil year *Parabhava*, the *Kumbhābhishēka* ceremony of the temple was performed on a grand scale by the present trustee's father. The image of Vardhamāna which was till then worshipped in the main Vardhamāna shrine, and consequently an old one, was removed from there as a crack on it made it unfit for further

¹ See *below*, pp. 43-46.

worship and was taken to the central cell of the *Munivāsa*, where it is at present found (pl. iii, 2). The history of the *Pārśvanātha* image is different and more interesting. According to the temple priest it was found in the temple well some 150 years ago where it was probably thrown for safety by the then temple authorities during the raids of the Muhammadan iconoclasts. This account receives confirmation from another detail present in one of the cells. The last cell on the right contains an underground cell which can be disclosed by removing the slabs above, which is locally called "kalāpa-kottādi." This was intended for keeping the temple images in safety so that the raiders could not see them. It was also believed that this underground cell had also an underground passage leading to the next garden where the Pallava temple (*i.e.*, the Chandraprabha temple) is located. I examined the cell with a view to test this part of the account. There is surely the underground cell, hollow and gloomy, but I could not find any traces of the underground passage referred to. The *Pārśvanātha* image was probably thrown into the well either because there was no room for it in the underground cell or because there was not sufficient time for the people to remove the slabs above and deposit the image in the underground cell as most probably the raider was almost at their door. Under such circumstances the well alone could be thought of, as its waters could hide the image from the evil look of the iconoclast for the time being. And when the raider had left the place it was probably intended to be removed from its temporary place of safety to the underground cell. Failure to do so immediately had resulted in the image being left in the well till chance disclosed it 150 years ago.

The western wall of the *Munivāsa* faces the *Śānti-maṇḍapa* and is less in width than the latter by 6'. That it was put against the *maḍil*, and hence is subsequent to the latter, is made evident by a gap between it and the latter. Two of the *Śānti-maṇḍapa* pillar corbels have got into this wall, which projects into the *Śānti-maṇḍapa* for half of its length starting from the *maḍil*, and is drawn in for the remaining half of its length starting from the centre of the *Śānti-maṇḍapa*. The projecting portion of the wall corresponds to the region of the cells, while the drawn portion corresponds to a small corridor of about the same length as the cells, in front of the cells. The ends of the projecting and the drawn portions of the wall bear plain rectangular pilasters with small Chola corbels such as we find on the Vardhamāna-veranda (pl. i-B, 4). A similar wall flanks the *Munivāsa* on the east.

The corridor in front of the cells is narrow and dark though there are two stone windows on its southern wall, one facing the first cell on the left and the other facing the fifth cell on the right. The window on the left is now hidden by steps leading to the terrace built recently against this part from the processional path outside. The other faces a small garden (pl. ii, 25) situated between the wall of the corridor and the temple well. These windows are rectangular with nine square holes¹. In the centre of the wall of the corridor the doorway of the *Munivāsa* is located, which shows like the Vardhamāna-

¹ Cf. *Trikuṭa-basti-ardhamaṇḍapa* window. See above, p. 26.

ardhamandapa, *Trikūṭa-basti-ardhamandapa* and store room doorways the *nāgabandhas* with a string of lotus petals running along the course of the sides and joining them. On this wall, in places not hidden by the staircase and on the walls of a *mandapa* in front of the *Munivāsa* (pl. ii, 22) there are plain pilasters supporting Chola corbels (pl. i-B, 3) as on the eastern and western walls of the *Munivāsa*.

The *mandapa* just mentioned, which we may call the "Munivāsa-mandapa" (pl. ii, 22), is 34' x 20' in area, and is built in front of the *Munivāsa* corridor. It is elevated and is higher than the cells and the corridor by 3". It is covered on its sides recently by brick walls, and has two rows of pillars, an inner row with six pillars and an outer row with four.

Two pillars, one at each end of the inner row, are enclosed by brick walls, only their corbels which are like those in the *Vardhamāna* veranda (pl. i-B, 3), showing out. The other pillars in this row bear similar corbels but are different in design and details of workmanship as will be clear from fig. 8 of pl. i-B. They are all placed on the elevation of the *Munivāsa-mandapa*. The corbels of these are carved like those of the Chola pillars in the temple but are chamfered vertically into rectangular and cylindrical bands alternately reminding one of wooden chippings. The square area in the centre of the corbel bears the design of the conventional lotus either in a square or a circular background. These pillars are cylindrical with about five mouldings on their slightly enlarged cylindrical bases, a rather unusual feature. The front row has four pillars standing on the ground and not on the elevation of the rest of the *Munivāsa-mandapa*. The corner ones are partially hidden by the brick walls flanking the *mandapa*. They are eight-fluted, above plain square bases and support corbels of Chola form, but presumably of later date (pl. i-B, 5). The central two pillars bear in the square portion of their capitals the same conventional lotus design. The pillars of the front row support the lintels which are surmounted by granite eaves (*koḍuṅgai*), a continuation of the same of the *Śānti-mandapa*. The front of the base of the *mandapa* is plain with two rectangular mouldings, one at its top and the other at its bottom. Access to this *mandapa* is by a flight of steps placed between the second and the third pillars of the first row.

Thus we find that the pillars here are a curious mixture of the Chola style and a later style of which plainness and freedom from intricate carving are characteristic features. This coupled with the fact that there is nothing in this part of the temple calling for special attention, either architectural or sculptural, makes this part less interesting, had it not been for the much religious history regarding the sages that the walls of the five cells are supposed to breathe¹.

The north-east corner of the temple (pl. ii, 15) is a continuation of the cloister but is now closed for storing temple property. A modern window with iron bars is conspicuous in the brick wall. From here the cloister runs from north to south (pl. ii, 14) till it reaches the *gopura*. Between this and the eastern flanking wall of the *Munivāsa-mandapa*

¹ See under religious history of Tiruparuttikunram, below pp. 42-47.

is a small garden (pl. ii, 25) in which a *nāga*-stone is placed under a tree. An interesting feature of this *nāga*-stone is that it resembles the Hindu *nāga*-stone one finds often installed under the sacred pipal tree by those desiring progeny, the ceremony being known as "*nāga-pratishtha*," with, however, this difference, that in the circular band formed by two intertwining snakes the figure of a Tirthaṅkara seated in the "*paryāṅka-āsana*," i.e., with legs crossed and hands placed one over the other in meditation, is shown. This proves that *nāga*-worship was practised among the Jains as well as among the Hindus and the Buddhists.

The Temple Well (pl. ii, 24) which is situated in front of this garden and from which the Pārśvanātha image in the *Munivāsa* was taken, appears to have been dug by a merchant called *Śeṅgadīrchelvan* as recorded in an inscription found on a small slab (No. 14, see below, p. 59) inserted between the Vardhamāna and Pushpadanta shrines. This merchant styles himself a Pallava. The titles that he assumes and his designation as indicated by the term *Mūvēndavēlāṇ* tempt one to assign him to the thirteenth century, as the surname *Mūvēndavēlāṇ* was assumed by royal officers under the Cholas. This assumption receives support from a study of the palaeographical features of the inscription which point to the same period.

Processional Path (pl. ii, 20).—All round the shrines there is the processional path roughly in the form of a square, broader on its northern, western and eastern sides than on its southern side, where it is narrowed down between the cloister and the wall of the *Trikūṭa-Bastī*. Between the cloister on the west (pl. ii, 13) and the backs of the *Trikūṭa-Bastī* shrines and the Vardhamāna and Pushpadanta shrines the processional path is wider than on the south side of the temple. In its centre is an old tree known as the "*kōra*" (pl. ii, 17) around which a granite altar has been constructed. The sides of the altar have been worked like the base of the cloister. Below the top moulding, on the northern side, is a crude sculpture in low-relief showing a sage seated in *virāsana*, i.e., the right leg placed over the left, with his left hand resting on the lap in meditation and right hand indicating exposition (*upadeśa*) or knowledge (*jñāna*). The quill of a peacock's feather (*mayūra-piñchhā*) rests on his left thigh, the feather lying on the ground. To the north-east of this altar, removed by 6' from it, is a granite *balipīṭha* in the shape of a full-blown lotus showing the seed-vessel, rising over a square base (pl. ii, 17). On its western side a crude figure representing a sage in meditation, seated cross-legged has been carved in a manner suggesting that the sage was intended to be facing the sage on the altar of the tree. An inscription on this *balipīṭha* (No. 18, see below, p. 60), which serves as the label of the figure sculptured, gives the name of the sage as Anantavīrya Vāmana. Another similar *balipīṭha* with a similar sage sculptured on its western side and facing the tree, is placed to the east of the tree within a distance of 5' (pl. ii, 17). Though no label is found on this, presumably the sage on this *balipīṭha* was also a disciple, like Anantavīrya, of the one on the tree altar. The plinth of this altar contains two inscriptions (Nos. 16 and 17, see below, pp. 59 and 60), one on its northern and the other on its southern sides, the former containing a verse in Tamil in praise of the tree. It is said in

this verse that three sages spent their lifetime under this tree which statement probably means that they did penance under the tree¹. The other inscription (No. 17, see below, p. 60) speaks of the construction of the altar by a king who is referred to as a Tamil Pallava². This sacred tree belongs to the species *Ixora parviflora*, a "species whose branches burn very readily and which travellers at night use as torches." It is worshipped by the Jains of the locality. The reason why these sages resort to trees for penance and the like is that in Jaina mythology several trees are spoken of as *kulpaka-vrikshas* and *dikshā-vrikshas* under which each Tirthaṅkara spent his *karma* and attained to the state of a *kevalī* or one endowed with omniscience³.

Facing this part of the processional path are two stone images, one of Pārśvanātha with the serpent-hoods raised over his head, placed in a niche behind the Vāsupūjya shrine and the other of another Tirthaṅkara, seated, whose identity is not clear. These two probably belong to the complete set of statues of the Tirthaṅkaras in the temple that Burnell alludes to in the *Indian Antiquary*⁴. The rest of the set is no longer traceable.

The temple court in front of the *Saṅgita-mandapa* (i.e., the processional path on its eastern side) contains a big *balipīṭha* of granite (pl. ii, 17) similar to the other *balipīṭhas* in the temple, and a flagstaff (*dhvaja-stambha*) of copper placed on a brick pedestal (pl. ii, 23), both standing in a line with the entrance of the Vardhamāna shrine and the *gopura*.

The Compound Wall (Prākāra).—The various structures in this temple described till now are all surrounded by a *prākāra* or compound wall, or *maḍi* as it is called in Tamil, 12' high, issuing from the sides of the *gopura*. Its measurements are as follows:—eastern side 145½', northern side 153½', western side 142', and southern side 144'. The western side (the one behind the shrines) has a small opening in it, as in most of the South Indian temples, now closed, which as already noticed is almost, if not directly, on a line with the Vardhamāna shrine and the *gopura*. The northern part of this *prākāra* separates the garden in which the Chandraprabha temple is situated from the Vardhamāna temple. An inscription in Tamil, found on the eastern *prākāra*, to the right of the *gopura* and facing the street outside, speaks of the construction of the *maḍi*, i.e., the compound wall, by Aḷagiya Pallava (see below, No. 12). The name Aḷagiya Pallava seems to be one of the titles of Kopperuñjīṅga, a feudatory of the Chola Rājaraḷa III⁵ and as he is referred to as a king in this inscription his connection with the temple would appear to date subsequent to 1243 A.D., the year that he was crowned king at Śendamāṅgalam⁶.

Tiruparuttikunṅam seems to have been the seat of a succession of Jaina ascetics who figure in some of the temple inscriptions (Nos. 7, 15-18, 22-24, see below, pp. 57, 59-62) and on small stone *balipīṭhas* placed over the *śamādhis* of these ascetics situated in the fields in a locality known as *Arunagiri-mēḍu*. This place is removed from the temple by about 200

¹ For details regarding these sages see below, pp. 45-47.

² For details regarding this Pallava king, see under *prākāra* and below, pp. 47-48.

³ For details see below, pp. 65, 78-79, 96, 104, 118, 123, 124.

⁴ *A.R.S.I.E.*, No. 487 of 1921; for details, see pp. 47-48.

⁵ Vol. II, p. 353, ff.

⁶ *A.R.S.I.E.*, 1914, p. 82; 1925, p. 87.

yards on the south-west and is close to a tank. There I found an altar built of bricks in the midst of dense masses of prickly-pear. And on this altar are placed five granite pedestals in the form of a square (pl. vi, 4). Four of them, shaped like inverted lotuses and lotus flowers with petals fully drawn down so as to reveal the seed-vessel, occupy the corners of the square, while the fifth, which is bigger than the others, and is in the form of a rectangular *bhadrāsana*, occupies the centre. The arrangement and the size of this fifth one would appear to indicate that the ascetic over whose remains it was put up was considered by the Jainas of the locality as more important than the other four sages. Fortunately three, out of these five pedestals, including the one in the centre, bear inscriptions written in the Grantha script, the language being Sanskrit. That on the central one is a verse in praise of the sage Pushpasena, whose blessings to humanity are invoked (No. 24, p. 62). The pedestal on the north-west of the central one has another inscription which records that it was intended for the sage called Anantavīrya Vāmana, who was a pupil (*śiṣya*) of another sage called Chandrakīrti (No. 22, p. 61). A third pedestal to the south-east of the central one contains the words "the sage Pushpasena Vāmana" (No. 23, pp. 61-62). The other two have no letters on them, and if they ever had any, they must all have got obliterated. This is not unlikely, placed as they are in the open fields where they were uncared for and have consequently become much weathered. These five pedestals and the five rooms in the *Munivāsa* where the souls of these sages are said to rest, clearly prove that there was a succession of Jaina ascetics (*yatis*) at Tiruparuttikunṇam whose detailed history will be found below.

Sages and the Religious History of Tiruparuttikunṇam.—The religious history of Tiruparuttikunṇam is as interesting as its secular one, and is equally rich for the reason that a place like Jina-Kāñcīpuram, one of the *Vidyāsthānas* sacred to the Jainas (see above, p. 1) cannot be otherwise. A study of the local traditions, and of the inscriptions in the temple and on the *samādhi* pedestals reveals a regular hierarchy of sages who figure in some of these inscriptions as master (*guru*) and disciple (*śiṣya*). Their main work appears to have been propagation of the Digambara Jaina religion. With erudite scholarship some of these sages combined rare tact and accommodation to other faiths like Hinduism, which stood them in good stead, for they not only secured for their religion the patronage of the king of the land, but also protected them from Hindu fury. By slow degrees these sages began to acquire, apart from the religious hold that they already had, much political influence in the country.

Jaina contribution to the literature of South India is rich, most of its contributors being religious enthusiasts.¹ The most scholarly among these enthusiasts grouped themselves into various *saṅghas* or monastic orders or communities for an effective propagation of the faith. Each *saṅgha* was divided into many *gaṇas* and each *gaṇa* into many *gacchhas*. There are four *saṅghas* which characterise the Digambara church,

¹ From *Muniśekhara* and *Śilappadikāram*, two Tamil epics of the Śāṅgam age we learn that the Jainas were roughly divided into two sections, the *munis* or ascetics such as those at Jina-Kāñcī, and the *Śrāvakas* or hearers, i.e., laymen.

viz., (1) *Nandi*, (2) *Senā*, (3) *Deva*, and (4) *Simha saṅghas*. From inscriptions¹ we learn that a *saṅgha* called the *Draṇḍa saṅgha*, probably the one that established itself at Madura, was the most important of all these *saṅghas*, and that one of its *gaṇas*,² the *Nandigaṇa* was famous in the history of South Indian Jainism.

It is not strange that we find at Tiruparuttikunram a regular hierarchy of *gurus* and *śiṣyas*³ for we learn from the Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa inscriptions, Nos. 47, 54, 105, 108 and 145, that the system of this hierarchy commenced from the time of Chandragupta Maurya (300 B.C.). It need hardly be said here that Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa where the colossal statue of Bāhubali (pl. xxxvi, fig. 1), the son of the first Tīrthāṅkara stands, was likely to abound in information concerning the succession of apostles and other *gurus* and teachers. According to the Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa inscriptions the first *guru* or *Yatindra* was Kundakunda Āchārya⁴, then came Umāsvāmi, the compiler of the *Tatvārtha-Sūtra*, Gṛiddhrapiñchchha and his disciple Balakapiñchchha. After him came the famous Samantabhadra (No. 105) whose name has gone down in the history of Digambara Jainism in gold letters.⁵ According to tradition his date is 138 A.D.

All the writers on South Indian Jainism and Sanskrit literature are agreed in acclaiming with one voice that Samantabhadra's appearance in South India marks an epoch not only in the annals of Digambara Jainism but also in the history of Sanskrit literature. After Samantabhadra came several *munis* or ascetics who continued the work of propaganda and organised the Jaina community into convenient classes and enriched the literature of the land. Chief among them were Simhanandi, who, according to tradition founded the state of Gaṅgavādī⁶, Pūjyapāda, the author of *Jinendra Vyākaraṇa*, and Akalaṅka more closely connected with Kāñchī than the others, for it is said of him that in about 788 A.D.⁷ he confuted in discussion the Buddhists at the Court of King Śāhasatunga Hima śtala at Kāñchī, and besides converting the king to Jainism secured with his aid the expulsion of the Buddhists from Kāñchī and from South India to Ceylon.

¹ *Ep. Cat.*, Vol. II, No. 55.

² Generally speaking these *saṅghas* were broadly divided into the *Pannata*, *Balathāra*, and *Nātiya gaṇas*. These *gaṇas* were subdivided into *gaṇachāras* such as *Puṣṭyāka*, *Sarāsvatī*, etc. The *Svetāmbaras* have something like 84 *gaṇachāras* or subdivisions, most of which are to-day more names. For details see Bühler "Indian sects of the Jains."

³ For a list of the ages, see *Appendix III*, pp. 215-218.

⁴ See *Jaina Gazette*, 1922, Vol. XVIII, Nos. 1 and 2. "Śat Kundakundāchārya" by Prof. Chakravarti, for *Jaina Pāṭṭāvali*.

⁵ The Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa inscription, No. 44, contains an autobiographical account of the activities of this celebrated propagandist, from which a few sentences are worth quoting here to appreciate the value of his work:—

"At first, in the town of Pāṭaliputra was the drum beaten by me. Afterwards in the Mālava, Sindhu, and Tāṁsa country, in the far-off city of Kāñchī, arrived at Kuthāraka (the modern Kolhāpur). . . I roam about, Oh! King; like a tiger in sport." The above makes it clear that Samantabhadra was a great Jaina missionary whose activities extended to Kāñchī. From his exaltation that he was roaming about in all these countries without meeting any opposition it can be deduced that he was successful in spreading Jainism in South India very vigorously.

⁶ *Studies in South Indian Jainism*, p. 109.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 31; Wilson, *Introduction to Mackenzie's Manuscripts*, p. 40.

To the people at Tiruparuttikunram the tradition regarding Akalaṅka alone is fresh in their minds while the earlier *munis* and the later ascetics are almost forgotten. It is easy to understand this for the tradition regarding Akalaṅka is kept alive at a neighbouring Jaina village called Tiruppanamūr, about twelve miles from Kāñchi, where a big stone mortar in the local temple is explained by the temple priests as the one employed by Akalaṅka to pound the vanquished aliens, and a sculpture on the compound wall of the temple in front of the said mortar showing a Jaina ascetic in the attitude of preaching, as illustrating the propaganda work of the sage who told the people around that Jainism was superior to all other religions, that much virtue would accrue as a result of being a Jaina and that if any one should insist on continuing to be an alien in spite of his preachings the mortar will grind him in no time.

Nothing but their names¹ is known of the sages subsequent to Akalaṅka who flourished in or about Tiruparuttikunram, till we come to 1199 A.D. The temple inscriptions and those at Arunagiri-mēdu fortunately throw light on some more sages. Thus for instance inscriptions Nos. 3 (p. 50) and 22 (p. 61) speak of a *guru* called Chandrakīrti who flourished at Tiruparuttikunram and whose remains have been interred at Arunagiri-mēdu and a *samādhi* erected over them there. In the former inscription dated 1199 A.D. the gift of twenty *velis* of land in the village of Ambi to the temple is received from Kulottuṅga III, to whom the recipients made clear that the temple at Tiruparuttikunram deserved his patronage because there lived in it their *guru*, Chandrakīrti. The king not only gave twenty *velis* of land to the temple but also gave Chandrakīrti the title "the *āchārya* of Koṭṭaiyūr" in token of his appreciation of the latter's learning and work. In the latter inscription (No. 22, p. 61), which is found at Arunagiri-mēdu, the same Chandrakīrti is referred to as the spiritual *guru* of another sage who flourished at Tiruparuttikunram, the latter being known as Anantavīrya Vāmana. In the present state of our knowledge of the Jaina hierarchy we are not able to identify the Chandrakīrti referred to, and the local Jainas are unable to help on this point, and other lists found at Sravaṇa Belgōja (published) are not helpful. There is, of course, a Chandrakīrti in the list of Jaina *āchāryas* available from the *Āndhra-Karṇāṭa-deśa*² and he is placed there between two other *āchāryas*, Kanakakīrti Deva, who figures in one of the *nīśidhī* inscriptions from Danavulapāḍu now exhibited in the Madras Museum, and Bhattāraka Jinachandra. It will be too much to see any connexion between our Chandrakīrti (1199 A.D.), and the one mentioned above, as the latter should be placed in the tenth century, the date of the *nīśidhī* speaking of Chandrakīrti's predecessor Kanakakīrti Deva being assigned on sure grounds to 910-917 A.D. Thus our Chandrakīrti is a different person who lived and died at Tiruparuttikunram itself.

Inscriptions No. 18 (p. 60) and No. 22 (p. 61) relate to Anantavīrya Vāmana, another sage who was a disciple of Chandrakīrti. The former is found on a *balipīṭha* to the north-east of the *kōra* tree inside the temple, and the latter on a *samādhi* slab at

¹ See Appendix III, p. 216.

² South Indian Jainism, part II, pp. 61-62.

Arunagiri-mēdu. While the former merely says that the said *halipitha* belongs to Anantavīrya Vāmana thereby meaning that worship was intended for him in the manner known to the temple *archakas*, viz., placing ablutions (*hali*) on the pedestal (the belief being that the spirit of the said sage will feed on it), the latter clearly records that the slab was erected in memory of the said sage who had the unique honour of counting Chandrakīrti as his spiritual *guru*. Nothing more is known about this sage from the temple records or from local tradition. One of the cells in the *Munivāsa* is assigned to him, another being assigned to his *guru*, Chandrakīrti.

We are entirely in the dark about the identity of Anantavīrya Vāmana. But we know that he comes after Chandrakīrti who figures in Kulottuṅga III's inscription dated 1199 A.D., and consequently should be placed a few years later than Chandrakīrti, say, the middle of the thirteenth century. A study of the list of Jaina *āchāryas*, as available from the *Āndhra-Karṇāṭa-deśa*, reveals an Anantavīrya Deva who is placed between Bhavanandi and Amarakīrti Āchārya. Though this Anantavīrya Deva might possibly be our Anantavīrya Vāmana, for there is nothing in their dates to disprove the identity, the absence of any mention in the *Āndhra-Karṇāṭa* list of his association with Tiruparuttikunṇam precludes the possibility of such an identification.

The next sage in the temple of whom we have clear information both from the temple records and from Jaina literature is Mallisheṇa Vāmana. Inscriptions Nos. 9, 15 and 24 (pp. 58, 59 and 62) speak of him. In No. 9 (p. 58) he is referred to as Mallisheṇa Vamanasūri, the preceptor of Pushpasena-māmpuṅgava-Vāmana. In No. 24 (p. 62), which represents the *samādhi* of Pushpasena, he is again called the preceptor of Pushpasena and is referred to by the name Mallisheṇa. In No. 15 (p. 59) which is a verse exclusively in praise of him, he is called Mallisheṇa, his spiritual name being Vāmana. Here it should be remembered that great teachers and writers on works of religion, philosophy, etc., are termed *Vāmanas*, the term *Vāmana* going with scholarship. And Mallisheṇa, as the local tradition proves, was more known by the term *Vāmana* than even by his name Mallisheṇa. He was a man of letters, held in high repute in his times, and was the author of several works written in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Tamil. From one of his works in Tamil, entitled "Merumandara Purāṇam,"¹ from which I frequently draw for my understanding of some of the paintings in the temple, we learn that he knew Sanskrit and Prakrit too among languages, and Jaina and other systems in thought. The fact that he commences the *Merumandara Purāṇa* as "Tamiḷai onru ṣollalurrēn," i.e., "I narrate here one in Tamil" (verse No. 2) shows that the preceding works of his should have been written in a language other than Tamil, say Sanskrit. His Sanskrit learning won for him the title of "Ubhaya-bhāṣā-kavichakravartī"² or "the poet-monarch of two languages." Some of his works known are commentaries to Sanskrit works on philosophy such as *Pañcāstikāya*, *Pravachanasāra*, *Samayasāra*, and *Syādvādamāñjarī*.

¹ Edited in 1923 by Professor Chakravarti of the Presidency College, Madras.

² *Merumandara Purāṇam*, edited by Professor Chakravarti, Madras, 1923, preface.

Merumandara Purāṇa and *Samayadivākara*, which is a commentary to a Tamil work called *Nīlakēśi-tirattu*.¹ While his disciple Pushpasena, about whom we shall presently speak, appears to have acquired political importance, being associated with Irugappa, he seems to have acquired importance in the literary field. The high regard that Pushpasena had for him is manifest in all Pushpasena's inscriptions here. In No. 9 (p. 58) he calls himself Mallishēṇa's devoted pupil and in No. 24 (p. 62) he calls himself, rather poetically, "the bee that hovers over the lotus-feet of Śrī Mallishēṇa." Tradition associates him with the construction of the whole temple. Though this cannot be correct it still illustrates the extreme regard and importance that the Jains of the place had for this sage. Besides assigning him a cell in the *Munivāsa*, the people have built a *balipīṭha* for him. This they have placed in the niche on the north wall of the Chola veranda under the inscription containing a verse in praise of him (No. 15, p. 59) in order to connect the said inscription with the sage himself. Worship is offered to this *balipīṭha* even to-day as also to a similar one placed on a brick pedestal below it which is intended for Pushpasena, his disciple. One of the pedestals in the *samādhi* at Arunagiri-mēḍu, which is curiously enough not inscribed, is, I was told, intended for him.

As regards the date of this sage there is a silent but sure indication. Irugappa, whose inscriptions are dated 1382 and 1387-88 A.D., speaks of his devotion to Pushpasena, whose disciple he styles himself to be, but is silent about his attitude towards Mallishēṇa, the *Guru* of his *guru*. His silence can mean only one thing, and that is, that at the time of the advent of Irugappa to the temple Mallishēṇa was dead. Thus he comes after Anantavīrya Vāmana and before the advent of Irugappa, and may therefore be assigned to the earlier half of the fourteenth century.

Now we come to the illustrious Pushpasena who appears to have wielded considerable political influence in his time. The Vijayanagara kings patronised him as a result of the hold that he had over Irugappa, the general and minister of Bukka II and the sage was not slow in taking advantage of royal patronage. He prevailed on his royal disciple Irugappa to do the constructions in the temple and elsewhere (Vijayanagara city) referred to in inscriptions Nos. 7 and 9 (pp. 57-58). In the latter inscription the sage himself is cited as the author of the superstructure of the *gopura* for reasons explained on page 32. Inscriptions Nos. 7, 9, 23 and 24 relate to Pushpasena. Nos. 23 and 24 are found on the *samādhi* altar, the former giving his name and the latter invoking his blessings for the salvation of the suffering humanity. It is strange that two pedestals containing inscriptions of Pushpasena should be found in the *samādhi* altar while there is no pedestal there of Chandrakīrti, the first sage in our list. If we remember that there are two other *balipīṭhas* or pedestals within the temple itself, both uninscribed, one in front of the *kōra* tree and the other below the *balipīṭha* intended for Mallishēṇa, and that they are similar to the ones in the *samādhi* it is obvious that some of these uninscribed and similar pedestals should have been changed or misplaced at some time or other. Much prominence is

¹ For details see *Merumandara Purāṇa*, preface.

attached to Pushpasena in the local tradition probably because of his political influence. A cell is assigned to him in the *Munivāsa* and worship is done to him much in the same way as is done to Malliṣeṇa. As regards his accomplishments, both spiritual and literary, inscriptions Nos. 9 and 24 (pp. 58, 62) are helpful. In the former he is called Vāmana, "a bull among sages" (*muniṇṇava*) and is given the title "paravādimalla" which means "a successful opponent of his enemies in discussion"¹. In the latter his devotion to Malliṣeṇa is stressed and his blessings are invoked for the benefit of the suffering, surging humanity. The fact that the *śamādhi* pedestal of Pushpasena is bigger than the others and that it is placed in the centre of the others and contains a bigger inscription bears testimony to the greater importance of the sage, in whose memory the pedestal arose. This pedestal appears to be the last in the collection of pedestals in the *śamādhi*, and this fact gives room to the surmise that probably subsequent to Pushpasena there were not similar sages in the place or, if there were any, did not acquire importance in the manner that their predecessors like Malliṣeṇa and Pushpasena acquired. Otherwise their *śamādhis* should also be expected.

The *Munivāsa* which contains five cells has still one cell to be accounted for, the other four cells being intended for the spirits of Chandrakīrti, Anantavīrya Vāmana, Malliṣeṇa Vāmana and Pushpasena Vāmana. The name of the fifth is not preserved for us to-day either in the temple inscriptions or in the local traditions. He may most probably be one who had preceded Chandrakīrti, whose name has not come down to us.

The sacredness of the temple was partly due to these sages and partly to the presence in its compound of the tree called "kōra" which has been described on pp. 38-39. A stone altar surrounds the tree and two *balipīṭhas* are built near it, one of which, as has been already noted, contains inscription No. 18 (p. 60). Two inscriptions Nos. 16 (p. 59) and 17 (p. 60) are found on the altar of the tree, the former on its southern side and the latter on its northern side. The former is a Tamil verse in praise of the sacredness of the tree, which is said to have given its shelter to three sages that lived under it, i.e., in the temple. It is also said to have revealed to the king of the land the methods by which to effect a beneficial rule. This is only a figurative expression, for a tree cannot be supposed to do all this, the idea indicated being that the sages who lived under its shade were responsible for the work. This raises the question "who were the three sages referred to here?"

Both the inscriptions (Nos. 16 and 17) speak of these three sages as if they spent all their time under it. It is common knowledge that these Jaina ascetics had to undergo the "dikṣhā" or initiation ceremony under trees (see below, pp. 65 and 96) and had to spend most of their time under these trees in meditation so that their *karmas* or attachments to the world, etc., might diminish. Thus verse No. 16 is no vain boast and if the tree here is

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 17.—There is a habit among Jaina monks to add to their names surnames generally referring to their literary accomplishments. Such are for instance:—

Paravādimalla, *Sripāladeva-Tracvīdyā*, *Ajitasena-Vāṇīkhatimha*, *Vāṇīkha-Kaṇṭhava*, *Padmanābha-Vāṇīkhalā*, *Malliṣeṇa-Maladhūra*, etc.

said to have proclaimed to the world the good rule of the land by the king it only means that the king of the land met the sages under its shade and was guided in the administration of the kingdom by their superior advice. The tree according to the above verse (No. 16) also puts forth a boast that the three sages enjoyed life under its shade.

Hence it is legitimate to expect some inscriptions or portrait sculptures of the said three sages under the tree or in its neighbourhood¹. And surely what we find to-day under the tree, on the plinth of the altar are the said two inscriptions (Nos. 16 and 17) and a crude sculpture on the northern face of the altar below the plinth showing a sage seated in the *virāsana*, i.e., with one leg placed over the other, a position suggestive of authority, and with his right hand in the teaching attitude (*upadeśa*). A peacock's feather (*mayūra-piñchchha*) which was intended to remove insects like ants from harm's path can be seen on his left. The fact that this is the only sculpture on the altar establishes the relative importance of the sage portrayed. Probably he is the first of the trio (*mumuni-var*) referred in both the inscriptions. But where are the other two?

Surely they ought to be expected very near the tree. To the east of the tree, within a distance of a yard is a *balipīṭha* with the figure of a sage, rather crudely sculptured. It appears that there were some writings on the top of this *balipīṭha* which have been so badly defaced that what remain now are not intelligible. But we can infer that the sage portrayed on it is one of the three sages, probably Chandrakīrti, the predecessor of Anantavīrya Vāmana who was contemporaneous with Kulottuṅga III (1178-1216 A.D.). But where then is Anantavīrya Vāmana?

A similar *balipīṭha*, situated to the north-east of the tree and removed from it by about a yard shows on its western face a crude sculpture of another sage resembling the presumed portrait of Chandrakīrti referred to above. The identity of this sage is luckily made clear by an inscription on its top (No. 18, p. 60) which serves as its label. The name of the sage intended is given as "Anantavīrya Vāmana," and he is the third sage referred to in the altar inscriptions.

It is strange that when the *Munivāsa* contains five cells believed to belong to five sages, that flourished in the place, the altar inscriptions (both) should so specifically speak of three sages alone and ignore the other two. The two thus ignored are Mallisheṇa (1300-1350 A.D.) and Pushpasena (1350-1400 A.D.). To ignore such celebrated sages in a temple where they were very popular, as proved by the temple inscriptions, is both impossible and a positive demerit, especially so when less important persons have figured in the temple records. The only explanation for this seeming omission is that at the time of the altar inscriptions these two sages were unknown to the temple. The inscription of Anantavīrya Vāmana (No. 18) on the second *balipīṭha* near the tree lends support to this theory. We had assigned Anantavīrya Vāmana to the middle of the thirteenth century (1230-1280 A.D.) relying on inscription No. 3 (pp. 50-51).

¹ Prof. Chakravarti, the learned editor of Mallisheṇa's "Mermandara Purāṇam," says that two pairs of footprints evidently representing those of Mallisheṇa and Pushpasena can be seen to-day under the *Āśva* tree (Preface, p. 1). Indeed there are none.

The second altar inscription (No. 17, p. 60) lends further support to this theory. In it a king of the Tamil land, a Pallava (*Pallavar-kōn*) who probably revered the memory of these three sages, is said to have collected the stones gathered by the three sages with a view to build an altar around the tree, and made a strong altar out of granite which served as a seat. The present granite altar is therefore the work of a Pallava king of the Tamil country, and the two inscriptions on it should therefore be assigned to him. The palaeographical features of these two inscriptions which compare well with those of Kulottuṅga III, Rājaraṇadeva III (Nos. 1-4) and Kopperuñjiṅga (No. 12), and the fact that they are free like the latter from Sanskrit words or Grantha letters which predominate in the inscriptions of Malliṣeṇa, Pushpasena, Irugappa, etc., warrant the assigning of the former to a period ranging between 1178 to 1300 A.D.

Who then is "the Pallava king of the Tamil land" that comes in this period. The term *kōn* ("king") clearly refers to him as a king and not as a chief or any other, for otherwise we will have to take this Pallava to be an ordinary chief or officer or merchant like the one mentioned in inscription No. 14 (p. 59). He is mentioned as a Pallava, a king, and a king of the Tamil land.

In another inscription in the temple (No. 12, pp. 58-59) a Pallava is referred to by the surname "Alagiya Pallavan" who is said to have built the compound wall. Alagiya Pallavan appears to be the surname of a chief who bore also the surname Alagiya-Solan, a feudatory of Rājaraṇa III. He is also referred to as belonging to the Śeṅgeṇi family¹. Among the inscriptions copied by the Epigraphy department, number 487 of 1921 from Tiruvenṇainallūr is helpful in determining the exact identity of the person indicated here by the surname "Alagiya-Pallavan". It associates this surname with the name Kopperuñjiṅga, who figures in a number of inscriptions in the Chidambaram temple. He had also other titles, chief of which is "Avani-āḷappigandān" or "Avanyavanodbhava"².

Thus the Pallava king of the Tamil land is probably Kopperuñjiṅga. It is only reasonable to expect this king to extend his patronage to the temple in the manner he appears to have done (Nos. 12 and 17). The reference to him as a Pallava king of the Tamil land is significant. He styled himself a Pallava, claiming descent from the Pallava dynasty and started as a feudatory chief of the Chola king, Rājaraṇa III. But he took advantage of the weakness of the latter and imprisoned him in 1230 A.D. in the fortress of Śendamangalam³ from where the latter was freed by the Hoysala Vira Narasiṃha II Viṣṇuvardhana⁴. In 1243 A.D. he was crowned king⁵ of the Tamil land (the land that was previously under the sway of the later Pallavas) at Śendamangalam in the region of Cuddalore (South Arcot District) in the heart of the Tamil country and according to some other writers at Conjeeveram which appears to have attracted him probably because it was the capital of the celebrated Pallavas, from whom he claimed descent⁶.

¹ *S.I.I.*, Vol. I, p. 87.

² *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, part I, pp. 121-3.

³ *A.R.S.I.E.*, 1890, p. 3; *S.I.I.*, Vol. I, p. 156.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, pp. 167-9; *M.E.R.* No. 142 of 1902.

⁵ *A.R.S.I.E.*, 1914, p. 82; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 165.

⁶ K.V.S. Ayyar, p. 61.

Thus the inscription in question must have been made by Kopperuñjiṅga after 1243 A.D., *i.e.*, after he had proclaimed himself as king. He was benevolent and generous to a fault and was anxious as every conqueror or new ruler will be to please every subject of his, no matter what his faith was, because he wanted to conciliate all and to make his rule permanent and desired to live up to the traditions set up by the glorious Pallavas from whom he claimed descent.

If we grant that the Pallava contemplated here is Kopperuñjiṅga, we should also grant that his connection with the temple starts from 1243 A.D., the date of his coronation as king, and that Mallishēṇa was unknown to him as his inscription on the altar speaks only of three sages. It is not possible to expect Mallishēṇa here at this time for as we have already remarked Mallishēṇa should be assigned to the first half of the fourteenth century (1300-1350 A.D.).

Who is the merchant Śēṅgadīrchelvan, the donor of the temple well, that styles himself as "Pallavan Mūvēṇḍavēḷān" (No. 14, p. 59)? If we remember that there was a custom among the feudatories of the Pallavas, Cholas, Pandyas and the Chālukyas to name themselves after their overlords the association of the term Pallava in the case of this merchant becomes clear as indicative of his subordination to a Pallava. The other term "Mūvēṇḍavēḷān" can be explained as follows:—Most of the officers under the Chola kings, either in the civil or military line, have got the honorific title "Mūvēṇḍavēḷān" which has been interpreted as meaning that they held service under the kings. Both the terms, "Pallavan" and "Mūvēṇḍavēḷān" in this case, when combined, give room for the conclusion that the merchant who dug the well in the temple was in the service of a Pallava. Who then is the Pallava in whose service the merchant was? The answer to this question is supplied by the palaeographical features of this merchant's inscription, which compare well with inscriptions Nos. 12 and 17 pointing thereby to the thirteenth century as the probable date when the inscription was incised. And the Pallava that figures in the temple inscriptions (Nos. 12 and 17) about this period is Kopperuñjiṅga whose officer the merchant can easily be.

Before closing this study of the history of the temple there is a minor point to be explained in connection with inscription No. 10 (p. 58). In this inscription the famous Vijayanagara king Krishnadeva Rāya is said to have given in 1517 A.D. to the temple the village of Uvachchēri in exchange for another village named Kodukal which till then belonged to the temple. The point to be noted here is that the language is Kanarese, while the script is Grantha. The adoption of Kanarese shows that Kanarese was the court-language of the Vijayanagara kings and was understood by the people at the time this inscription was incised in the temple. It is also well known that the Jainas at Tiruparuttikupṇam were in close touch with the Kanarese country, where Śravana Belgola, Kārkāl and Yēnūr are located, for it was their sacred duty to go to these places on pilgrimage. Indeed I heard the temple priest repeat some *mantras* which were in Kanarese.

INSCRIPTIONS.

CHANDRAPRABHA TEMPLE.

I. On the plinth of the eastern wall in Tamil-Grantha :—

Soasti Śrī Tirumanni vaḷara-vi(ru)ṇilamaḍandaiyum Porchchayappāvaiyūñ-Śirttani-
chcheḷviyūñ¹-taṅ perundēviyarāgi inbuṛa neḍidiyalūṭiyūṇidaituṛai(nāduṇtu)dar-vaṇa-velippaḍar
Vanavāsiyūñ-śūḷi sūl-maḍit-Kolippākkaiyu-maṇṇaṅkaru-muraṇa-Maṇṇaik-Kaḍakkamum poruka-
ḍallattaraiyar-tamudī(yum)āṇḡavar—Dēviyarōṅgelin muḍiyu-muṇṇavar pakka(l) tēṇṇavar
vaitta) sundaramuḍiyumindirāṇḍramun-tēṇḍirai Ilamandala-muḷuvadu meri paḍai ko . . .*

For translation of the above passage which forms part of the *praśasti* or glorification of Rājendra Chola I see *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, p. 92; Vol. III, pp. 468-9.

II. On the eastern plinth, to the left of the entrance in Tamil-Grantha :—

Soasti Śrī Tirumanni vaḷara iruṇilamaḍandaiyum porṣeya . . .*

These few words constitute the beginning of the *praśasti* of Rājendra Chola I.

III. On the lower plinth of the north wall, also in Tamil-Grantha :—

*. . . yarāgi inbuṛa . . . yalūṭiyuḷ . . . ta . . . vaṇa-velippaḍar Vanava
. . . Maṇṇaikkaḍakkadak . . . e . . . yaroṅge . . . pakkaḷ . . . muṇṇavar
vaitta sundaramuḍiyu . . . raṇḍramum . . . rai Ilama . . . muḷuvadu (m)
eṇṇipadai . . .*

On the lower plinth of the western wall :—Only traces of letters, badly weathered, but nothing can be made out.

On the lower plinth of the south wall :—

. . . śemporṇiruttaku-mu (ḍiyum) . . .

These few words also constitute the beginning of the *praśasti* of Rājendra Chola I.

VARDHAMĀNA TEMPLE.

In the Chandraprabha temple architecture is the main indication of date. The Vardhamāna temple, on the other hand, contains many inscriptions, some of which are valuable from an historic point of view, as they commemorate constructions and gifts during the time of nearly the whole sequence of ruling dynasties beginning with the Chola kings. Some are important from a literary or religious point of view.

A list of these inscriptions is given below. We have refrained from giving the transliterations of the actual texts of such of the inscriptions as have already been published in *Epigraphia Indica* or *South Indian Inscriptions*.

I. In Tamil, on the west wall of the *Śānti-maṇḍapa*. Published in *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. IV, p. 105, No. 367. Here is recorded a tax-free gift to the *Nāyanār* and Āḷvār, i.e., the god at Tiruparuttikunram, also called Śemporkunru, i.e., the "Golden

¹ From here the inscription runs on the plinth of the northern wall.

hill," of the village of Kannipakkam in *Virpeṇu-naḍu* (district) of *Kaliyūr kōttam* (territorial division) by its liberal owner Vimaraṣer (Bhīma) during the eighteenth regnal year of Rājaraṣa III.

The eighteenth regnal year of Rājaraṣa III will correspond to 1234 A.D. as he commenced his rule in 1216 A.D. The engraver of this inscription indulges in cutting a joke at the expense of Vima (Bhīma), the donor. He characterises the village given as one that the donor could not by any means dispose of in sale, as it was so barren. Then the idea appears to have struck the donor that God should be willing to take it if none else were prepared to receive it, for the reason that He was its creator and as such was also responsible for its barrenness. He solemnly made a gift of the village to the God at Tiruparattikunṇam and got the said record engraved on the west wall of the *Śānti-mandapa*, an action which appears to have provoked for its absurdity even the very engraver of the said record so that the latter flings an ironical hit at the donor by calling him "the ocean in charity" and suggests by side hits here and there, like "*neḍu nāl śellādē kiḍanda vidanai*" that the temple might well have been spared this gift.

But the fact remains. The gift was made and was accepted for the temple, no matter if it was worthy or not.

2. In Tamil, on the north wall of the store room to the south-east of the main shrine. This has been published as No. 363 of *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. IV, p. 104. It records the gift of paddy to the Nāyanār, i.e., Trailokyanātha, and the construction of a *mandapa* or store room to store it in by a Jaina Brahman named Vima (Bhīma) during the twentieth regnal year of Rājaraṣa III (1236 A.D.).

3. In Grantha and Tamil, on the lowest moulding of the base of the veranda (*mukha-mandapa*) in front of the Vardhamāna shrine. This has been published as No. 366 of *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. IV, p. 104.

The readings of the Epigraphy Department seem to require slight emendation and as an additional line of inscription which had escaped notice hitherto has been deciphered the whole inscription is given below:—

Line 1.—*Spasti Śrī * Tribhuvanachchakravartigaḷ Mathuraiyum Pāṇḍiyan-mudittalai-yum kondaṇḍiṣa Śrī-Kulōttunga-Chōla-dēvar(ku) yāṇdu 21 āvadu Maṇḍiyankilāṇ Kulōttunga-Chōla-Kāḍuvettigaḷ rājakāriyāñcheydu Nāyanār ai-tiruvadittola-ninaku vēṇḍuvāṇa vēṇḍikkollēṇṇu tiruvullamāyarula mandala-chi (li)kaḷavattarām(y) tāṇmum eṇḡaḷ gurukkaḷ Chandrakirtti-Dēvar Tirupparuttikkunṇilē iruppar akkōyilukku irubadu vēli nilan-tiruvullamāyarula-veṇṇumenṇu ikkōyilē Kāni. . . .*

Line 2.—*tirarṇu Kōṭṭaiyūrāṣiriyappattamun-kuduttarūḷi Ambiyilē irubadiṇṇu vēli nilattukku tirumukham prasādi(ṭṭa) tirumukhappadi kalvettu Tribhuvanachchakravartti-Kōṇerī-mai-kōṇḍān Jayankōṇḍa-Chōlamandalattu Kaliyūrkkōṭṭattinai-Tirupparuttikkunṇil vēriyappiḍar-gaḷukku ippa . . . kku vēṇḍuvagavai yērukkiruppadāga Eyir-kōṭṭattin A(m)biyilē irubadiṇṇu vēli nilam irubattōṇṇāvadu mudal paḷḷichchanda-iraiyilivā(ga) iṭṭu ippa. . . .*

Line 3.—*. . . iṭṭai va-Śrī Gangan . . . vanikari-Tiruchāya . . . ni (Hi)raṇiyan. . .*

¹ This line is on the line of the pavement and is badly weathered. Hence it is lost in many places.

This is a record of a tax-free gift of twenty *velis* of land situated in the village of Ambi, in the territorial division of Eyir-kōttam to the temple during the twenty-first regnal year of Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulottuṅga Chola-deva III. The gift itself arose in the following manner:—

The headman of a village or the village called Maṇḍiyam (or probably Maṇḍiyan was the name of the headman himself) who was in the service of Kulottuṅga-Chōla-kāḍuvettigaḷ, i.e., Kulottuṅga himself requested the authorities (probably Kulottuṅga himself) to give twenty *velis* of land to the temple at Tiruparuttikunram in consideration of his living there and also because there lived in the temple their (his) preceptor Chandrakīrti and the authority (who in this case might be Kulottuṅga himself) gave the desired land in the village of Ambi and conferred (on Chandrakīrti) the title of preceptor or "Āchārya" of Kōttaiyūr.¹

4. In Tamil, on the beams of the Chola veranda (*mukha-maṇḍapa*) in front of the Vardhamāna shrine. The stones have been misplaced, the continuity of the inscription being thus disturbed. This inscription is referred to as No. 99 in the *Annual Report* of the Madras Epigraphy Department for 1923 but has not been published.

Line 1.—²Seasti Śrī [II³] Tribhuvanachakra(r)ttigaḷ Mathurāiyum Pāṇḍiyan mudit-talaiyūn-kondarūliya Śrī-Kulottuṅga-Chōladēvarku yāṇḍu 22 āvadu teṅkiṅ tirumaṇḍapam olittuchchilaiyār śeygiṅ kālattu vadaśvārīr kalvettu mēlaichchuvārīlē pudaiyavēṇḍudulil aḷḷaḷga kalvettinpaḍi-Śrīmar kirttimunṇāga Tribhuvanachakravartigaḷ Śrī Vikrama-⁴Chōladēvarku yāṇḍu 13 paḍimūṇṇāvadu Śeyāṅkondachōlamāṇḍalattu Kāliyūr-kōṣṭattu Virpē . . .⁵ tilatach-Chaturvēdi-māṅgalattu Mahāśabhaiyōm nilavilai-yāvanakkai⁶ yeluttu eṅaḷūrkkiḷpidaḷai Nenmalimaruttu nīrpūsi neḷilaiyūm bhūmi nāṅgaḷ peṇuvilaiḷkāṇattukku iraiyi . . .⁷ chuterich-Chaturvēdimāṅgalattār eṅgaḷ pakkal nilāṅkonḍu vēttina kayattukkuṇ-kayakkālukku vaḍakku . . .

Line 2.—⁸m mēlpāṅkellai Kaitaduppūṇṇa Hastinivāraṇach-Chatu(r)vēdimāṅgalattuk-kuk-kiḷakkum vaḍapāṅkellai Tirupparuttikkunṇellaiḷkku-terku innāṅkellaiḷkkuṭpaṭṭa nila nīrpūsi neḷivilai bhūmi mudal karambum varambum vāyḷkkaḷum ēriyūmāga kōḷunkollaiyūn-kūḷiyūn-kāḷaru mūyaru mēḍunkōḍu-mēṇōkkina maramuṇ-kīṇōkkina kīṇaru munṇil mōḷvōṇṇi uḍumpe⁹diyamai nadanda nilamella(m) innāttup-paḷḷichchandan-Tirupparuttikkunṇāḷvārkkū iraiyilichchi iraiyili paḷ . . .¹⁰miliśainda poṅ irubattaiṅkaḷāṇu mathurāntakamāḍaikkokkum poṅ-kam¹¹āṇṇēṇṇi ida

¹ In translating this as well as other big Chola inscriptions in the temple I have refrained from giving a word to word rendering, only attempting to give the main purport of the inscriptions, for they contain mostly the Chola kings' *pralasti* or glorification and details of formulae relating to gifts which I consider have been sufficiently explained in *South Indian Inscriptions, Epigraphy Reports and Epigraphia Indica* and other similar publications of the Archaeological Department.

² On the lintel of the eastern wall of the Vardhamāna-ardha-maṇḍapa.

³ On the outer side of the central beam of the Vardhamāna-mukha-maṇḍapa.

⁴ On the inner side of the first beam of the Vardhamāna-mukha-maṇḍapa, at the extreme northern end.

⁵ On the inner side of the fourth beam (next to and to the south of the central beam) of the Vardhamāna-mukha-maṇḍapa.

⁶ On the inner side of the second beam (next to and to the north of the central beam) of the Vardhamāna-mukha-maṇḍapa.

dēvarpaṇḍārattu nāṅgaḷ poruḷarakkondu murukūriya nārpercāiḱku-mutpaṭṭa nilattukku nilavilaiya
 . . . ⁴ māvarudip-porutcelavu kattuḡa-venapperāḍōmāgavum kōyil vāsālār-pondu kaḍamai
 kuḍimai vēlikka . . .

Line 3.—¹ rku vēttimuttaiyāḷ nirvilai eṇḱōṇ sennūr mudalāmañji mudalāna āḷ-mayru-
 mullina yāḍonruñ-ṣollavun-kāttavu perāḍōmāgavum innilattukku ēḍēnumaliṇṣuḷḷiṇ tīrvāṇai-
 maruttar paṭṭadu paḍuvōmāgavum eluttukkurrañ-choṅkuṇṇa mudalāna kurrāṅgaḷ ṣollapperāḍō-
 māgavum innilattukku iṇaiyūñ-kreṇṇamu-maṇakkondu iṇaiyilipallichchandaṇāga tāṅgaḷ
 vēṇḱukūḍiyiṭṭu ulvōittukkoḷvargalāgavum chandrādittavar ²ṣelvādāḡa viṇṇukkuḍittōm orukālā-
 vadu mirukālāvadu mukkalāvadu miṇṇaḍi saṇṇvadittu nilavilaiyaṇḍiyagacheṇ . . . ³
 turvēḍimaṅgalattu mahāṣabhaiyōm iṇṇaḍikku Vāṅkippurattu Karuṇākara Bhaṭṭaṇḱuttu i . . .
 . . . ⁴ kku Kaṇḱik-Kēṣava Bhaṭṭaṇḱuttu iṇṇaḍikku Vāṅkippurattu Arulāḷa Bhaṭṭaṇḱuttu iṇṇa-
 ḍikku Kaṇḱi Śrī Kṛiṣṇa Bhaṭṭaṇḱuttu iṇṇaḍikku Poṇṇambala . . . ⁵ ṇattu-Vāsava
 Bhaṭṭaṇḱuttu iṇṇaḍikku Vāṅkippurattu Koṇṇumara Bhaṭṭaṇḱuttu iṇṇaḍi iṇṇaḍi aṇivēṇaraiyū
 . . .

(Stone missing in the middle.)

Line 4.—⁶ iṇṇaḍi aṇivēṇ Kaitaḍuppūr-Kovinda-Bha-

Line 5.—ṭaṇḱuttu iṇṇaḍi aṇivēṇ Kaitaḍuppūr Na-

Line 6.—ṇaiyūr Chanaya-Bhaṭṭaṇḱuttu iṇṇaḍi aṇi-

Line 7.—vēṇ Viṇṇṇu Maṇalūr kiḷavanāñ-

Line 8.—⁷ kaḍi Kaku Nāyakaṇḱuttu iṇṇaḍi aṇi-

Line 9.— . . . kayāna Kaku Nāyakaṇḱuttu iṇṇaḍi vēḷāṇḱuttu.

This inscription is dated in the twenty-second regnal year of Kulottuṅga Chola III and speaks of the renewal of an old *mandapa* to the south of the main shrine and further states that when the new *mandapa* was being built it was found that a stone of the old one which contained an inscription dated in the thirteenth regnal year of Tribhuvanachakra-vartin Śrī Vikrama Chola-deva had to be removed from the north wall of the old structure and had to be fixed on the western wall of the new structure. A copy of this earlier inscription dated in the thirteenth regnal year of Tribhuvanachakra-vartin Vikrama Chola-deva, is included in the inscription of Kulottuṅga III and registers sale of land, free of taxes, by " . . . Chaturvēḍimaṅgalattu-Mahāṣabha" or the village assembly to Tiruparuttikunṇālvār i.e., Trailokyanātha or Vardhamāna for twenty-five *kaḷaṇḱu mathurāntakan-māḍai*.

5. In Tamil. This is mentioned by Crole in the *Chingleput District Manual*, p. 437 (Appendix F), who says that this is a record dated in the forty-fifth regnal year of

¹ On the lintel of the eastern wall of the Vardhamāna-ardha-maṇḍapa.

² On the outer side of the central beam of the Vardhamāna-mukha-maṇḍapa.

³ On the inner side of the first beam of the Vardhamāna-mukha-maṇḍapa, at the extreme northern end.

⁴ On the inner side of the fourth beam (next to and to the south of the central beam) of the Vardhamāna-mukha-maṇḍapa.

⁵ On the inner side of the second beam (next to and to the north of the central beam) of the Vardhamāna-mukha-maṇḍapa.

⁶ On the corbel of the pilaster to the left of the entrance to the Vardhamāna-ardhamāṇḍapa.

⁷ On the corbel of the pilaster to the right of the entrance to the Vardhamāna-ardhamāṇḍapa.

Kulottunga Chola and speaking of the digging of a channel for water exclusively for use in Tiruparuttikunram. The exact words of Crole regarding this inscription are as follows :—

"In the forty-fifth year of the reign of Kulothunga Cholan, the following order for the distribution of water is issued to the village of திருப்பருத்திச்சூழம் in Vippēdu Nadu of Kaliyūr Kottam. To the east of the lands which we have presented to the gisbe-gods of Teruparithikunram, to the west of the slope of the village, to the north of Manikkayan Vittam, to the east of Singamedu, probably Savillimadu to the south of the Hill, i.e., திருப்பருத்திச்சூழம் a channel has been dug up; the water thereof shall be exclusively used for the Teruparithikunram."

For a long time I could not trace this inscription anywhere in the temple. The Epigraphy reports do not speak of it nor did the Jainas of the place including the temple priest know anything about it. The temple priest told me, however, that about 50 years ago, when he was only a boy, a European gentleman came to the temple and wrote down notes on the temple inscriptions as his father, the then priest, read them for him. On hearing this I felt certain that the inscription must be within the temple itself and my search was eventually rewarded with success. I found it within the *Trikūṭa-Basti* on the lintels of the three shrines. It runs as follows :—

Line 1.—" Svasti Śrī [*] Puṇaḥ sūlūda puṇari agal sūlūda bhuvāyir ponnēmiyalavuntan-nēmi naḍappa viḷaṅgu jayamagalai yilāṅkōpparuvattu vīramun-tiyāgamum viḷaṅga-pārtolachchi-vanidattumaiyenat-Tiyāgavallī Ulagudaiyālōdum vīrasingāsanattu vīrrirundaruliya Kō-Rājake-sari-panmarāna Tribhuvanachchakravartigaḥ Śrī Kulōttunga-Choladēvarku yaṇḍu 46 āvadu Jayāṅga-Chōlamandalattu Kāliyūr-kōttattu Vīrpēdu-nat.

Line 2.—" tut-Tirupparuttikunṇil nīrpāyakkalla Rishisamudāyattārku nāṅgaḥ vīrruku-ḍutta nilattukku kīpārkellai ilavañchevuvukku mēṇku tenpārkellai Mānikkayan vaṭṭattukku vadakkum mēlpārkellai Yisākanmēttukkuk-kilakkum vadapārkellai malaittittukkutṭeṇkum innārpārkellai yullum talikai eṭṭamagappaḍap-palampadikōlār-kamīluṇ-kalumāgāk-kulī 3,000 mūvāyiramum idīrkilāl nārkkōl kalattu(k)ku vadapārkellai ki . . .

Line 3.—" nḍānandana-vanattukkutṭeṇkum tenpārkellai Sūlappattikkum Sāvindakulattuk-kum Nālādikkum Valudalaṅkunḍilgaḷukkum Rulantōṭṭattukkum ponnālamandu Pidārikōyilukku vadakku eṅgaḷūr vellakkālilē ūṇṇut-Tirupparuttikunṇilāyrukkālilē ūṇṇunīr-pāyakkōṇḍa emmili-sāinda villaipporuḥ Mathurāntakan-māḍai paḍinaidu miṭṭu idu-mudul chandrādittavarai inilattukkiṇai emmili-sāinda aṇṇāḍu nārkaṣu paḍinaidum āvanak.

Line 4.—" kaḷiyē kaichchelavuvakkōṇḍu irai ilichchi vīṇa namakkup-pramāṇamum paṇṇikkallilum veṭṭivittu iḱkayattilun—kālilumidāvu mēttamu-mīraikkavuvakkāḍavōmallādōmāga-vum iṇṇadikkum irai-ilichchi vīṇukkuduttōm Tirupparuttikunṇil Rishisamudāyattārku Kaitaḍup-pūṇāna Hastinivāraṇach-Chaturvēdimāṅgalattu Mahāsabhaiyōm ivargal paṇiyāl-ēḷudinuē Māttūṇḍaiyān Vēḷān Tirumayāikkāḍanēn eḷuttu iṇṇadikkuk-Kaynūr Śāsānaya-Kramavittan.

Line 5.—" eḷuttu iṇṇadikkum Tirundūr Gōvinda-Kramavittan-sanjñaiyāna namakku Tirundūr Śāsānaya-Bhaṭṭan eḷuttu iṇṇadikkum Nāṇaiyūr Śāsānaya-Bhaṭṭan-sanjñaiyāna namak-kut-Tirundūr Śāsānaya-Bhaṭṭan eḷuttu iṇṇadikkut—Tirundūr Śāsānaya Bhaṭṭan eḷuttu iṇṇadikkum

Kannūr-k-Kōvinda-Bhattan eluttu ippadikku Sōmaṅgalattu Appay eluttu ippadikku Irunikak-Kramavittay eluttu ippadikku Nārāyūr-ch-Chuvāṁimalai eluttu ippadi arivēn Tiruvēkambach-Chaturvēdi-maṅgalattu-Paramāṁma Bhattasya ippadi arivē . . .

On the north wall of the *Trikūṭa-Basti*—

Line 1.—rāchchāṅkō . . . vaṅ pākka . . .

Line 2.—san-Tiruppanāṅkāday . . . eluttu

Line 3.—arivēn Kramakkilavan elupādiya ri ne yū(lu)ttu ippadi arivēn Kramakkila . . . (rest missing).

Line 4.—arivēn Virpēttu marakkāṅ Aṅṅamalai sakaraṇaneluttu ippadi . . .

Line 5.—n Virpēttu . . . (ki)lavan Nāgattadigaḷ Kakku Nāyakan eluttu ippadi . . . (rest missing).

The above inscription records the sale by the *Hastinivāraṇa Chaturvedimaṅgala-Mahāsabhā* to the *Ṛishi-samudāya* of *Tiruparuttikuṇṇam* of 3,000 *kūṭis* of land for irrigation purposes and payment of fifteen *Mathurāntakan-māḍai* to the same *samudāya* in return for the privilege of using the spring water on the river bed of *Tiruparuttikuṇṇam* by cutting a channel and running the spring water into it. This is dated in the forty-sixth regnal year of *Ko-Rājakesari Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulottuṅga Chola-Deva*. The regnal year and the expression *Rājakesari* establish that the *Kulottuṅga* referred to here is the first of that name as the others that we know of did not have such a long reign nor was the expression *Rājakesari* attached to their names in inscriptions containing their *prasaṣti* or glorification. *Kulottuṅga III* did indeed reign for a long period but his latest regnal year known from inscriptions is the thirty-eighth.

6. In Tamil, on the north wall of the *ardha-maṇḍapa* attached to the *Vardhamāna* shrine. This can be read only from within the *Trikūṭa-Basti*, the *maṇḍapa* of which hides it from view. It fills up the whole wall and is in twenty-six long lines. The beginnings of these lines are unfortunately covered by a small projecting wall in front of the subsidiary shrine of *Vāsupūjya* built on to the wall containing the inscription. The existence of this inscription had been completely lost sight of as the temple authorities had given the wall a thick chunam coating with a view to preserve it from crumbling. The stone of which this wall was built is of the kind found in the adjoining *Pallava* temple and like this comes off layer by layer if exposed to sun and rain. Fortunately the inscription is well preserved as the *Trikūṭa-Basti-ardhamāṇḍapa* had given the wall the needed shelter and the recent chunam coating had further protected, as well as mostly obliterating it. The twenty-six lines found on the wall contain two records, dated in the reign of *Vikrama Chola-Deva*, the successor of *Kulottuṅga I*, whose inscription is found on the lintels of the three shrines in the *Trikūṭa-Basti*. They run as follows:—

Line 1.— . . . ttirai puyattirunilamaṇḍalai . . . ppakkanamarai mārvan-taṇalenappe[ruttirumagaḷ]ruta[niyiruppak] kaṭ-ṭiruppōdu nāvagattiruppa aḷilabhuvanamuṇ . . .

Line 2.—āmisainṇa pattisai torundigiriyōdu senkōl naḍappakka . . . vaṇ bilattidaik-
kidappa Kulattidait-Tetuṅga-Vimanuṇ vilāṅgal mimiṣai ēṇavuṇ. Kāṇḍabhūmi . . . vattu
vempadai tāṅgi Vēṅḡaimaṇḍalatt)āṅginitirundu vada-diṣai yadippaduttaruṭi-tenṇisai . . .

Line 3.—diyuḡam pōlakkaḷattalai śirappavandaru[ū]ve[ṣarṇa]rum pōrppuliyāṇai pārtti-
var śūdu nīṇaimanimakutamuraṇmaiye śūdi maṇṇuyirkkellāminṇuyirttāy-pōrṇaṇai parappi-
ttaṇṭṭai pu(pā)rttu.

Line 4.— . . . kōyirkorṇava . . . maṇiṇḍa(na)voduṅga muraṣuḡal muṇḡa
viṣaiyamum pṇaḡu-mēlmēlōṅga vāḷi vāḷi māṇilaṅkāttut-tirumaṇipporṇodeṣudu-pattāṇḍil varu-
muraṇai maṇṇe maṇṇavar śumandu tīṇai niraṇduchchorinda . . .

Line 5.— . . . mpuriyu śemponnam[ba]ḷa . . . māḷigai gōpuravāṣaḷ kūda . . .
gaḷum ulaguvalaṅkoḷḷu-māṇavulāvikkam nēmikkulavarai udaiyakkunṇamōdu nīṇenappa-
śumpoṇmēynda baḷivaḷar piṣamum viṣumpoḷittalaikka viṣaṅṇ poṇmēydirunilanda . . .

Line 6.— . . . m peyar viṣā)veṇṇumuyar Pūratṭādi Utiratta . . . ni . . .
arppudakkūttarimbar vāḷa veḷundaruṇṣuvadarṇu tiruttērkōyil-śempon mēynda paruttirai muttin
payilvadam parappi nīṇaimanimāḷigai neduntirut-tanadu tiruvalar . . .

Line 7.— . . . parikalamudala-śe[m]porka[r]pagattōdu parichchinṇamum . . .
ṣavillāda voḷi pala-śamaittup-pattāmāṇḍir Chittirait-tiṅḡal-Attum peṇṇav-Āḍittavarattu tiruvalar
madi-Traiṇyodasip-pakkat-tiṇṇaḷ paḷavuminiḍu śamaittaruḷi ṣeṇiyar veṇṇura . . .

Line 8.— . . . chi neṇḷalamarakak(n) kurtiṇai yidaik-Kanadar veṇṇidakko . . .
ṇgarotuṅga Koṇṭaḷar śāya marṇettisai maṇṇaruntattamaḷkāṇṇa tiruchchevudi muraṇmaiye nī-
raṇḷuterivayaritilatat-Ti(yā)gupaṭākai purikuḷaḷ) na(ma)ḍappiḍi punitaḡṇavai Tīribhuvāṇa-
muludu . . .

Line 9.— . . . aṇṇedumā . . . tti-ṇun tīrumogaḷirundeṇa mādar madama-
pūtalattarundhati araniyar kappir Rarāṇi-Muḷududaiyāḷvāṇ tiruman māvattaruḷuḍamiruppuch-
chempon viṇasinhāsanattu viṇṇirundaruḷiṇya Kōp-Parakēsari paḷmāṇa Tīribhuvana.

Line 10.— . . . yāṇḍu 13. paḍimūṇṇavadu Āvaṇi māṣattu Viyāḷa)kkilamai peṇṇa-
vanilattinaḷ ṣayaṅḡoṇḍa-Śōlamanḍalattuk-Kāliyūṇṇ-Kōttattu Virpēdu-nāttu vaḷachāṇḍran-kuvā-
laiya-tilata-Chaturvōḍimaṅḡalattu Mahāsa . . .

Line 11.— . . . tu eṇḡaḷur kīḷiḍaḡai Nēṇmai maruttu nīṇpūṣi netuḷaiyūṇ bhūmi
nāṅḡal peṇṇuḷai-kāṇattukku iṇai yilichchi virpadarkuk-kil(pā)rkellai Tirupparuttikkunṇellaikkū
mēṇkum tenpārkellai Śevalai mē . . .

Line 12.— . . . ṇḡal virrukkuduttu nīlattir kayattukkuṇ-kayakkalukku . . .
kkum mēlpārkellai Kaitaḷppūrāṇa Hastinivāraṇa-Chaturvōḍimaṅḡalattellaikkuk-kilakku muva
. . . ārkellai Tirupparuttikkunṇellaikkū-terkum innōrperellukku utpaṣṭa nīlanir . . .

Line 13.— . . . kavakkāḷum ēriyūṇ ērikōḷuṇ-kollayūṇ-kūḷiyūṇkaḷ . . . (va)ṇ
mēḍuṇ-kōdu mēṇōkkina maramuṇ-kīḷōkkina kiṇaṇu muṇṇil poḷivūṇri uḡu . . . yamai
naḍanda nīlamellā mēṇṇaḍi Kāliyūṇṇ-kōttattu Virpēdu-nāttuppaḷḷi . . .

Line 14.— . . . chechi iṇaiyilipallichchandumāḡa virpadarkuchchamaṇḍu (ammi)
līṣaiṇḍa vilai poṇ paḍinaṇikalaṇḷu ippon paḍinaṇikalaṇḷu Mathurāṇṭakan-māḡaikkū (o)kkum
poṇṇaḡa māṇṇēṇṇi it-Tirupparuttikkunṇil Rishisamudayattir indud-Dēvar pa . . .

Line 15.— . . . kalāñjum porularakkondu murkūriya nāpperellaikku . . . tta
nilattukku nilavilai yāvanāñsaidu kuduttōm-kuduttapadiyāvadu idukku iduveya . . . (l)
māvarudipporut-chelavāvadāgavum idu valladu vērn poru māvarudipporut-che . . .

Line 16.— . . . vum kōyil vāṣalār ponda kudimaippādu vēlikka . . . (t)ti
muttaiyaḷ nīrvilai echchoru kūrṇu mudalāṇa ṣeñṇir māñji mudalāṇa ālmara . . . llaṇa
viyādonruñ-ṣōllavun-kāṭṭavun(m) perādōmāgavun(m) ivvirra nila . . .

Line 17.— . . . ā cheyavār tīruvānai marutlār pattidu paduvō(māga)vum eluttuk-
kūrṇaṇ-ṣōrkūrṇa-mudalāṇakūrṇaḷonruñ-ṣōllap-perādōmāgavum . . . nilattukku iraiyūn
kreyamumarakkondu iraiyili paḷlichchandamāga . . .

Line 18.— . . . kkaḍavōmallādōmāgavun-tāṅgaḷ vēnduinkudiyi . . . muvittuk-
kōḷvārāgavum Chandradittavaṇa chelvadāgavonru oru kāḷavadu mirukāḷavadu mukkalāvadu
ippadi saivvadittu nilavilai yarudiyāgachcheydu kuduttōm murkūri . . .

Line 19.— . . . kalattu Mahāśabhaiyōm ippadi yarivēṇ Kāñchi . . . tuk-kati-
kaiyāṇa Kāḷku Nāyakanāṇa Tamil Vēḷaṇ eluttu ippadikku vaḷi ṣāṇṇil Kāñchi Keṣavu . . .
neluttu ippadikku Vāñkiy-Aruḷāla Bhaṭṭan eluttu ippadikku Vāṅkippurattuk-Karunākara Bhaṭ-
tan . . .

Line 20.— . . . (ip)padikku Pala . . . pḷpu)rattu Vāsava Bhaṭṭan eluttu ippa-
dikku Vāṅkipu(rattu)k Konkumāra Bhaṭṭan eluttu ippadikku Kāñchi Śrī Krishna Bhaṭṭan eluttu
ippadikkup-Ponnappurattuk-Gōvinda . . . eluttu ippadiyarivēṇ Olukkaiyākkattu pāṭakattu
Śrī Krishna Bhaṭṭan eluttu ippa(di) . . .

Line 21.— . . . (vā) kkalantaru(m) . . . ttu ippadi yarivēṇ Kaitaduppū . . .
(vi)nda Bhaṭṭan eluttu ippadi yarivēṇ Kaitaduppūṇil Naḷaiyūr Śāśanaya Bhaṭṭan eluttu . . .
(nachchakkiravarttiḷaḷ Śrī Vikrama) Choḷadēvarṇu yāṇdu padinēḷavadu
Jayāṅkonda-Chōḷamaṇḍa . . .

Line 22.— . . . Kaitaduppūṇa Hasti-niv)āranach-Chaturvēdimāṅgaḷattu
sa . . . ārkāgachchamaṇḍu nīṇṇa Tirundūr Śāśanatiki Bhaṭṭanum Nāḷaiyūr Śāsi-
rāma Bhaṭṭanun-Kūḍalūr Chīponataiyṇ . . . ṇa Kramavittanum Kannaṇūṇi yīṇmēḷ varuvāṇ
Kramavittanū Nāḷaiyūrd-Deyvanāyakak-Kramavitta . . .

Line 23.— . . . māḍitta Bhaṭṭanum iṇa . . . vōm nilavilai yāvanakkaiye . . . k
Kaliyūrk-kōttattu Virpēdu-nāṭṭup-paḷlichchandan Tirupparuttikkunṇil Āramba Nandikkuk . . .
āḷumāga nāṅgaḷ virrukkudutta nilamāvadu kīlpārkellai Śempānkudaiyāṇ ki . . .

Line 24.— . . . kōḷ paḍiṇaiṇdu ida . . . rku kōḷ pattonbadu mēḷpā . . . llaḷi yidu
veytudaṅgi vadakku nōkki kōḷ paḍiṇaiṇdum iduveḷ tudaṅgi vadapārke(lḷai k)ḷ irubattirandum
idaṇ kiḷakku kōḷ mūṇru kīlpārkellai iduveḷ tudaṅgi kōḷ . . .

Line 25.— . . . yum ikkayattin ēruṇ(kiḷa)kku nōkki vīḷaṅgu mukḷōḷ kalamuṇ-kō . . .
luṇ-karaiyūmāgāk-kondu kiḷakku nōkki eḷubadiṇ kōḷ nīḷam nīrpaykaikkuk-kayakkālākka kōḷḷa . . .
(vā)rāgavum ikkayamun kālumutpatta nīḷam ivargaḷukku Sabhāvinīyōgattukkāga virrukkudut . . .

Line 26.— . . . ṇ aṇṇādu nāḷkāṣṇ . . . ko-tu irubadumāvanakkaliyē . . .
kaichchelakkattēṇṇik-kaikkondu virṇu . . . vanañ-cheydu kuduttōm iṇv-Āramba . . . Isāṇiya
Bhaṭṭanūḷḷitta iṇvāṇavōm iṇnīḷamivargaḷ anubhavikka yīḍaduppāṇṇilattukku . . .

The first record which ends in the course of line 21 registers a sale of land, free of taxes, by the *Hastinivārana Chaturvedimaṅgala Mahāsabhā*, i.e., the Hastinivārana village assembly, on behalf of certain individuals, to the assembly of ascetics looking after the affairs of the god at Tiruparuttikunṇam (i.e., the temple) for fifteen *kaḷañju* during the thirteenth regnal year of Vikrama Chola-Deva.

This would appear to be the record, the gist of which was re-engraved on the beams of the *Vardhamāna-mukha-maṇḍapa* during the twenty-second regnal year of Kulottuṅga Chola III (see No. 4 of list).

The second record registers a sale of land to the *Chaturvedimaṅgala Sabhā* by certain individuals for being distributed or given (*sabhāvinīyoga*) for Ārambha Nandi (a festival in the temple) in Tiruparuttikunṇam, during the 17th regnal year of Vikrama Chola Deva.

7. In Grantha, on one of the sides facing the east of the central beam supporting the roof of the *Saṅgita-maṇḍapa* in front of the Vardhamāna shrine. This has been published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VII, p. 116. A transliteration of it is given below as it is short and very important speaking definitely about the construction of the *Saṅgita-maṇḍapa* :—

"Śrīmat-Vaichaya-dandanātha-tanayas-samvatsare Prābhava saikhyāvaṇ Irugappa-danda-nripatih Śrī-Pushpasenājñayā | Śrī Kāñchī-Jina-Vardhamāna-nīlayasyāgre mahāmaṇḍapam saṅgitārtham achikaraccha śīlayā buddham samantāi sthalam. || "

This inscription records that Irugappa, the son of the general Vaichaya and himself a general built in Prabhava (1387-88 A.D.) at the instance of Pushpasena a *mahā-maṇḍapa* in front of the temple of the Jina Vardhamāna in Kāñchī for holding musical concerts and paved with slabs (granite) the space all round.

8. In Tamil and Grantha, on the base of the north wall of the store room. This has been published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VII, p. 115. It runs as follows :—

Line 1.—"Svasti Śrīh[*] Dundubhi varsham Kārttigai mādatil Pūrvapakshattut Tiṅgaṭkilamaiyum Paurṇaiyum peṭra Kārtti

Line 2.—kai nā! Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaran Arihara-rājakumāran Śrīmat Bukkarajan dharmmam āga Vaichaya-dandanātha-putran

Line 3.—Jainōttaman Irugappa Mahāpradhāni Tirupparuttikkunṇu Nayanār Trailōkya-vallabharkku pūjaikku

Line 4.—śālaikkum tiruppanikkum Mavandūr-paṇṇil Mahēndramaṅgalam nāpār-kellaiyum irai ilipallichchandamāga chandrāditya varaiyum naḍakkat-taru vittār Dharmmayā-jayatu. ||

This helps to show under which Vijayanagara king Irugappa was a general and minister. It records that the village of Mahēndramaṅgalam in the division of Mavandūr (evidently Māmaṇḍūr, five miles from Conjeevaram) was granted to the Nayanār (i.e., the

¹ See *Asiatic*, pp. 174, 181.

god) Trailokya-Vallabha of Tiruparuttikunram by the minister Irugappa, the son of the general Vaichaya (Chaichapa) and a staunch Jaina, in the year Dundubhi (1382 A.D.) for the merit of the Vijayanagara king Bukka-rāja, son of Arihara-rāja (Harihara II),

9. In Grantha, on the lintel of the *gopura*. A reference to the purport of this inscription will be found in the *Annual Report* of the Epigraphy department for 1922-23 under No. 98. The text is as follows:—

Line 1.—“*Śrī Mallishēṇa-yati-Vāmanasūrisishyah Śrī Pushpasena-munipuṅgava-Vāmanāryah.* |

Śrī-Gopurottarayugam Kamalānivāsam Śrīman achīkaradidam Paravādimallah.” ||

Its translation will be as follows:—

“The sage Pushpasena Vāmana, who was a disciple of the sage Mallishēṇa, and who bore the surname *Paravādimalla*, i.e., a successful opponent of his enemies in discussion, built the superstructure of the *gopura*, which was, as it were, the abode of Kamalā (i.e., Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth).”

10. In Tamil and Grantha, the language being Kanarese, on the base of the veranda (*Vardhamāna-mukha-mandapa*) in front of the Vardhamāna shrine. This has been noted as No. 188 of the *Annual Report* of the Epigraphy department for 1901. As it has not yet been published we give it below:—

Line 1.—*Dhātu varuṣham Pushya-suddha-pādyatilu Śrīman Mahārājadhirāja-Rāja-paramēśvara-Śrī Virapratāpa-Śrī Vira-Krishṇa Rāya Mahārāyarū Jayina-sthāna-Buddha-sthānadaḥ kurukkaḥ uḍaiyārguḷṇke nirūpa nimma devasthānake cheluva Kodugai eṇba girāmavaṇu Musirupākka pretināmavāta Tirumalaidevipurata Agrahārakke grāmagrāsam āgi pāṣi nimma grāmakke pradiyāgi Cheṇṇamanāyakka-tammaiyan-Obiḷa-Uvachcheri eṇbakgrāma.*

Line 2.—*vaṇu nimma devasthānake pāṣtevu nīvu ā grāmavaṇu kuṭṭikkonḍu ā grāmavaṇu nimma devar śāsana ākki kombadu ak-Kodugaiy eṇba grāmavaṇu ā Tirumalaidevipurata aggrahārata mahājenah(ga)ḷṇke silāśādanā ākki koḍuvadāgi nimma Uvachcheri eṇbak-girāmavaṇu nimma devar tirunāmakshettirām āga silāśādanam ākki kombadu āsthānigaṇu nirūpa (pra)sidhe sidhevu Śrī Virūpāksha.* ||

It records a gift to the temple on Thursday, the 8th of January, 1517 A.D. (Saka 1439, *Dhātu*) by the Vijayanagara king Śrī Virapratāpa Śrī Vira Krishṇarāya Mahārāyar (i.e., Krishṇadevarāya) of the village of Uvachcheri in exchange for another village named Kodugai which belonged to the temple and which was required to be given to the residents of an *agrahara* named Tirumalaidevipura also called Musirupākka.

11. In Tamil and Grantha, on the base of the *gopura* on its inner side facing the temple court-yard. This has been published in *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. IV, p. 105, as No. 368. It records a sale of land and site for the benefit of the temple and is dated Śaka 1440, *Bahudānya*, i.e., 1518 A.D., while the famous Vijayanagara king, Śrī Virapratāpa Śrī Krishṇadeva Mahārāya was ruling the land.

12. In Tamil, on the compound wall on its outer side, to the right of the *gopura*.

Line 1.—“*Svasti Śrī [*] T*

Line 2.—*tirumadiḷ A*

Line 3.—*ḷagiya Pulla*

Line 4.—*vaṇ.*

"This compound wall (was built by) Aḷagiya Pallavan."

13. In Tamil and Grantha, on a slab on the pavement of the *Sāṅgita-maṇḍapa*. The inscription is incomplete, the slab still bearing traces of the chunam that used to be pounded on its surface. What now remains reads as follows:—

Line 1.—" . . . [Śrī mā]n-ma.	Line 6.— <i>rasimha devar.</i>
Line 2.— <i>hā maṇḍaleśu.</i>	Line 7. }
Line 3.— <i>ra-Irāṣati rāsa-(i).</i>	Line 8. }
Line 4.— <i>rāṣaparamēśura-Śrī.</i>	Line 9. }
Line 5.— <i>Virapratāpa-Śrī Na.</i>	Line 10. }

The name of the Vijayanagara king Vira Narasimha is found here. What he is recorded as doing cannot be ascertained as the inscription is hopelessly obliterated by the heavy pounding to which the stone appears to have been subjected. The Narasimha referred to must presumably be either the brother of Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya or Sāluva Nṛsimha.

14. In Tamil, on a granite slab (broken) on the pavement embedded in the narrow passage between the walls at the back of the Pushpadanta and Vardhamāna shrines. It reads as follows:—

Line 1.— <i>Śvasti (Śrī) [*] ...Kach...yil.</i>	Line 4.— <i>Pallavaṅ Mūvē.</i>
Line 2.— <i>vāṇigaṅ Śēga.</i>	Line 5.— <i>nda Vēlaṅ śai.</i>
Line 3.— <i>dirchchelvaṇṇa.</i>	Line 6.— <i>vitta kiṇṇu.</i>

"The well constructed in.....Kachchi (Kāñchi) by a merchant called Śēgadirchelvan, who bore the titles Pallavaṅ and Mūvēnda-Vēlaṅ."

15. In Grantha, on the lintel of a niche on the north wall of the Chola veranda in front of the Vardhamāna shrine (*Vardhamāna-mukha-maṇḍapa*). It runs as follows:—

Line 1.— <i>Śrīmautam jagatamekam mitram mitrasamadyutim.</i>
Line 2.— <i>Vandeham Vāmanāchāryam Mallishēṇa-muniśvaram.</i>

"I salute the teacher Vāmana also called sage Mallishēṇa, who is the only friend (important or reliable friend) of all the worlds and who is radiant like the sun."

16. In Tamil, on the southern side of the square platform or altar built round the *kōra* tree. It is a verse in praise of the tree itself and runs as follows:—

Line 1.—*Svasti Śrīh [*] Tanṇalavir kuṇṇāduyarādu taṅ-Kāñchi munvaḷattu mummūṇivar mūḷkiyadu maṇṇavaṅ taṅ śēṅḡl.*

Line 2.—*nalaṅ kāṭṭuṅ-Tenparuttikkunṇamar(n)da koṅkār dharmak-kurā.*

"The *kōra* tree that neither grows higher nor goes lower in its height, that was reared in early days in cool Kāñchi, that was enjoyed by the three sages that lived in the village, that revealed the beneficial rule of the king of the land, that was situated in Tenparuttikkunṇu, that was full of sweet pollen and that was *Dharma* (virtue) incarnate."

17. In Tamil, on the northern side of the altar built round the *kōra* tree. A verse, the beginning of which is missing :—

Line 1.—“ . . . *madit-Kachchit-Tirupparuttikkunṛadanīy chila mali* . . .
mummuṇivar śērttirunda mēlpāṇ . . .

Line 2.—“ . . . *kayaittin śilaiyār cheydān tarun-Tamiḷ-ṭ-Pallavar-kōṇ tāṇ*.|| ”

“It was the benevolent Tamil Pallava king that built the seat (here it refers to the altar built round the tree) with strong granite stones, the seat or altar that was already formed or designed or the stones of which were already gathered by three sages in Tiruparuttikunṛam in Kachchi which had compound walls (*madil*).”

18. In Grantha, found on a *balipīṭha* to the north-east of the *kōra* tree. It reads as follows :—

“*Svasti Śrīmad-Ananta vīrya Vāmana-munīśvarasya.*”

“This is of (*i.e.*, belongs to) the lord of sages, Śrī Ananta-Vīrya-Vāmana.”

19. In Tamil, on the base of the *gopura*, on the left as one enters the temple. It reads as follows :—

On the upper plinth.

Line 1. *Jina Kañchi Tirayatōkkiyanātha Śuvāmiyār pūśaikku māniyam.*

Line 2. *Paṛkal mēḍu paḷḷam ku 350 Pañcamappattai ku 300.*

Line 3. *Pallappattadai ku 800 Chirṇam ku 340 | . Ammaiārkuṇṇmal.*

Line 4. *ku 50 Kōyilāmpatti ku 90 Śīgappu kuṇṇmal kuḷi 60.*

Line 5. *valadu kōyil kuḷi 10 āga saruvamāniyam ku 2000.*

Line 6. *yīnda irandāyiram kuḷi nilamum enṇenṇaiḷ.*

Line 7. *kum saruvamāniya dharmamāga yādāmoruvaram aki(hi).*

Line 8. *tam paṇṇāmal paripāḷaṇam paṇṇavum.*

On the lower plinth.

Line 9. *inda dharmmakku ahitam paṇṇinapēr Gaṅgāṭirattilē Brahmātagaḡō-hatti paṇṇina dō-ttilē pōṇa(va).*

Line 10. *kkadavargaḷ || Svadattādiviḡunam puṇyam paradattāṇṇpāḷanam | paradattā-pahāreṇa svadattannishphalaṇ bhavet ||.*

Line 11. *Svadattām(*) vā yo hareti vasundharā(m) Shashthirvarshasahasrāṇi vṛish-thāyām jayate-kshataḥ ||.*

It records a *sarvamānya* gift of 2,000 *kuḷis* of land for purposes of worship to the god Trailokyanātha at Jina-Kañchi.

20. In Tamil and Grantha, on the eastern wall of the *ardhamandapa* of the Vardhamāna shrine, on the northern corner, near the *balipīṭha* of Vāmana. The stones here are misplaced. The inscription to be detailed below runs on two old sand-stone slabs, one fixed by the side of the other but on a lower level. It is clear that these stones were disturbed at some time, probably during the construction of the *Saṅgīta-mandapa*. These stones are numbered 1 and 2.

No. 1.

Line 1. Svasti Śrī [*] (Tribhuvana Cha) kravattigal Śrī Rājarā.

Line 2. ja devaṅku yā (ṇḍu)

"Hail prosperity. In the regnal year of Rājarājadeva, the monarch of the three worlds"

The rest is obliterated, the stone being badly weathered.

The Rājarāja that is referred to in this inscription is the third of that name who is said to have ruled from 1216 to 1246 A.D.

21. In Tamil and Grantha on the eastern wall of the *ardhamandapa* of the Vardhamāna shrine, on the southern corner of the wall:—

Line 1. Svasti Śrī [*] Tribhū (va) na cha ttigal Rājarā-devaṅku yāndu 7 ēlavadu
... .. ka Chinu Kāñchipurattu

Line 2. ḍa Tirupparuttikkunṅri Śrī Mūlasthanadeva-Uḍaiyārkkuttiruppadimār
... .. kam Rishisamudāyattārkkuṁ Hastade

Line 3. āna chandrādityava takkaya alunkalluvittān Śrīto
... .. yū-ḍiyil saṇa chayvaṇa

Line 4. ru (tti) kkuṅri la lu ippaḍikku Ne

Line 5. ḍu (cha) vēḷaṇṇuṁ uḷḷitta (i) iva

The rest is damaged badly. The inscription seems to record some grant dated seventh regnal year of Rājarāja III (1223 A.D.) probably of land for the temple expenses to be incurred on behalf of the central or main god of the temple and for the Rishi-samudāya or the group of ascetics who were empowered to administer the temple affairs. The donor's name is not clear in the inscription, only two letters, Śrī and Lḍ, being now legible. These two letters appear to be the beginning of the donor's name.

There are a few inscriptions relating to the sages mentioned in some of the temple inscriptions which are to be found incised on the *balipīṭhas*, mounted on the brick altar at *Arunagiri-mēḍu*, supposed to be the *samādhi* of the sages that were connected with the temple¹. These inscriptions are given below.

22. In Grantha, on the base of a small *balipīṭha*, north-west of the central *samādhi* on the altar:—

First side—Svasti Chandrakīrtti.

Third side—viryya-Vāmana.

Second side—muni-śiṣhyam² Ananta.

Fourth side—muniśvarasya ॥

"This (*samādhi*) is of (belongs to) the lord of sages, Ananta-Vīrya-Vāmana, the disciple of the sage Chandrakīrtti.

23. In Grantha, on the petals of a lotus-shaped *balipīṭha*, placed to the south-east of the central pedestal. It reads thus—

First side—"Śrī Puṣpa

Second side—sena Vā

Third side—mana munih"

¹ See above, pp. 39-40.

² Should be corrected as *śiṣhyasya*.

"The sage Śrī Pushpasena Vāmana."

This pedestal is evidently intended as a *samādhi* stone of Pushpasena.

24. In Grantha, on the base of the central *balipīṭha*. It runs as follows:—

I side—

1st line—Śrī Malliṣeṇa-padapaṅkaja

2nd line—chañcharikas-Śrī-Pushpasena-muni-Vā

3rd line—mana-Sūrimukhyah | Malam (dya tsa va) duḥkhajau

II side—

shāñjanānam Sūryyendutārakamapā

III side—

ra sukha (ya) bhūyāt ||

"May the sage, Śrī Pushpasena, the foremost among the learned, the bee that hovers over the lotus-feet of Śrī Malliṣeṇa, bring prosperity to the afflicted persons . . . as long as there are the sun, the moon and the stars."

25. In Tamil, on a slab in the fields to the east of the temple, within a furlong's distance. The slab bears also the carving of a triple parasol (*mukkoḍai*)—

1. *Paḷla*.

4. *kuḷi*.

7. *luḷku*.

2. *paṭṭa*.

5. 800.

8. *saṟuva*.

3. *dai*.

6. *kōyi*.

9. *māniyam*.

A *sarvāmānya* gift to the temple of 800 *kuḷis* of land in *Pallapattadai* (probably name of the locality). This inscription confirms one of the details of the gift recorded in inscription No. 19.

PAINTINGS.¹

According to the custom prevailing among the Jains "to carve ceilings with the principal incidents in the life of the Jina, to whom the main shrine or a corridor cell is

¹ Examples of South Indian Jaina painting are many, dating from early times such as seventh century A.D., down to modern times. The most important as well as the most interesting from the artistic standpoint are the fresco-paintings on the ceiling of the Jaina cave at Sittannavāḍai, dating from the seventh century A.D., and assigned to the Pallava Mahendravarman I. As proved by me in my paper "The Royal Artist, Mahendravarman I" read at the First Bombay Historical Congress, 1931, the subject of the Sittannavāḍai ceiling paintings is the *samavasaraṇa* or heavenly structure (see below, pp. 104-115), of which what remains to-day "is the *Khaṭikū-bhūmi* or the tink-region with the faithful (*ākhyas*) pleasing themselves by gathering lotus flowers, while animals such as elephants and bulls and birds and fishes are frolicking about pleasing themselves as best as they can." It has been proved that these paintings compare well with the Ajanta ones in the matter of draughtsmanship (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LI, pp. 45-7).

Next in time and importance come the paintings at Tirumalai, North Arcot district, ascribed on the evidence of inscriptions to the eleventh century (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 229; Smith, *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 344). They are on walls and ceilings there, and traces of still older paintings covered up by the existing works are also found. Besides several designs, purely conventional and spiritless, there is a representation of the *samavasaraṇa* structure here also in the form of the usual wheel about which Smith says that it "possesses little merit as a work of art and is interesting rather as a proof of decadence than for its own sake" while its "contrast with the Ajanta designs is worth noting" (*History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 344).

Among later examples, of which there are many, almost every Jaina temple of importance in the south having paintings on its walls and ceilings, mention may be made of those in the Jaina *maṭha* at Sravāṇa Belgola illustrating scenes from the lives of certain Tirthankaras, as do the Tiruparuttikunram ones, and of Jaina kings (Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 119; Namasimhaṅgar, *Inscriptions at Sravāṇa Belgola* (*Ep. Car.* II, pl. xiviii).

dedicated,"¹ the ceiling of the *mukha-maṇḍapa* and the *Saṅgita-maṇḍapa* in the Trailokyanātha or Vardhamāna temple bears a series of coloured paintings which, as has already been remarked, illustrate the life-stories of three out of the twenty-four Jaina Tirthaṅkaras.²

Though art-critics have much to say against this practice of "colour washing" from the point of art, as conventionalism plays a great part in such paintings, it has nevertheless to be welcomed as it gives an easy means of reading the life-stories of the gods of the Jaina pantheon, without being forced to listen to narratives from the people who may know them or to look into the Jaina *purāṇas*, the majority of which are unfortunately still in manuscript form. This practice of colour washing and painting, which Mrs. Stevenson calls "the modern craze",³ has evidently taken the place of the craze for stone carvings which was customary from the early centuries, beginning perhaps with the Pallava king Mahendravarman I, and perhaps points to a decadence in sculpturing and architecture. Viewed from the point of usefulness, these paintings should certainly be welcomed and this practice has spread to Hindu temples also. Even a non-Jaina is so impressed with the various incidents illustrated in these that he seldom forgets them or fails to identify them again. They form as it were visualized books of Jaina mythology and iconography presenting their details in an easy and interesting manner. The idea underlying this practice, as explained to me by one of the painters at Trichinopoly who was then working in the *Māṭṛbhūteśvara* temple, is economy. This work is cheaper than that of stone carving, which is much more laborious. And the paintings, I was given to understand, were to be renewed if the colours faded. Failure to renew them has resulted in the fading and disappearance of many at Tiruparuttikunṅam which has encouraged us to place them on record before they get completely lost.

The paintings are arranged in convenient groups, two running from north to south and two from east to west on the ceiling of the *Saṅgita-maṇḍapa*, and one group running from north to south on the ceiling of the *mukha-maṇḍapa*. They are contained in rows of panels, one after another, with a narrow band between every two rows for labels to explain the incidents. Those rows which contain the life-stories of Rishabhadeva, the first Tirthaṅkara, and Neminātha, the twenty-second Tirthaṅkara, and his cousin Kṛishṇa have the explanatory labels filled in below; but the letters in most of them are so completely lost that the remaining letters convey no sense. Fortunately, however, a manuscript

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 161.

² Ādinātha (Rishabhadeva), the first Tirthaṅkara, Śāntinātha, the sixteenth Tirthaṅkara, Neminātha, the twenty-second Tirthaṅkara, Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third Tirthaṅkara, and Vardhamāna, the twenty-fourth Tirthaṅkara are regarded as the principal Jinas. They are more frequently mentioned than the others, and their stories are more numerous. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II, pp. 139-140.

³ Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, p. 284.—Mrs. Stevenson, while speaking of the famous Jaina temple at Palitana condemns modern Jaina architecture and this practice of colour painting which she calls "the modern craze for crude colour washing and paintings" which is "a terrible vulgarity that often disfigures modern Jaina temples and is seen at its worst in places like the temple city of Palitana, where the older buildings throw the modern craze for crude colour washing and paintings into terrible relief."

entitled "Śrī Purāṇa" in Tamil-Grantha, now lying in the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library¹ deals in a very elaborate manner with the lives of the 63 Śālākā-purushas (*Trishashti-śālākā-purushas*), among whom are included the 24 Tīrthaṅkaras, and has helped me a great deal to understand the scenes and the labels below them. The remaining rows illustrate the life of Vardhamāna or Mahāvīra, the twenty-fourth and the last Tīrthaṅkara; the bands below them have curiously enough no writing and no explanatory labels. The same Purāṇa and another Purāṇa entitled "Vardhamāna Purāṇa,"² to which my attention was kindly drawn by Mr. Mallinath, the editor of the Madras *Jaina Gazette*, made my task of identifying the scenes easy. In describing the paintings those that illustrate the life of Ṛishabhadeva will be taken first, then those of Vardhamāna, as they follow Ṛishabhadeva's on the ceiling of the *Saṅgita-maṇḍapa*, and lastly those of Neminātha and his cousin Kṛishṇa. Ṛishabhadeva's and Vardhamāna's run from north to south, and Neminātha's and Kṛishṇa's from east to west.

Without understanding the meaning of the term *Tīrthaṅkara* it is impossible to follow the Jaina thought contained in these paintings, much less their iconography. The term *Tīrthaṅkara* seems to have originally meant the Being that has found a "ford" (*tīrtha*) through this world (*samsāra*), i.e., one who has "made the passage" across the ocean of worldly illusion (*samsāra*) and has reached that "further shore where he is, and will for ever be, free from action and desire."³ But many Jainas are agreed in giving a different explanation to the term. They say that a *Tīrthaṅkara* is one who forms or "is the founder (with a very large F) of the four orders (*tīrthas*) that collectively constitute the Communion or Saṅgha."⁴

I

SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF ṚISHABHADEVA OR TRAILOKYANĀTHA.

From Vol. I of the *Śrī Purāṇa* we learn that this teacher passed through a succession of ten preliminary births:—1. Jayavarman. 2. Mahābala. 3. Lalitāṅga. 4. Vajrajaṅgha.

¹ Oriental Manuscripts Library, Descriptive Catalogue, R. No. 869.

² A manuscript copy of this is preserved in the Adyar Library, Madras.

³ Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, pp. XV and 241.

⁴ A main tenet of Jainism is that man's personality is dual, material and spiritual and that the aim of man should be to subjugate by his superior spiritual nature the material nature in him. If matter is brought under control the spirit becomes free and perfect. And it is such a spirit that is called Jina (the conqueror) or Tīrthaṅkara. These free souls are of two kinds, the Siddhas who are again subdivided into Tīrthaṅkara-siddhas or those who preached the *dharma* in their embodied condition, and Sāmānya-siddhas who did not preach or propound the truth, and the Arhats or those that had attained *kevalajñāna* but have not discarded the *kārmava* body or the last vestments of human body. The state of the latter corresponds to that of the *śivomukta* of the Brahmanical philosophy. Besides these there are wages or human souls that differ from other men in that they move in a higher spiritual condition. They are called *munis* or *rādhis*. Three classes of them are to be seen:—(1) *Āchāryas* or heads of groups of saints; (2) *Upādhyāyas* or teaching saints; (3) *Sādhus* or all other ascetics that are endowed with 28 qualities. The above five classes of souls are called *pañcāparamarśhīns* or the five supreme or important ones. To these five the Jainas offer their prayers many times every day in the following manner:—

"*Namo arahanānam, namo siddhānam, namo āchāryānam, namo upādhyāyānam, namo loke sabba-sāhūnam*"

"Salutations to the arhats, to the siddhas, to the āchāryas, to the upādhyāyas, to all the rādhis in the world."

For details on this subject see Indranandi, *Pañcāparamarśhī-pūjā*.

For division of the souls in Jainism see Appendix III, pp. 185-187.

5. A king whose name is not given. 6. Śrīdhara. 7. Suvidhi. 8. Achyutendra. 9. Vajranābhi, and 10. an *Ahamindra-deva* or god. At his eleventh birth he was born as Rishabhadeva and entered the womb of Marudevi, the wife of Nābhi Mahārāja, the fourteenth Manu, in the form of a bull. No sooner was Marudevi delivered of the child than Saudharmendra, the king of the *devas*,¹ followed by his wife, Śachi or Indrāṇī and the gods came to the king's palace to pay their obeisance to the divine child. The gods then placed him on the back of Airāvata, the white elephant of Saudharmendra, and proceeded to the celestial mount, Mahā-Meru, where, in a richly decorated pavilion he sat crosslegged while the gods poured celestial waters over him. Every Tīrthaṅkara, as soon as he is born, is bathed with the celestial waters in this manner, the ceremony being known as *Janmābhisheka*.² The child was then brought back to the city of Ayodhyā, where he was born, and was handed over to Marudevi and Nābhi, to whom the greatness of the child was explained. He was named Rishabhadeva and grew into a youth, when he married two women, Yaśasvatī and Sunandā. The former bore him a daughter named Brāhmī and 100 sons beginning with Bharata, who later on founded the Ikshvāku lineage of kings.³ The latter bore him a son and a daughter. Being requested by his father to put on the crown and rule the three worlds he did so, and ruled in such a way as to deserve the title of "Trailokyanātha" which his father conferred on him at the time of his coronation. While thus ruling he was reminded of his divine mission by the *Laukāntika-devas*.⁴ He then realized that he should no longer be attached to worldly illusion (*samsāra*) and repaired to the forest, where seated under trees he practised for years asceticism and meditation, periodically coming to the cities to partake of food.

Many kings who wanted to imitate him in his austere course and repaired with him to the forests soon returned as they were still worldly and as such were unable to get over hunger and thirst. After years of strenuous penance (*tapascharaṇa*) he became a *Kevalī* or one who had obtained omniscience.⁵ The gods then raised the *samavasaraṇa* or heavenly pavilion,⁶ where the twelve conferences comprising the whole creation met to hear eternal wisdom (*dharma*) from him. When a fortnight remained in his life the *samavasaraṇa* dispersed and he went about preaching truth till the day of deliverance approached when he took to self-contemplation (*śukla-dhyāna*), i.e., when the soul reached every part of the universe and is yet contained within the body, and adopting its last form called *vyuprasta kriyānivṛiti* which signifies total cessation of all organic activities, he passed into *nirvāṇa* in the space of time required to articulate the vowels *a, i, u, r, ḷ*.

¹ See below, p. 231.

² See below, pp. 82-84, 121, 122 and 150.

³ See below, pp. 79, 80, 85, 89 and 92.

⁴ See below, p. 94.

⁵ Right knowledge (*jñāna*) is of five kinds:—1. *Mati* or sensitive knowledge which means knowledge of the self and the non-self by means of the senses and the mind, 2. *Śruta*, scriptural knowledge which is derived from the reading or preaching of scriptures, or through an object known by sensitive knowledge, 3. *Avadhi*, visual knowledge or direct knowledge of matter in various degrees with reference to substance or subject-matter (*dṛavya*), space (*ākāśa*), time (*kāla*), and quality of the object known (*bhāva*), 4. *Manas-paryaya*, mental knowledge which is direct knowledge of another's mental activity about matter, 5. *Kevala*, or perfect knowledge or omniscience which is knowledge of all things in all their aspects and at all times.

⁶ For detailed description see below, pp. 104-115 and 130-132.

and entered the abode of gods who have attained *nirvāṇa* at the top of the universe. It is said that his body disappeared like burnt camphor, only some hairs and nails remaining. The *nirvāṇa* is the fifth *kalyāṇa* or auspicious event in the life of every Tirthaṅkara and the *devas* celebrate it. Indra (Saudharmendra) collected the nails and hairs of the Tirthaṅkara and creating a mock-body of Rishabhadeva cremated it and with its ashes besmeared his body, the *devas* following him.

Painting No. 1 (pl. viii).—This illustrates the first birth of Rishabhadeva, *vis.*, that of Jayavarman. The story relating to the scenes here painted may be summarized as follows:—Jayavarman was the eldest son of King Śrīsheṇa of Indrapurī and his queen Sundarī and had a younger brother Śrīvarman by name, whom his father favoured much, proclaiming him as the heir-apparent. Any other prince thus slighted would have resented this unkindly act—but not so Jayavarman. Far from coveting the throne for himself he was filled with the spirit of renunciation, that spirit of “world-flight (*vairāgya*)” that propelled him to seek refuge at the feet of a saint called Svayamprabha, who duly admitted him into the order of saints and taught him to observe twelve kinds of austerities, both internal and external. Jayavarman was earning much merit by such observances and nearly became a saint himself, when, one day, he heard an uproar in the sky as of people moving about and, looking up saw a Vidyādhara, Mahīdhara¹ by name, crossing the sky with his retinue and with all pomp. Suddenly his love for worldly pleasures and pomp revived and he found himself, in the midst of his penance, envying the position of the Vidyādhara and wishing to become one like him. Thus contemplating he stood near an ant-hill, when out came a cobra and bit him in the leg so that he died of snake-poison.

The details shown in the painting are as follows:—

1-a. ஜம்பு-தீவு-பாரசீக-மன்னி-நாவிஷய மிந்த-ப-ராச-பதி

ஸ்ரீ-சென-மகாராஜ . . . யிவர் . . . |

Jambū-dvīpā-para-Vidēha-Gandhīlā-vishaya-Simhapurādhīpati Śrī-shēṇa-mahārāja . . . yivar. . . |

“Śrīsheṇa-mahārāja, ruler of Simhapura situate in the country of Gandhīlā, in the Western part of Vidēha, a division of Jambū-island (*Jambū-dvīpa*) the continent in which we live² . . . he . . . ”

As indicated by the label King Śrīsheṇa is shown sitting with his wife Sundarī, while an attendant is fanning the party gently in front. The king who has a *kirita* on his head is smelling a flower held in his left hand.

1-b. shows Śrīvarman sitting in court. Evidently he has been proclaimed by his father as the heir-apparent. The label has completely disappeared, but the identification is obvious.

1-c. யிவர் கவிஷய ஸ்ரீ-சென-மன்னி-நாவிஷய மிந்த-ப-ராச-பதி [ஜம்³] கொடுப்பது . . . வை
நாம-தீ-தால் - ஜம்பு-தீ-பாரசீக-மன்னி-நாவிஷய மிந்த-ப-ராச-பதி

¹ See below, pp. 67, 1, n. 1, 178.

² For details of Jaina Cosmology, see Appendix II, pp. 175-179.

Yivar-kamishthanāgiya Śrī-Varmāvinukku piṭa yuvarā(jyam) koḍuppadu . . .
vairāgyattāl-Svayamprabhu-pārśvattil dikshittadu yivaḍam*

"The father making his (Jayavarman's) younger brother Śrīvarman the heir-apparent (*yuvarāja*). Here is he (Jayavarman) disgusted with worldly life, getting initiated (into the life of an ascetic) by Svayamprabhu (Svayamprabha)."

Jayavarman is shown sitting naked on the left before Svayamprabha, also naked, with his hands placed together in *añjali*. He has placed his crown and ornaments by his side. Svayamprabha who is seated on an elevated altar under a tree has his right hand in the *upadeśa* or teaching position and is addressing the supplicating Jayavarman, who is seated also under a tree on an altar lower in level than that of his *guru* Svayamprabha.

I-d. சிலர் ப(ஸ)நரிகலுழிபத்தில் திவாதிப்ப . . . ஶிபத்தில் வயம்புநுயினர்.

*Yivar palba*darika-samipattil nidānippa . . . mipattil sarpa-dashtanāyinar.

"While contemplating near the *badari* tree (*sisyphus jujuba*) . . . he was bitten by a cobra."

Jayavarman is shown naked, standing under a tree, which according to the label is a *badari* tree, near an ant-hill, from out of which the cobra rises with outspread hood.

Painting No. 2 (pl. viii).—This illustrates the next birth of the Tirthaṅkara, *viz.*, the life of the Vidyādhara king Mahābala. Jayavarman died of snake-bite as already related, and was born as the son of a Vidyādhara king, Atibala, the king of Alakāpuri (the city of Kubera according to Hindu mythology) and of his wife Manoharā. He became in course of time the Vidyādhara king and was called Mahābala.¹ He had four ministers who favoured four different creeds. They were Mahāmati, who was a materialist, Sambhinnamati, who held that things were only ideas, and as such unreal, Śatamati who believed in the theory of voidness and Svayambuddha, whose religion was Jainism. Chief among these was Svayambuddha who viewed the king's interests as his own and was therefore much respected and loved by the king. As the king was silent on the question of his faith, Svayambuddha was anxious to ascertain the king's thoughts on the subject and to make him a convert to Jainism, if he were not one already.

Fortunately he had opportunities to meet and converse with two clairvoyant sages (*chārāṇa-parama-rishis*) called Ādityagati and Ariṇjaya, from whom he heard the previous existence of his king and also learnt that after ten births (*bhavas*) he was to be born as the illustrious Rishabhadeva, the first Tirthaṅkara. And in order to enable Svayambuddha inspire confidence in the mind of his king and to claim thereby special attention of the king to his own doctrine in preference to those of his colleagues, the sages narrated to him two dreams that the king had during the night and their significance, commissioning him to explain them to the king when he met him. In the first dream the king found himself

¹ Though the fruit of asceticism usually is birth in the heavens, Jayavarman's subsequent birth as a Vidyādhara was as a direct result of his ambition to become one, when he happened to see the Vidyādhara Mahādhara going in the sky with his retinue and coveted his position.

thrown in deep mud by his other three ministers, from out of which Svayambuddha extricated him. In the second he saw a burning flame (*agnijvāla*) which gradually diminished till it was extinguished. Svayambuddha was overjoyed and the next day did accordingly and explained to the king the significance of the two dreams. The sudden diminishing of the flame of fire, he said, meant that the king would live only for a short period, say for a month more, while the first dream proved in an allegorical manner the superiority of the Jaina faith to all other faiths. On hearing this the king realized that worldly existence and pleasures were transitory and that as his days were numbered, he had to get some spiritual elevation of his soul. Entrusting the kingdom to the care of his son, he repaired with Svayambuddha, who had now become his spiritual counsellor, to a sacred mountainous region where there was a temple for the Jina (*Siddha-kūṭachaitya*),¹ and subjecting himself to eight kinds of austerities² worshipped the Jina (*Jina-pīṭa*) and prepared himself for *sallekhana*³, the end that is sought by all the truly great, till death snatched him away on the appointed day for a better birth and a better world. And in his next birth he was a god called Lalitāṅga.

2-a. கள்ளலம்விட்டு ஜம்பூதிவாபரவிடுதலு மனந்தொலிஷய விஜயாரம்புஷ்டிகொ
தூரஸெய்ணி கங்காபுரநாயகி பிஷாபுருகென்னும் விஜயாராஜரலாமி
ஓ || ௨ ||

*Tat-bhavam vitta Jambū-dvīpa-para-Videha-Gandhila-vishaya-Vijayārtha-parvatāt-
taraśreṇi-Alakāpuraādhipati Mahābala-nannum Vidyādhara-rāja-vāyina* || ௨ ||

"After leaving that *bhava* (that of Jayavarman) he was born as a Vidyādhara king by name Mahābala, who ruled over the city of Alakāpura situated to the north of Mount Vijayārtha, in the territory or country of Gandhilā, in the western part of Videha, a division of Jambū-dvīpa."

Mahābala is shown sitting with his wife by his side and listening to his minister Svayambuddha seated before him on the right. An attendant-woman on the extreme left is gently fanning the party from behind. Svayambuddha has got his right hand raised in an attitude of addressing or teaching, more probably the former. He has a turban on his head of the type that *cheffis* of South India use even to-day on ceremonial occasions like wedding, etc. There are writings, done in black, in the middle of the painting itself behind Svayambuddha, which run as follows:—

ஸ்வயம்புஷ்டி ஸ்ரீசாரண வாரணேஷிகுடத்தில் [8*] நமஸ்கருது இய்யுஷ்டி
சோஸசாகுமென்றதிக்கு உவடுபெரிக்குறது.

Svayambuddhan Śrī-Chaṛaṇa-paramaśtigalidattil [Ma] hābalanukku āyushyaṁ māsa-
matramenṇarindu upadēśikkuradu.*

"Svayambuddha narrating to Mahābala what he had learnt from the Chāraṇa-parama sages, *vis.*, that the king was destined to live for a month more."

¹ See Appendix II, p. 177.

² See below, p. 69.

³ A process of death by slow starvation whereby liberation of the spirit from the body is sought for the sake of merit (*dharma*).

He is accordingly shown in the painting as explaining to the king what he had heard and advising him to strive for spiritual elevation and the like.

2-b. சீதாபாபாது வெவராதுமடைத்து ஸ்வயம்புரேந்திரயோடு விழுகு[4*]
வெவராதுமடைத்து ஸ்வயம்புரேந்திரயோடு விழுகு[4*]

Mahābalaṁ vāraḍḍyam-adaiṇdu Svayambuddha-mantriyoḍu Siddhakū[ta]chaityā-
layattil āṣṭāṇhika yivadam.*

"Mahābala got the spirit of renunciation and went with his minister Svayambuddha to the temple of the Jina situated on the peak called Siddhakūta, where he worshipped the Jina and observed "āṣṭāṇhika-vrata" or eight kinds of austerities."

The eight austerities (*vrata*s) are holy meditation, adoration of the Great Tirthaṅkaras, of the Liberated Ones, of Saints, of Preceptors, and of ordinary ascetics or *Sādhus* (collectively termed *pañcha-parameshthi*), recitation of the great obeisance *mantra*, and the cultivation of the spirit of detachment from the physical body.¹

The temple with the Jina seated in the centre is the *chaitya-ālaya* in *Siddhakūta* and the two men in a worshipping attitude standing on the right of it are the king and his minister. The king wears a crown and his minister a close-fitting cap or turban. Another figure on the extreme right is sitting and is worshipping the Jina likewise. This probably represents the king divested of his kingly attire, who is, therefore, shown here twice, in his later stages, when it is said, he was observing the eight *vrata*s referred to.

Painting No. 3 (pl. viii).—This illustrates two lives, the life of Lalitāṅga and the life of Vajrajaṅgha.

3-a. சீதாபாபாது கல்பகலம் விட்டு ஸாஸாநகரத்து ஓர் தாமரைநீர்த் து விரைவிலே
கல்பகலம் விட்டு ஸாஸாநகரத்து ஓர் தாமரைநீர்த் து விரைவிலே

*Mahābalaṁ tat-bhavam vittu Iśānakalpatu Lalitāṅga-ṇṇuṇi Deva-āyinar ivar strī
Svayamprabhai yivadam.*

"Mahābala left that birth and became in one of the sixteen *kalpas* or heavens called *Iśāna-kalpa** a *deva* called Lalitāṅga. His wife Svayamprabhā is [shown] here."

Both the *deva* and his wife, who wear crowns on their heads, are shown seated and in utter ease as required of them. The *devas* know nothing of labour or sweating for livelihood; fun and frolic with occasional mental troubles like jealousy at the greater brilliance and beauty of another *deva* characterize their lives. Though women are not admitted in the higher heavens like *Sarvārthasiddhi**, etc., they find a place in the lower ones, of which *Iśāna-kalpa* is one. They do not conceive like mortals but form platonic and companionate marriages and spend their time in ease and happiness. Thus Lalitāṅga came to have 4,000 companionate wives; but his favourite was Svayamprabhā who is shown in the painting. The *deva*-body being a compound and consequently not eternal, there was a termination of the *deva*-life of Lalitāṅga who came next to be born as Vajrajaṅgha, the son of a mortal. His wife followed him six months later.

* Cf. C. R. Jain, *Iśānakalpa*, p. 12.

* See Appendix II, p. 183.

* See Appendix II, p. 184.

3-b. Illustrates the life of Vajrajaṅgha.

ஜம்பூத்விப பஞ்சபுரவியேஷ வபுஷ்கலாவதி விஷய உத்தரவெடபுரத்தில் வஜ்ஜ
ஜம்வரீகாநாஜாவாயினார். யிவர்க்கு ஸ்வயம்புரமை ஸ்ரீமதியென்னும் ஸ்ரீயாயி
னாள்.

*Jambū-dvīpa-pūrva-Videha-Pushkalāvati-vishaya-Utpalakhetapurattil Vajrajaṅgha-
mahārāja-vāyinar. Yivarkku Svayaṁprabhai Śrīmati yennum strī-yāyinaḥ.*

"He (Lalitāṅga) was born as Vajrajaṅgha, who became the king of the city of Utpalakhetā-pura, in the country of Pushkalāvati, in the Eastern Videha of Jambū-dvīpa. Svayaṁprabhā (was also reborn and) became his (Vajrajaṅgha's) wife under the name of Śrīmati."

Both the king and his wife Śrīmati are shown sitting on a common seat, the latter behind the former.

3-c. வஜ்ஜஜம்வரீகாநாஜனும் ஸ்ரீமதியும் உரீபரவாரணரிடத்தில் சிந்திப்பொழுகி
வெதாபதி பெருங்கொடை தங்கள் பஞ்சபுரவியைக் கெழுகூறது.

*Vajrajaṅgha-mahārājānum Śrīmatiyum Damavara-chāraṇaridattil mantripurohita-
senāpati-śreshṭhigalodu taṅgaḥ pūrvabhavaṅgaḥ-kelkkuraḍu.*

"King Vajrajaṅgha and his wife Śrīmati hearing from the *chāraṇa* sage, Damavara, their previous existences along with their minister, priest, general and merchant or treasurer."

The story relating to this scene is as follows:—Vajrajaṅgha was invited by his mother-in-law (the mother of Śrīmati) to come to the rescue of her son, Puṇḍarika, into whose weak hands the kingdom was entrusted by his father. He started for the city of his brother-in-law with his wife, accompanied by a big army.

On his way, he met two *chāraṇa* sages called Damavara and Sāgarasena, whom, after worshipping, he requested to narrate his previous births. Damavara stated that in the first birth he was Jayavarman, in the second Mahābala, in the third Lalitāṅga, and in the fourth Vajrajaṅgha. On being asked about Śrīmati's previous births, the sage said that in her first birth she was called Dhanaśrī, in the second Nirṇāmika, in the third Svayaṁprabhā and in the fourth Śrīmati. Similarly the king requested the sage to narrate the previous existences of his minister, preceptor (*purohita*), general, and merchant or banker (*śreshṭhi*) which the sage did accordingly. Meanwhile, while these births were being narrated, four beasts, a tiger, a boar, a monkey and a mongoose were standing very near the party, without fear for men and were also listening to what the sages were narrating. This made the king curious to know about them also and the sages were this time requested to narrate what they knew about those animals and why they were standing so near them fearlessly and listening to them. The sages narrated their previous births also:—

The mongoose was in its previous birth a merchant called Lolupa who was selling food. He was collecting bricks (*ishtakas*) in the hope of finding gold in them, as the first brick he collected contained gold within. He got these bricks from the king's men in

exchange for food. Within a short period he had collected almost all the bricks available, that there was nothing left when the king of the land required bricks for building a temple for the Jina. It so happened that Lolupa had to go to another city to see his daughter. While departing he gave strict instructions to his son to collect more bricks. But the son failed to do so and the father, on returning, kicked him on his head. The king learnt this as also the reason why he was kicked. He sent for Lolupa and inflicted on him torturous punishment (*chitra-daṇḍa*) as a result of which he died, and in his next birth was born as a mongoose.

The tiger was in its previous birth a merchant called Ugrasena who was leading a loose and questionable life. Besides he was in the habit of removing things and provisions from the royal household unauthorized. One day he was caught red-handed and was severely punished by the king. After death, which soon overtook him, he was born as a tiger.

The boar was in its previous birth a vicious youth called Harivāhana. He was leading so bad and cursed a life that all his neighbours avoided his sight. His father remonstrated with him but in vain. One day Harivāhana turned away in fury from his father when he was chastising him for his evil ways and was advising him, and in a mood of frenzy knocked his head against a rock, as a result of which he died, and was born as a boar.

The monkey was in its previous birth a merchant called Nāgadatta who was leading a bad and miserly life. Unable to deceive his mother who wanted to take precious gems (*ratnas*) from his father's shop for his sister on the occasion of her marriage, and unable to prevent her from taking them nor bear the sight of so many gems going away for nothing, he died of great sufferings of heart and was born as a monkey.

The sages concluded that these beasts remembered their past births and were therefore listening to the exposition of Dharma by them, without fear for mortals.

The king and queen went to the kingdom of Pundarikā and after setting things right there returned home. Soon after, both died of suffocation due to smoke penetrating into the room where they slept, and after death were again born in the world.

In the painting the king and queen can be made out sitting with hands folded in worship, listening with devout attention to what two sages on the right are narrating. Though the label speaks of only one *chārana* sage, Damavara, the other sage Sagarasena is also shown sitting behind Damavara and similarly engaged. The animals referred to, viz., boar, monkey, tiger and mongoose are to be seen below the party, the monkey and the tiger below the sages and the boar and the mongoose below the king and queen.

Painting No. 4 (pl. viii).—Illustrates the next and the fifth birth.

.. உத்தரீ மொழி-குழியில் உட்பதிகளாகி உரணவாடுகொண்டத்தில் உரீ-கன்
கெழக்குறது மிவடம் ||

சீரி பன்மீ குங்குபுலி மிக்தனாவு ரீமங்களும் உரதானுமொடி வடணுத்தினுள்
அ(ங்)கெ ழுயு-தரானுர் மிவடம்.

. . . Uttamabhōga-bhūmiyil dāṁpatigaḷāgi chārāṇa-parameshtigaḷidattil dharmmaṁ-keḷkkuraḍu yivadam.]]

Kiri paṇṇi kuraṅgu puli yinda nālu mṛigaṅgaḷum dānānumōda-puṇyattigāl a(n)ge Ārya-rāgiṇār yivadam.

"The king and queen are born in *Uttama-bhoga-bhūmi* and are listening to an exposition of *dharma* from two *chārāṇa* sages. Those beings that were tiger, monkey, boar, and mongoose in their previous births are now *Āryas* as a result of listening while they were beasts to an exposition of *dharma*."

After death *Vajrajaṅgha* and *Śrīmatī* were born as twins in the *bhoga-bhūmi* known as *Uttarakuru*¹. Their names now are not given in the *Śrī Purāṇa*. The term *bhoga-bhūmi* is a compound of *bhoga* (enjoyment) and *bhūmi* (land) and denotes the region where, like in the heavens, the residents have not to labour for their livelihood. The regions where men have to work for their livelihood are called *karma-bhūmis* or work-lands. The *bhoga-bhūmis* come after the heavens, and are far superior to our earth in respect of pleasures that the people can enjoy. Birth in the *bhoga-bhūmi* is in the manner of the flesh in so far as a conception does take place there. But the full development of adolescence is attained within a period of 49 days from the day of birth. But the parents never live to behold the faces of their progeny for they die the same instant that the children are born, the mother dying of a sneeze and the father of a yawn. The children are always born as twins—a male and a female together. When they grow up they become husband and wife. They do not sleep, do not perspire and excrements are not formed in their bodies. Their eyes never wink and are always open. They eat once in three days, the quantity taken being never more than the weight of a plum. The female conceives but once, and that only at the end of her life. The *kalpaka-trees*² satisfy their requirements and consequently the ideas of property or appropriation never arise in these regions. All the three principal causes of crime—woman, land and gold—are wanting there. The residents of the *bhoga-bhūmis* are intelligent and virtuous; they are proficient in the fine arts, singing, dancing and other accomplishments. After death they are reborn in the heavens.

Vajrajaṅgha and his wife who were now born as twins in the *bhoga-bhūmi* grew up in seven weeks' time, became husband and wife and enjoyed long and pleasant life till, after the lapse of a long period, their souls departed from the material *bhoga-bhūmi* bodies and became embodied in the ethereal vestments of the heavenly regions once more.

The four animals too were born in the *bhoga-bhūmi*.

One day they met two *chārāṇa* sages from whom they heard an exposition of the truth (*dharma*) and the best system of thought (*saṁyak-darśana*). The four beasts, tiger, monkey, boar and mongoose which listened to the *chārāṇa* sages in their previous births in company with *Vajrajaṅgha* were born as *Āryas*, the highest among men and

¹ See below, pp. 177-178.

² See below, p. 78.

are shown in the painting on the right as again listening to the *chārāṇa* sages while the twins are also shown as listening to them from the left.

Painting No. 5 (pl. ix).—Illustrates two lives, the life of Śrīdhara and the life of Suvidhi, the sixth and the seventh births.

5-a . . . ன்னும் டெவனாயினார் யிவடம் ||

. . . *ṇṇum Devaṇḍiyār yivadam* ||

"Here . . . became a *Deva* named . . . "

The painting though much obliterated together with its label retains sufficient detail to enable us to distinguish a pair of figures and in the label the word "*Deva*". This word makes it clear that the persons represented in the painting should be Śrīdhara, a *deva* and his wife for, according to the Śrī Purāṇa, the *bhoga-bhumija* was born after death as a *deva* called Śrīdhara.

5-b. ததுவவம் கிட்டு ஜுவனுவீவகூட்டில் வடெநல வதவியய ஸாமனீராகதரத்தில
ஸாமியி யென்னும் ராஜாவாயினார். யிவ, ஸ்ரீ, டெவனாயினார் யிவடம் உ ||

Tat-bhavam vittu Jambū-dvīpa-pūrva-Vidēha-Vatsa-vishaya-Susimā-nagarattil
Suvidhi yēṇṇum rājā-vāyiyār, Yivar stri Maṇḍramai yivadam உ ||

"Leaving that birth (Śrīdhara's) he was born as Suvidhi, king of the city of Susimā in the territory of Vatsā, in the Eastern Videha of Jambū-dvīpa. His (Suvidhi's) wife, Manoramā, is (shown) here."

The king and queen are shown sitting like similar pairs occurring in the other rows.

5-c. யிவர் ஸாமயாரவெனாமுத்தரஸ் ரெகீஸாரிடத்தில் பரிசீலிக்கேட்டு திகழ்க்குறது
யிவடம் உ

Yivar saṁsāra-vairāgyattal muniśvarar-iḍattil dharmmaṁ-kēṭṭu dikshikkuraḍu
yivadam உ.

"Here he (Suvidhi), being disgusted with worldly life, goes to a great sage from whom he learns *dharma* and performs *dikshā*."

According to the Śrī Purāṇa, the king was tired of worldly life, which he learnt was transitory and went to a great sage from whom he heard an exposition of *dharma*. He is shown in the painting twice, first on the left as departing evidently to a forest followed by an attendant and secondly as sitting under a tree with hands placed together in worship in front of a naked sage also sitting under a tree who has got his right hand in a teaching attitude.

Painting No. 6 (pl. ix).—Illustrates the two next lives, the life of Achyutendra, a *deva*, and the life of a monarch (*chakravartī*) called Vajranābhi.

6-a. Illustrates the life of Achyutendra,

. . . டெவனாகவந்தான் . . . னார் யிவடம் உ ||

. . . *ḍu Achyutakalpa* . . . *ṇār yivadam உ ||*

Not only has the painting been almost completely rubbed out but also the label below. But the few letters that remain speak of *Achyuta-kalpa*, one of the 16 heavens, in the light of which we can identify the scene as one showing the Achyutendra, the next birth of Suvidhi.

On the termination of earthly life, Suvidhi's soul appeared in the sixteenth heaven, the *Achyuta-kalpa* referred to; he became the lord (Indra) of this heaven and enjoyed the distinction of being the Achyutendra. He was invested with miraculous powers and enjoyed untold power and pomp. The four *Āryas* or princes who had been the lion, the pig, the monkey and the mongoose respectively in their earlier existences were also born in this heaven, as a result of the various austerities that they had practised and became friends of the Achyutendra, constituting as it were a single family.

In all probability, as in other paintings, the persons that are represented are the Achyutendra and his wife, if he had one¹.

6-b. Illustrates the life of Vajranābhi.

ஜம்பூத்ரிபு வகுத்து விரிந்த லாஷ்டிராவதி விஷய புண்டரிகினி நகரத்தில
வஜ்ரநாபியென்னும் வகுத்துப் பாயினார் || சிவர்க்கு வஜ்ரநாக்கள் எண்மர் உ

*Jambūdvīpa - pūrva - Videha - Pushkalāvati - vishaya-Pundarikini-nagarattil Vajra-
nābhi-yennum chakravartī yāyinār || Yivarkku brātakkal eṇmar. உ*

"He (Achyutendra) became a monarch (*chakravartī*) by name Vajranābhi in the city of Puṇḍarikinī, situated in the country of Pushkalāvati in the Eastern Videha of Jambūdvīpa . . . || He (Vajranābhi) had eight brothers."

Achyutendra died and was born again in the world, this time as a mortal. As a mortal he was the greatest among the mortals, for he became a mighty monarch under the name of Vajranābhi. He was blessed in his brothers who were eight in number. They were respectively called Subāhu, Mahābāhu, Pīṭhan, Mahāpīṭhan, Vijayan, Vaijayantan, Jayantan and Aparājitan. The first four were in one of the previous births Vajrajaṅgha's minister, general, priest and merchant respectively, while the latter four were the lion, pig, monkey and mongoose. In addition to his brothers there was a merchant-friend of his, Dhanadeva² by name, whom he looked upon as a pillar of support for himself. Aided by this merchant-friend of his and by his brothers, the king was ruling over an extensive kingdom and was hailed as a *chakravartī* or universal monarch. After a time all the ten, *i.e.*, the king, his merchant-friend and his eight brothers got disgusted with worldly life and commenced observing penance (*dikshā*) and the austerities prescribed. And Vajranābhi was enabled by his penance to leave embodied existence and enjoy the condition of a class of *devas*, called Ahamindradeva³.

¹ The *Sri Parāṇa* is silent on this.

² His previous births in succession were: 1. Śrīmatt, 2. Deva. 3. Keśava, son of Suvidhi. 4. Pratiṇḍra in the sixteenth heaven.

³ See *below*, pp. 77-78.

In the painting Vajranābhi is sitting between two of his queens, one on either side. Two attendants stand outside, on the right, waiting to minister to his wants. As the life of Vajranābhi was considered important it is done elaborately in the paintings and five more rows (Nos. 7-11) are devoted to it. The next two (Nos. 7 and 8) show the king's eight brothers and his merchant-friend who, as has already been said, helped him to rule the land.

Painting No. 7 (pl. ix).—Shows a procession of men on palanquin and elephants which continues into the next row (No. 8) also.

7-a. . . . செந்தியார் பல்லக்கு மெல் பொறது சிவடம் ||

. . . . Śreṣṭhiyār pallakku mel poṇadu yivadam ||

" Śreṣṭhi (merchant) going in a palanquin."

A palanquin is carried by men, and from the label, we learn that the king's merchant-friend, Dhanadeva-Śreṣṭhi is carried in it. The letters in the label giving the name of the merchant have unfortunately been rubbed.

7-b. அபராஜிதது ஆ(யா)னை மெல் பொறது சிவடம் ||

Aparājitan ā(yā)ṇai mel poṇadu yivadam ||

"Here (is shown) Aparājitan going on an elephant."

The elephant is driven by a mahout, and Aparājita is seated within a howdah on its back.

7-c. வைஜயந்தனும் ஜயந்தனும் ஆ(யா)னை மெல் பொறது சிவடம் ||

Vaijayantanum Jayantanum ā(yā)ṇai mel poṇadu yivadam. ||

"Vaijayantan and Jayantan are here (shown as) going on an elephant."

A mahout is shown seated on the neck of the elephant as in the previous panel (7-b). The brothers, Vaijayanta and Jayanta are within the howdah.

Painting No. 8 (pl. ix).—Here is a continuation of the procession.

8-a. . . . ம் சேதாபாசதமவும் ரதத்தின் மெல் பொறது சிவடம் ||

. . . . m Mahābhuvum radattin mel poṇadu yivadam ||

"[Subāhu and] Mahābāhu [are shown] here going in a chariot".

Two persons are seated in a chariot shaped like a double-pavilion and they are, as indicated by the label, Subāhu and Mahābāhu, two other brothers of the king. The chariot is driven by a charioteer, whose form can be made out in front of the brothers. A flag and parasol can be made out above and in front of the chariot. Apparently they were carried by attendants who are now rubbed out in the painting.

8-b. பிதன ஆ(யா)னை மெல் பொறது ||

Piṭhan ā(yā)ṇai-mel-p-poṇadu ||

"Piṭhan going on elephant."

An elephant is shown here as being driven by the mahout and as carrying a man who is seated within a howdah on its back and who, as indicated by the label, is Piṭhan, another brother of the king.

8-c. சேனாகரீ஠னும் விஜயனும் குதிரைமேல் பொறது யிவடம்.

Mahāpiṭhanum Vijayanum kudirai-mel poradu yivadam.

"Here [are shown] Mahāpiṭhan and Vijayan going on horses."

Two men are shown on horseback, one on a red horse and the other behind him on a black one. They are, as the label proves, the remaining brothers of king Vajranābhi, Mahāpiṭha and Vijaya. Three attendants are accompanying the party in a row, the one in front holding a festoon, the second in the middle holding a half-spread umbrella and the third who comes last of all holding a flag.

Painting No. 9 (pl. x)—

. . . ஸ்ரதாக்கலொடும் டானாடெ(வ) . . . கெழக்க . . .

. . . *Bratakkalodum Dhanade(va)* . . . *kelkka* . . .

" . . . going to hear . . . with brothers and Dhanade(va) . . . "

Being disgusted with worldly life and being painfully aware of the miseries attendant on it, Vajranābhi renounced everything and repaired to sage Vajrasena, accompanied by his eight brothers and his merchant-friend besides 16,000 kings in order to obtain at his hands *dikshā* or consecration after listening to an exposition of *dharma* by the said sage. The Śrī Purāṇa says that the sage was Vajrasena Tirthaṅkara. It is not clear if Vajrasena is really the old father of Vajranābhi himself who renounced kingship, after entrusting the kingdom to Vajranābhi and who took to the life of an ascetic. According to C. R. Jain, Vajrasena Tirthaṅkara was the father of Vajranābhi.¹

The king is sitting in a chariot drawn by horses. His brothers and merchant-friend precede him on horseback while some attendants go in front of him and some others follow him. Some of these attendants hold in their hands lances, the heads of which are done in white.

Painting No. 10 (pl. x)—This painting is rubbed out, especially its lower half, and nothing remains of its label, not even the border lines of the labels, nor even a few letters. Still the scene represented is obvious. It is just a continuation of the procession consisting of Vajranābhi, his brothers and merchant-friend that had started in painting No. 9 for *dikshā*. The members of the procession that formed the front are shown here. Such for instance are, from right to left, horsemen, one of whom blows a trumpet, men on elephant-back, one holding a flag and the other beating a drum, a horseman and two attendants with flag and festoon respectively. Surely the scene is intended to portray the paraphernalia that are always associated with royalty when it is moving.

Painting No. 11 (pl. x)—

11-a. . . சம்ப . . . த்தில் வஜ்ரகாகியவகுலத்தி-ல் டார்க்கெ . . . ஸாக்கலுட
னும் . . . க்க . . . டம் இடுகெத் தைக்கெசண்டு கவலு . . . யிவடம் வ ||

¹ *Rukhshandesa*, p. 44.

... rsa . . . ttīl Vajranābhi-chakravartti dharmmañke . . . jākkaḷaḍaṇum
 . . . kka . . . dum dīkshai-kaikkonḍu tapasu . . . yivaḍam .

"King Vajranābhi, after hearing an exposition of Dharma from . . . with kings
 . . . underwent *dīkshā* or consecration and (adopted) a life of deep austerity-here."

Vajranābhi, who was seen marching with his brothers and merchant-friend and 16,000 kings in painting No. 9 to obtain *dīkshā* at the hands of Vajrasena was admitted into the order by Vajrasena, whose example very much inspired him. His brothers and the merchant-friend and the kings that followed him, all of them, followed his example and entered the order too.

In the painting, on the extreme left, Vajrasena Tirthaṅkara is seen seated cross-legged on a pedestal under a tree. He is engaged in addressing or teaching Vajranābhi, who is similarly seated in front of him, the sacred *dharma*. His right hand is in the *upadeśa* position and his left rests on the lap—a very common pose in meditation. His nakedness is in clear contrast to the dressed figure of Vajranābhi, who is still in kingly attire, the crown being prominent, and has his hands folded in *añjali* or worship. Some other figures that can be made out in the painting as standing behind Vajranābhi and under trees represent some among the party that followed him.

II-b. . . வ . . . வரோசி(தி)ஸ்தாயிவால் ஸரீரம் கிடந்து ஸாவாஸ்தவ முத்தல் . . . 16

. . . வஸ்து-பாதிவிரஜிதில் கமலித-பெவஞ்சினார் சிவடம் வ.

. . . va . . . samādhi(ni)shthayiyal(yināl) sarīram viṭṭu Subāhumudal . . .

du . . . Sarvārddhasiddhiyil Ahamindra-dēvaḷā-yiṅār yivaḍam .

" . . . va . . . by the virtue accruing out of meditation and penance he (Vajranābhi) left the body and along with Subāhu and others reached *Sarvārthasiddhi* where he was born as an *Ahamindra deva*-here."

Vajranābhi performed at the end of his life the greatest of austerities, the *sa'lekhanā*¹ and leaving the body of gross matter reached along with Subāhu and others the region of the super-heavens called *Sarvārthasiddhi* where he was born as an *Ahamindra* god. His brothers and merchant-friend also attained to the same heaven as the result of following Vajranābhi's good example by practising several soul-purifying austerities.

In the painting we can hardly make out anything more than a seated figure which may be taken as probably representing Vajranābhi in his next birth, *viz.*, that of an *Ahamindra*. The term *Ahamindra* which means "I am Indra" indicates that the *Ahamindras* are conscious that they are all Indras (lords) and have no lords over them. They treat one another as absolute equals. Their abode is one of the super-heavens called *Sarvārthasiddhi* which literally means "all desires gratified." Those who are born here can have no further ambitions for they have nearly reached their journey's end and have only one more life to undergo in the region of the earth. They have "no regrets, no needs, nor longings for any kind of sense-produced pleasure," and do not care to go to

¹ *Ratna Kōraṇḍaka*—"Dharmāya tannvimochanam-āluḥ sa'lekhanāny-āryāḥ."—*i.e.*, a process of death by slow starvation whereby liberation of the spirit from the body is sought for the sake of merit.

the other heavens or to the earth as they are ever filled with "the innate delight of the soul." Sexual craving being unknown to them their heaven as also the other super-heavens are free from the presence of women. They all lead very long lives in the enjoyment of peace and the term of their lives is reckoned not in years but in oceans of years (*sāgaras*). Thus they are supposed to live for thirty-three oceans of years without experiencing premature death. They require food once in 33,000 years, the quantity of food taken being much less than in the lower heavens and breathe only after thirty-three fortnights. They are all of handsome appearance, their bodies being endowed with symmetry and resplendence. The size of an *Ahamindra* is only one cubit. These *Ahamindras* are all gifted with unusual wisdom, and mutual love and jealousy, unlike the lower heavens, find no place in *Sarvārthasiddhi*.

Painting No. 12 (pl. x).—Both the painting and its label are so badly obliterated that while nothing remains of the label to elucidate the scene intended a few figures that can be made out on the extreme right of the painting itself warrant only a conjectural interpretation. The standing figures, barring the one on the extreme right, probably represent the brothers and merchant-friend of Vajranābhi who, as has been narrated above, became also "Ahamindras" like Vajranābhi. But as the figure on the extreme right represents a woman I am not sure if the above identification can be correct, for as has already been said the *Ahamindra* heaven is devoid of women. But no other event is recorded either in the Śrī Purāṇa or the Ādi Purāṇa as happening between the last scene narrated in painting No. 11 and the next painting (No. 13). There is little scope for any scene other than the one I have suggested as probably intended here. If this is correct, then the woman can be explained as serving a negative purpose, *i.e.*, she is only intended to show by way of contrast that though she is denied admission into the *Sarvārthasiddhi* heaven the residents of the heaven experience divine joy and bliss, a joy that beats to shame the joy that an ordinary mortal can experience in the company of his lady-love.

Painting No. 13 (pl. x).—*உணவுதராமல் || உடைதராமல் || மதுதராமல் ||*

"*Bhōjanāṅgam : Bhājanāṅgam : Vastrāṅgam :*".

Three trees are found in the painting and they are, as the labels prove, three out of the ten *kalpaka-vrikshas* or "wish-trees" that catered to the needs of humanity till the time of Nābhi Mahārāja, the fourteenth Manu, who became the father of Rishabhadeva. The three trees that are shown are named *bhōjanāṅgam*, "food-giving," *bhājanāṅgam*, "vessel-giving," and *vastrāṅgam*, "cloth-giving." The other trees that are not shown here but the intended presence of which we can infer are, according to the Śrī Purāṇa, *madyāṅgam*, "drink-giving," *turyāṅgam*, "music-tree," *bhūṣaṇāṅgam*, "ornament-giving," *mālyāṅgam*, "flower garland-giving," *dīpāṅgam*, "lamp-giving," *grihāṅgam*, "house-giving" and *jyoti-rāṅgam*, "light-giving."

These trees are appropriately shown here as the story leads on to an account of the fourteen Manus¹ or sages or saviours who arose from time to time and kept on

¹ See below, pp. 223-225.

enlightening the people. The last of these Manus was Nabhi Mahārāja till whose time the *kalpakavyikshas* catered to the needs of mankind. It was given to Nabhi to become the father of the first Tirthāṅkara.

Painting No. 14 (pl. xi).—

• • •	10th Manu.
• • •	11th Manu.
• • •	12th Manu.
• • •	13th Manu.

The foundation of civilization was laid by wise men who arose from time to time. These are the Manus or saviours who are fourteen in number. They are also called *kulakaras*¹.

The left half of the painting is completely obliterated. On the right half we can discern seven Manus sitting in a row on a long platform serving the purpose of a pedestal. They all have their right hands lifted up to the level of the face which suggests that they probably hold in them flowers which they are in the act of drawing near their noses to smell. Such a representation is common in these paintings especially where seated figures otherwise unengaged are shown. Three, out of the seven, have one of their legs hanging down from the seat, while the rest have both legs on the seat, crossed in a typical Indian style. The last three bear the labels "Tenth Manu, Eleventh Manu, Twelfth Manu, Thirteenth Manu," thereby proving that the four figures on the right represent the Manus, Abhichandra, Chandrabha, Marudeva and Prasenajit. The fourteenth Manu, Nabhi,* being the most important among them,† as one destined to become the father of the first Tirthāṅkara, does not find a place here but is separately and more elaborately dealt with in the succeeding paintings.

The obliterated portion of the painting might naturally have been supposed to have contained pictures of the first six Manus; but this space is much less than that occupied by the six later Manus, there being room for only three of them. This must either mean that the other three were left out of the painting altogether, or that some of the standing figures of men in painting No. 12 (pl. x) are intended to represent them. The only objections to this are that the figures in painting No. 12 are all standing in clear contrast to the later seven Manus represented here as sitting, and that one of the former represents a woman as remarked already (p. 78).

Painting No. 15 (pl. xi).—Shows scenes from the life of Nabhi Mahārāja, running from right to left. The life story of this Manu is here painted elaborately not only for the reason that he was the father of Rishabhadeva but also because he is said to have

¹ See Appendix III, pp. 223-225.

* Wilson, *Vishnu Purāṇa*, Vol. II, pp. 100-103—Nabhi, his son Rishabhadeva and Bharata, the latter's son, find a place in the Hindu purāṇic lines, where Nabhi is said to be the son of Agnidra, king of Jambūdvīpa, son of Priya-vrata, king of Antarveda. Also see *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxx, p. 248.

† *Asiatic Researcher*, vol. 9, p. 259.—Nabhi allotted to men the means of subsistence, viz., *asi* (sword), *masi* (letters, lit. ink), *āpīśi* (Agriculture), *māsiya* (commerce), and *painpālana* (attendance on cattle).

established the line of the *Ikshvākus*, who took their name from the fact that he taught men the use of sugarcane, *ikshu* being its Sanskrit name. This is also claimed for his son.¹ Though the painting is much defaced sufficient details still remain to indicate the scenes.

The label below the panel on the extreme right runs as follows :—

ஜம்புதீபம் ஸாரதா க்ஷேத்ரத்து ஃரியா க்ஷந்தத்து திருவயோத்யா நகரத்து அராமணை
(நை)யில் நாபிமஹாராஜனும் மருதே(வெ)வியாரும் யிருக்காது யிவடம் உ.

*Jambū-dvīpa-Bharata-kshetrattu Ārya-khandattu-tiruv-Ayodhyā-nagarattu aramaṇai
(nai)yil Nābhi-mahārājānūm Marute(de)viyārum yirukkuradu yivadam u.*

"Here (are shown) Nābhi-Mahārāja and his wife Marudevī sitting in their palace in the beautiful city of Ayodhyā, in Ārya-khaṇḍa of Bharata-kshetra in Jambū-dvīpa."

In the light of the label it is evident that the two crowned figures shown represent the king on the right, and his wife on the left, facing each other.

The next panel, in the centre, shows Marudevī sleeping on a swing while two of her attendants, one on either side of her, are moving the swing to and fro. The label below runs as follows :—

மருதேவியாள் திருவயோத்யா நகரத்து பதினாறு ஸ்வப்னங்களைக் காணுகாது யிவடம் ||

Marute(de)viyār nidra-samayattu paṭināru svapnaṅgaḷaik-kāṇukuradu yivadam ||.

"Marudevī is here (shown as) having sixteen dreams, while sleeping."

These dreams are drawn up in the next row (No. 16) and will be described under No. 16.

The next panel, the one on the extreme left, shows the king and queen facing each other as while conversing. The label runs as follows :—

. . . மருதேவியாருக்கு . . . நைச் சொல்லுகாது யிவடம் ||

. . . *Marute(de)viyārūku . . . laichchollukuradu yivadam ||.*

"Here (is shown) . . . narrating to Marudevī".

Though the label is obliterated it is easy to find out what the painting above originally showed. According to the Śrī Purāṇa, Marudevī went to her lord immediately after waking up from her sleep and narrated to him in detail all the sixteen dreams she had and the king explained to her their consequences (*phalas*) or significance².

Painting No. 16 (pl. xi).—Marudevī's dreams³ are shown here with their respective labels below, excepting the first four, which together with their labels are completely obliterated. The sixteen things that she saw in her dreams are as follows :—

(1) An elephant, (2) a bull, (3) a lion, (4) the goddess Lakshmi⁴ as being bathed by elephants, one on either side, (5) two flower garlands, (6) the full moon in all its

¹ See below, p. 92.

² See under painting No. 16, pp. 81 and 82.

³ Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, p. 22. — These dreams are to-day often graven round the silver treasures in Jaina temples and Jaina women love to recall them, for it is given to all the mothers of the great Jaina saints to see them.

⁴ Another version is that she saw a ship instead. As the painting has been completely rubbed out here we are unable to make out what was painted.

radiance, (7) morning sun (*Bāla-Sūrya*), (8) fish, (9) two filled pots or vases (*kalaśas*), (10) a lotus pond, (11) the ocean, (12) a lion-throne or *simhāsana*, (13) a vehicle or chariot of the gods on which they fly everywhere, (14) *Nāga-bhavana* or palace of the *Nāgas* or a seat designed like a snake, (15) a heap of precious stones, and (16) flames of fire¹.

The king to whom these dreams were narrated by his queen, said that they all foretold the birth of a very great being who was to become a Tirthaṅkara. He also explained that these dreams had some significances² individually, which are as follows:—

- (1) The elephant signified that the child to be born to them would become great.
- (2) The bull signified that the child would become the lord of the world.
- (3) The lion meant that he would become mighty and strong.
- (4) The goddess Lakshmi signified that the child would be taken to Mount Mandara and be bathed with celestial waters by the gods. This bath, called *Janma-abhisheka*, is considered very sacred and is denied to all except those that are born to become Tirthaṅkaras.
- (5) The flower garlands meant that the child, after becoming a Tirthaṅkara would expound *Dharma* or the Sacred Law to the world.
- (6) The full and radiant moon signified that he would please, just as the moon, one and all.
- (7) The sun meant that he would be resplendant and glorious.
- (8) The fish meant that he would taste all the pleasures of life.
- (9) The two filled pots meant that he would become the lord of all the treasures or *nidhis*.
- (10) The lotus-tank indicated that he would be endowed with good qualities and a beautiful appearance.
- (11) The ocean meant that he would acquire that knowledge which should be essentially acquired by a Tirthaṅkara. This knowledge is referred to in the *Śrī Purāṇa* as *kevala-jñāna* or omniscience and one who acquires it is called *kevali*.
- (12) The lion-throne meant that he would ascend it as the monarch of the whole world.
- (13) The vehicle of the *devas* indicated that he would descend down to the world from heaven and be born.
- (14) *Nāga-bhavana* meant that he would acquire all preliminary knowledge technically called *avadhi-jñāna* or visual knowledge.
- (15) The heap of precious stones meant that he would himself be a heap of all the good qualities, known and unknown to mankind.
- (16) Flames of fire meant that he would burn by his potentiality all the actions (*karma*) that follow the doer.

On the queen adding that the bull, which she saw in her second dream entered her face, the king explained that the Tirthaṅkara had entered her womb that day and that as he chose to enter in the form of a bull (*ṛishabha*), he should be called "*Ṛishabhadeva*."

¹ For a slightly different account of the dreams and their significances see C. R. Jain, *Ṛishabhadeva*, pp. 76-9.

Śaṅkha and retinue to pay his homage to the child and to carry it to the peak of Mount Mahā-Meru to bathe it with celestial waters and make it, thereby, divine. All the *devas* reached the palace and stopped in the court-yard while Śaṅkha following his instructions, went to the room where the child was born. She worshipped the child, and after producing sleep on Marudevī removed it and placed by her side a magic child (mock-child) instead. The child was then handed over to Saudharma-Indra who immediately placed it on the back of his elephant Airāvata and started with his retinue for Mahā-Meru.

In the painting, Śaṅkha is shown twice, first as facing the room, where Marudevī gave birth to the Tirthaṅkara, evidently to take the child from there, and secondly as returning and delivering the child to her husband, who is followed by another *deva* called Īśānendra, the Indra of the second heaven¹ who spreads a white umbrella, an emblem of dignity.

Painting No. 18 (pl. xi)—

உருவெழுது ஸாதினைய வெணாசுவதகினைமெல் எழுத்தருளு(னி)விசூக்கொண்டு . . .
ஷகம் பண்ண சேற . . . ருபெழுதத்தஞ்சுக்குப் பொருது . . .

Devendra Svāmiyai Airāvataṭṭiṇ mel eṇḍaruṇu (i) vittukkondu . . . shakam paṇṇa
Maha . . . maru-parvatattukku-poradu . . .

"Devendra proceeding to Mount Mahā-Meru to perform (*Janmābhi*) sheka (of the child), placing the god on the back of Airāvata."

Saudharma-Indra mounted his vehicle, Airāvata and placing the child on his lap started on a procession towards the sacred mountain, Mahā-Meru, where the child was to be bathed with the celestial waters. This ceremony, which every Tirthaṅkara has to undergo at the time of his birth, is described as *Janma-abhisheka*. He was preceded and followed by other *devas*, chief among them being Sanatkumāra and Māhendraś² who spread *chāmaras* or fly-whisks before the child and Īśānendra who held a white umbrella over him. There were other *devas* also who held flags and festoons and joined in the procession. In the painting, the white elephant carrying Devendra with the child on his lap and Īśānendra holding an umbrella behind is shown on the extreme right while the various other *devas* who formed a procession are marching in front, some walking, some on horseback and some on elephant-back, the last mentioned beating a drum.

Painting No. 19 (pl. xii).—Here the *Janmābhisheka* of the child takes place in the left half (a) after which the party returns to the city of Ayōdhya. A brief description of the ceremony and its preliminary settings must be told here in explanation of the painting, which is unfortunately largely obliterated. Mahā-Meru mountain situated in the centre of Videha,³ which is said to be the pedestal (*Jina-Janmābhisheka-piṭha*) on which the child was to be bathed is flanked by four celestial gardens (*vanas*) called *Bhadraśāla*, *Nandana* (this is the garden known to Hindu mythology as situated in *Svarga*, the world of Indra), *Saumanasa* and *Pāṇḍuka*⁴ and surrounded on all the four directions (east, west, south and north) by niches or temples of the Jina (*Jinabhavanas*). The dimensions of the pedestal are rather exaggerated for the height is said to be 1,000 *yojanas* and the breadth 10,000 *yojanas* and that it was situated very high in the sky, about 99,000 *yojanas* above

¹ See Appendix III, p. 231.

² Pl. xxxvii.

³ *Trilohatāra*, v. 607.

the earth. Devendra and the procession circumambulated this mountain and reached one of the gardens called Pāṇḍuka, in the centre of which was situated a *maṇḍapa*, built of precious stones, over a polished rocky surface shaped like the disc of the moon, the dimensions of which were 100 *yojanas* of length, 50 *yojanas* of breadth and 8 *yojanas* of height. To such a *maṇḍapa*, the child was led and was gently deposited in its centre by Devendra. The child, being a divine one, was able to sit cross-legged like grown-up men, facing east. To face east when a ceremony is performed is considered not only as auspicious but as the correct procedure.

When the child was thus seated, two of the principal *devas*, Saudharmendra (the Devendra of Hindu mythology) and Īśānendra performed the *Janmābhisheka* of the Tirthaṅkara by emptying over him celestial waters collected in pots (*kumbhas*) from the milk ocean, each standing on either side of the child, while the other *devas* witnessed the event with reverence and deep interest. After the ceremony was over and the child was sufficiently wet, Śacī, the wife of Saudharmendra took the child in a motherly way and rubbed away all the water-particles from its body and lovingly decorated him with flowers and ornaments. Once again Saudharmendra lifted the child and placing it on his lap, himself sitting on the back of Airāvata, returned to Ayōdhya, in the same processional manner in which he proceeded to the mountain, preceded and followed by the other *devas*, holding flags, festoons and umbrellas and other insignia appropriate to the occasion.

19-a. . . . யின்மெவெ எழுந்தது(ரு)ளினித்து வெணயுவெசே-புராதெயுர்கள்
. . . . சேவரிஷேகம்பண்ணுகுறது சிவடம் உ||

. . . . *Yinmēḷe eṇḍaru (ru) ḷi vittu Saudharmma-Īśānendrargal* . . .
mābhishekam paṇṇukuraḍu yivadam ||

"Saudharmendra and Īśānendra are here performing *Janmābhisheka* seating him on"

In the painting four high towers or *gopuras* are shown, one above the other. Probably they are situated on the mountain Mahā-Meru, at equal heights. To the right of the topmost tower can be seen, though faintly, Rishabhadeva sitting cross-legged, being bathed by two gods, one on either side of him. Four other gods stand to the right with pitchers in their hands.

In what looks like a chamber below, with a canopy over it can be seen a big vessel placed on the ground and a *vimāna* by its side. Two *devas* stand on the right of the vessel, one of them appearing to stoop over it. Probably they are taking celestial waters from the big vessel in which they are evidently stored for bathing the child.

19-b. ஐதூவரிஷேகாகுறது ஸ்ரூதியை கெவெயுது செராவதகீன்மென் வைத்துக்
கொண்டு கெவர்க்கெனாடுங்கூட மெயாவிஜயாகூக்குப் பொறது சிவடம் உ

*Janmābhishekānantaram Svāmīyai Devendran Airāvatattiṇ mel vaittukkoṇḍu Devark-
kaḷoḍunkūḍa Ayōdhyāpurattukku-poradu yivadam உ*

"Devendra is here shown returning to the city of Ayōdhyā after the *Janmābhisheka* was over placing the Svāmi (Rishabhadeva) on the back of Airāvata, followed by the other *devas*."

In the painting the child is shown seated in a howdah on the back of the elephant with Devendra behind him. It is crowned and ornamented and smells a flower held in its left hand. Īśānendra is seated further behind and is holding an umbrella over the child. The mahout who is sitting on the neck of the elephant in front of the child is carrying a goad in his left hand while a flag rests on his right shoulder. Three other *devas* are walking in front with flags in their hands.

Painting No. 20 (pl. xii).—All along Marudevi and the people at Ayōdhyā were in a state of drowsiness from which they were enabled to recover on Śachī removing the sleep she had wrought, when the procession had entered Ayōdhyā. Śachī explained to Marudevi what had happened. Saudharmendra placed the child on a throne and danced with joy, after which he undertook the *nāma-karaṇa* or naming the child. All the people agreeing, the child was named Rishabhadeva¹. The work of the *devas* being over for the time being they all took leave of the child and Nābhi Mahārāja and departed to their various worlds.

The painting runs from right to left and shows the procession returning to the city. On the extreme left we find a pavilion in which is seated Rishabhadeva who is worshipped by some *devas* near by, while Saudharmendra with his hands placed together in worship and knees bent is dancing with joy. The label below is completely defaced only the letter *ॐ* (*ne*) remaining.

Painting No. 21 (pl. xii).—Rishabhadeva gradually grew into a handsome youth and was the *yuvārāja* or the heir-apparent to succeed to the throne after his father. His father greatly desired that his son should marry and become the father of illustrious sons who would continue the *Ikshvaku* lineage of which he was the founder. The son was for a long time averse to marriage as he knew what worldly life meant. But owing to the repeated persuasions of his father who requested him to marry to teach to the world what the life and duties of a *grihastha* or householder were and how life would be and what it meant to one who would, in course of time, detach himself from such a worldly existence (*nivṛtti-dharma*), he married two women, Yaśasvatī and Sunandā. The former bore him hundred sons beginning with Bharata, who was the foremost *Kshatriya* in the dynasty of *Ikshvaku* and a daughter named Brāhmī. To the latter were born a son, Bāhubali², and a daughter named Sundarī³.

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II, p. 135.—It may be noticed that Rishabhadeva and his father Nābhi and son Bharata occur in the Hindu Purāṇic lists, where Nābhi, who is reckoned as the fourteenth Manu by the Jains, is mentioned as the son of Agnidra, King of Jambūdvīpa, who in turn was the son of Priyavrata, king of Antarveda. The kings of various other nations also derived their descent from him. See Wilson, *Vishnu Purāṇa*, pp. 162, 163 and 164 ff.

² See pl. xxvi, fig. 1; a colossal statue of him on the top of the Vindhya-giri hill at Stavapa-Belgoja is even now worshipped by the Jains under the name of Gommatesvara.

³ For details about the progeny of Rishabhadeva and his previous *dharmas*, etc., see C. R. Jain, *Rishabhadeva*, pp. 90-94.

Rishabhadeva taught his sons and daughters the various arts or *kalās* and sciences or *śāstras*. His father, Nābhi Mahārāja, desirous of seeing him rule the kingdom crowned him, hailing him as "the monarch of the three worlds" or Trailokyanātha and as the first king of the *Ikshvaku* dynasty or *kula*. As he was hailed Trailokyanātha on this occasion this name got perpetuated and the Tirthānkara came to be called so.

And Rishabhadeva proved a model monarch and was ruling the land righteously and skilfully by dividing the kingdom into five convenient parts for purposes of administration and establishing governors or representatives over them.

One day, while he was in the midst of his court, witnessing a dance performed by one of the dancing girls called Nīlāñjanā, he saw her drop down dead and immediately disappear. The king understood that the time for her to die had come and that death awaited everyone that was born. This made him melancholy and contemplative and he began to dissociate himself from those bonds that tied him to the world and to the so-called pleasures that the world was believed to have in store. In a short time he was disgusted with life and was only abiding his time awaiting the divine call, for he believed, as every other Tirthānkara or for the matter of that every prophet or founder of faiths believed, that he had a mission to perform.

21-a. . . . ஸ்ரீபதியை கருணம் பண்ணிக்கொள்ளச் செல்லி தாழிசையாநாஜது
கெழ்தருது சிவடம். உ ||

. . . Svāmīyai kalyāṇam paṇṇik-kollachchollī Nābhi-mahārājan kēḷkuradu
yivadam. உ ||

"Nābhi Mahārāja is here requesting the Svāmi (Rishabhadeva) to marry . . ."

The scene is obvious. The prince is standing in front of his father Nābhi who is seated in a pavilion and is addressing his son on the lines indicated by the label; the prince is requested to marry to show to the world *grihastha-dharma* or the life of a householder. The prince was sent for by his father who, though he knew his son's real thoughts and inclinations concerning life, and also his mission, put very cautiously before him the proposal for marriage thus:—

"O Lord, thou really art the Father of the three worlds, for Thou art the Preceptor of all living beings. I am thy father merely like an accompanying cause. Be pleased to recognize the need for the establishment of the marriage sacrament, so that humanity may not misdirect themselves in that regard, and come to grief, through sheer inability to follow the example of great Celibates." And Rishabhadeva assented by silence, accompanied by a smile and the monosyllabic "om." The two persons on the left of Nābhi, other than the attendant who is gently fanning the king, are princes of a rank lower than that of Rishabhadeva, friends of the heir-apparent who are overjoyed on hearing the marriage talk between the father and the son and the subsequent assent of the prince to the proposal. They are visibly demonstrating their joy at the news, one of them actually plunging himself into a dance while the other is preparing himself by stretching his hands and so forth to follow suit. It is said that the prince had some play-mates, who were none other than some *devas* who were born in the world to keep him company and to delight him in all ways. So assuredly these two are his friends, though.

in the painting they are shown as holding in their hands festoons or banners which they need not hold. But their presence can however be justified, for it is said that though they were the prince's playmates they could not help being his attendants also, feeling as such their inferiority in his presence. So there is nothing strange in their being associated with banners or festoons which are but marks to show respect to the hero. The ornamental knots on their heads reminding us of similar designs called *konḍai* found on the head of child Kṛishṇa (*cf.* paintings Nos. 69-72) mark these figures out as the friends of the heir-apparent rather than as ordinary attendants or courtiers of the king.

21-b. வெள்ள விடியாநாரசரக்காளுட அழைத்து . . .
 *reñ* *Vidyādhara-rajakkaluḍa* *alaittu*
 " *rep* taking or inviting with Vidyādhara kings "

The story shown in the above scene is as follows—After obtaining the assent of the prince for marriage king Nābhi set about hunting for a suitable wife for his son and in his quest he was aided by Saudharmendra. Their combined efforts were crowned with success and their choice fell on two accomplished and lovely girls, Yaśasvati and Sunandā by name, the sisters (but according to another version the daughters) of two brothers who were ruling the Vidyādhara kingdom called Kachchha and Mahākachchha. The brothers who were apprised of the intention of Nābhi readily agreed and the marriage was arranged. The ladies came to Ayodhyā, the capital of Nābhi, being escorted by their valourous brothers and were given to Rishabhadeva in marriage.

In the painting the prince is marching ahead followed by the two brides while an attendant *deva* holding an umbrella goes in front of the prince. The prince who is dressed and decorated much in the same way as in fig. *a* betrays himself as the bridegroom (a bridegroom of the Indian type) by displaying a certain amount of shyness and feigned unconcern by looking away from his brides. All the three, *i.e.*, the prince and the brides carry in their right hands the auspicious flower, the lotus. That in the hand of the prince is a big one while those in the hands of the brides are small. The attitude of the prince may also be explained as indicating the disinterestedness of the prince who consented to marry to oblige more his father than to derive any pleasure out of it. He is shown here as receiving his brides and escorting them to the marriage *pandal* or *maṇḍapa* (*kalyāṇa-maṇḍapa*) where the marriage ceremonies had to be undergone before they could be declared to be husband and wives. This custom of the bridegroom escorting the bride is common in India especially among the South Indian Brahmans¹.

¹ In fact among the Brahmans there appears to be no end to these escortings which, however, take sometimes the form of processions in which the bride's and the bridegroom's parties mingle; and it is a matter of deep interest to note that the attitude of the bridegroom in these processions, seated or standing as he ought to be with his bride by his side, will be invariably one of extreme delicacy, shyness and consequent feigned indifference towards the bride by his side, the feigned nature of which is more than ever betrayed by the stiffness of the bridegroom's pose in keeping his person and particularly his face away from the bride by his side. His relatives and friends whom particularly he wants to assure by his feigned unconcern that he is not in the least overjoyed or elated at the prospect of the pleasures of wedlock are not deceived but see through him and to his utter discomfort cut jokes at his expense within of course the hearing of the bride, the last person in the world that the bridegroom would wish should hear them.

Though the label contains the term "Vidyādhara Rāja" which would mean that the prince is taking the brides to the marriage hall accompanied by the Vidyādhara kings, who happen to be in this case the brides' brothers, Kachchha and Mahā-Kachchha, the fact that no other figures than those of the prince, the brides and the attendant with the umbrella in front of the party are to be found in the painting goes to prove that the Vidyādhara kings were not drawn at all, there being no room for them in the painting.

Painting No. 22 (pl. xii).—Both the painting and its label are badly damaged more particularly the label, of which nothing remains. Still the scene is obvious. The marriage ceremonies are carried on here in Brahmanical style, for during Brahmanical ceremonies the fire is lit and offerings like ghee (*ajya*), flour and rice (*puroḍāṣa* and *lāṣa*) are poured into the flames. The idea underlying these offerings is that Agni, the fire-god, being the agent of the *devas* carries to the respective *devas* the offerings of their devotees¹. The *yajamāna* or person who has the ceremony performed either by himself or by a priest on his behalf, must always be present and is supposed to direct it himself. If his wife is to share in the merit she must be present also.

In the painting the prince and his brides (badly damaged) are seated on the right on a raised platform and under a *pandal*, two supports of which (ordinary sticks) can be seen. The fire is lit and is placed on a raised seat placed between the sticks that support the *pandal* which probably is intended for the *hōmakunda* or homa-pot, in which fire should be kept before the ceremony is begun. Two priests can be seen on the left of the fire, one of them sitting very near the fire and pouring into it the offering (probably ghee) collected in a ladle, and the other sitting behind him and probably assisting him by chanting the necessary *mantras*, as is indicated by his pose with the right hand raised up to the level of the mouth with the tips of its thumb and the first finger joined so as to form a ring—a pose of the hands that is frequently adopted by chanters of *mantras* to indicate the different grades of sound technically called *svaras*. Three other figures are seated behind the priests and come next to the priests in importance, being the allying parties (*sambandhins*) that were chiefly responsible for bringing about the marriage. The first two in this trio, sitting immediately behind the second priest, are the Vidyādhara kings, the brothers of the brides representing the brides' party, while the third who is seated behind the couple must be Nabhi Mahārāja, the father of the prince representing the bridegroom's party. They are all in kingly dress, the crowns on their heads marking them out as the persons we have suggested above. While Nabhi Mahārāja has got his right hand raised as if he was speaking, the Vidyādhara kings who are alike are sitting close together and have their hands in their laps. All are intently watching the

¹ Thus we can see in ceremonies priests who enjoy the confidence of the *yajamānas* doing *homa* or the ceremony involving the consigning to the flames of ghee, flour, etc., to the accompaniment of chants. In such cases the *yajamānas* for whom the priests officiate should be present accompanied by their wives if the merit said to accrue from the performance of the particular ceremonies is to be shared by the performers with their wives, and without their wives if the merit is to go to the *yajamānas* alone. The rituals forming part of the ceremonies demand the performers' presence, as their agent, the priest, has to take instructions from the *yajamānas* before he should proceed further.

ceremony. The space in the panel on the extreme left which shows nothing now presumably contained other members of the party that had come to attend the marriage.

Painting No. 23 (pl. xiii).— . . . இது . . . கிமுது யிவடம்.

. . . laka . . . kiyaḍu yivadam.

" . . . laka . . . being here."

As the painting and its label are badly damaged, the few letters of the label that still remain being unintelligible, it is only possible to give a conjectural interpretation. In all probability the scene intended is one of the marriage festivities that followed the religious ceremony described under No. 22 (pl. xii). As is always the case with marriages in South India the prince's marriage was followed by entertainments and musical performances in which nautches played a great part. On the right a nautch is proceeding, the dancing girl dancing in front with her hands lifted above her head and legs bent, suggesting that she is swaying her legs to the accompaniment of music and the beating of time. A party of three men form the rest of the nautch and do the singing and drumming part of the work. The foremost among the three seems to be singing, the next beating time and the third (the one on the extreme right) beating the drum with both his hands. The drum hangs from his neck and can be discerned in front of his waist. This is a typical nautch with which most South Indians are familiar. The party that is entertained can be found on the left of the painting. This part has suffered particularly badly, but what remains of it shows two seated figures each fanned by an attendant. These figures probably represent Nābhi and his son or the Vidyādhara kings for whose delight the nautch would have been arranged by the bridegroom's party, as this marriage took place in the city of the bridegroom.

Painting No. 24 (pl. xiii).— . . . நாடுவோயால் . . . க்குப்பொருதுயிவடம்.

. . . nāḍuvōyāl . . . kkuṭṭoporu yivadam.

" . . . by order . . . going to-here."

The label is not helpful in explaining the scene. But in the light of the account of events found in the Śrī Purāṇa it becomes clear.

As the *kalpa* trees had by now disappeared and spontaneous growth was not yielding sufficient food for the people whose number was nevertheless increasing, people did not know what they should do for their livelihood. They therefore went in a body to Rishabhadeva and falling at his feet requested him to find a way for them out of the impasse. Rishabhadeva was moved by deep sympathy for them and was planning in his own mind how best he could serve them. Just then Saudharmendra, the lord of the *devas*, divining his thoughts entered and announced himself as ready to carry out the plans of Rishabhadeva for the benefit of mankind. Rishabhadeva taught the people first agriculture, particularly the cultivation of sugarcane (*ikshu*) and other crops and then various crafts and arts. He then laid the foundations of civic life, housing the people in suitable houses, palaces and the like, and taught them also how to co-operate with one another for mutual benefit. He then divided the country into provinces, the provinces into various districts and the districts into towns and villages and appointed kings and

chieftains to govern these provinces and regulate civic life so that they could become general and permanent factors of government. Among the occupations and crafts that he taught men mention may be made of letters, warfare, cultivation, trade, carpentry, goldsmith's work, music, dancing and painting. He then did what is called *varnāśrama-vyavasthā* or the classification of people into castes or classes. There were three castes that were founded by him which are:—

- (1) *Kshatriyas*, who were the warriors,
- (2) *Vaiśyas*, who were the traders, and
- (3) *Śūdras*, who earned their living by manual labour or handicraft, and by service under the *Kshatriyas* and the *Vaiśyas*. These were at first called *jaghunyaja* (small), later *avara* (lowest or last), and finally *śūdras*. Later on those that had wrestling as their profession were also counted as *Śūdras*.

There were no Brahmins then and the classification of the Brahman caste as such takes place later on during the time of Bharata, the illustrious son of Rishabhadeva. Thus it will be seen that the above classification was on the basis of occupation and not on blood, all enjoying the liberty to pursue literature and education if they liked.

With regard to the origin of the Brahman caste which is assigned to the time of Bharata, the Jainas have an interesting story. Bharata one day invited the male residents of Ayodhya to see him in his palace. He had so arranged that a small path alone was left for them to pass along, unless they chose to go over extensive and neatly trimmed grass meadows, that were found on either side of the narrow pathway. The idea was to single out those who were very tender-hearted and who would prefer walking in the small path rather than in the extensive grass meadows lest they should injure the souls that abode in the blades of grass. Those that did not tread on the grass he called *Brahmanas* because of their knowledge of *Brahman*, i.e., the divinity of life. This action of his was condemned by his father and the *Brahmana* class found no place in the Jaina caste system till the time of the Ādi Purāṇa¹, the author of which Jināsena² lays emphasis on this distinction "to placate the Brahmanical hatred and win them over to protect the Jainas against bitter persecution at the hands of their co-religionists (Hindus)."

In all his work Rishabhadeva was assisted by the lord of the *devas* who is usually referred to in the Jaina Purāṇas as Indra and sometimes as Saudharmendra. In all the cases where he is referred to as merely Indra we should understand that the person referred to is the Indra of the first heaven (*kalpa*) who derives his name from the heaven of which he is a resident and the lord; the name of the first *kalpa* being Saudharma he comes to be called Saudharmendra³. It should also be borne in mind that Śacī, the wife of Indra or Śakra in Hindu mythology, who plays a great part in the *janmābhisheka* ceremony of the Tirthankaras (pp. 83-84) and who is an associate of Saudharmendra in all his activities is Saudharmendra's wife⁴. Saudharmendra is also referred to in many

¹ Ādi Purāṇa is part of the Jaina Mahā-Purāṇa. Commenced by Jināsena in the latter half of the eighth century A.D., it was completed by his disciple Guṇabhadra in about 897 A.D. See *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, part II, p. 407.

² For details see *Appendix III*, p. 231.

places in the Jaina Purāṇas as Devendra or the Indra who is the lord of the *devas*. Thus wherever either the term Indra or Devendra is used Saudharmendra, the lord of the first *kalpa* known as Saudharma is meant.

In the painting we can discern seven men standing turning to the left where evidently Rishabhadeva was shown seated. Though the left half of the painting is obliterated we can infer the presence of Rishabhadeva by the attitude and the dress of the seven persons that are standing in front of him. That they are common-folk is clear from their ordinary attire consisting of an under-garment, an upper cloth (*angavastra*) which covers their breasts and a turban of the type that we find most *cheffis* of South India using to-day. Six of them are in an attitude of worship or supplication with their hands folded in the *añjali* pose against their breasts, while the seventh, the last in the row standing on the extreme right of the group, though similarly dressed and in a similar attitude looks away from the left, the direction in which the other six are looking. The action and the attitude of the first six and the seventh are significant. While the first six indicate by their attitude that the party had come to request the prince to show them a way by which they could find means for their livelihood, the *kalpa*-trees having disappeared and spontaneous growth not yielding sufficient food for the people whose number was increasing, the seventh who has also come on a similar mission but has got his face turned away from the prince on whom the attention of the other six is rivetted is looking at the figure of a crowned person, who is no other than Saudharmendra, who, as has already been narrated, announces himself before the prince, when he was so engaged, as one ready to carry out the projects of the prince. The figure of Saudharmendra can be made out on the extreme right of the painting as that of a tall person with a conical crown on his head, the usual *kirita*, with his right hand in a pose indicating *vismaya* or wonder or gratification and with his left hand hanging loose by his side. The hand which is in the *vismaya* pose may also be taken to be in an attitude indicating that he is singing the praises of Rishabhadeva as he is entering the assembly hall in Ayodhyā where the prince was then seated. The attitude of the seventh in the group suggests that he had caught sight of Saudharmendra who was just then entering the apartment but had not yet been seen by those who were nearer to Rishabhadeva.

Painting No. 25 (pl. xiii)—

25-a. . . . கிரீடம் சூட்டிவருதல் யிவடம் உ

. . . . *Kirīṭam sūṭṭukuraḍu yivaḍam u*

“ . . . here (is shown) the placing of the crown [on the head of Rishabhadeva].”

As nothing remains in the painting of the scene that the label indicates we can do no more than give a brief description of the coronation of Rishabhadeva as found in the Śrī Purāṇa.

As a result of the reforms that the prince had introduced which were zealously and skilfully carried out by Saudharmendra the people were happy and prosperity reigned everywhere in the land and all the people were grateful to him and never wearied of singing his praises. Some time after this, Saudharmendra came to Ayodhyā with his *devas*

and his wife Śachi and made the necessary preparations for the coronation of Rishabhadeva as the king of the land in succession to Nābhi Mahārāja, who was himself very anxious that his illustrious son should take up the reins of government so that the land could have a better lord and so that he could rest and pursue a life of austerities that would lead him on to spiritual uplift. The event was made the occasion of great celebrations in which the *devas* under the leadership of Saudharmendra participated. After doing the *abhisheka* ceremony, i.e., pouring celestial waters on the head of the prince, in which all the *devas* took part, beginning with Saudharmendra, Saudharmendra requested Nābhi and several other kings of this world to do likewise, after which Nābhi was required to perform the actual coronation ceremony which consisted of placing the crown that he had himself worn for a long time on the head of his worthy son. This Nābhi gladly did, naming his son "the Lord of the three worlds," a cry, which the *devas* took up and kept up for such a long time that the vibrations of their cries still lingered in their heavens when they reached them after the coronation of the prince was over. After enjoying dancing and other festivities at Ayodhyā the *devas* departed for their respective worlds.

25-b. ஹிவாஜு கருவம்சம் முதலாகிய வம்ச திரட்டம் பண்ணுகிறது யிவடம்||

Bhagavān Kuruvamśam mudalāgiya vaṁśanirṇayam paṇṇiṅguraḍu yivadam||

"Bhagavān (the Lord) is here (shown) doing the classification of families like *kuruvamśa*, etc."

கருவம்சாதிபதி கருராஜு யிவ(டம்)||

Kuruvamśādhipatī Kuru rājan yiv(ḍam)||

"King Kuru, the lord of the family of the Kurus."

Rishabhadeva sent for four great *Kshatriya* warriors, namely, Somaprabha, Hari, Akampana and Kaśyapa and appointed them to rule over a thousand chieftains each. He gave Somaprabha the new name Kuru and called him the first member or the founder of the Kuruvamśa; then he called Hari, gave him the name Harikānta and made him the first member of the Harivamśa; then he called Akampana and changing his name into that of Śrīdhara made him the first member of another family which he called the Nāthavamśa. The last to be called was Kaśyapa who was named Maghavā and was hailed as the starter of the Ugravamśa. These kings were then sent to their respective provinces. Thus in Rishabhadeva's time there were five *vaṁśas*, the above four, and the *Ikshvāku* family of which Rishabhadeva was the founder,¹ all created by Rishabhadeva himself. It is said of the *Ikshvāku vaṁśa* that it arose in this way; the first thing that Rishabhadeva taught his men on the disappearance of the *kalpa* trees was the use of the sugarcane juice (*ikshurasa*) which earned for him the title of "Ikshvaku." Subsequently this term came to be applied to his family. The *Sūrya* and *Chandra vaṁśas* arose out of the *Ikshvāku vaṁśa* somewhat later, being founded by two of the grandsons

¹ According to other authorities Nābhi Mahārāja is the founder of the *Ikshvāku* family.

of Rishabhadeva, the former by Bharata's son Arka Kirti, and the latter by Bāhubali's son, Soma Kirti, also called Mahābala.¹ While Kuru and the other three were *mahārājas* there were also several *adhirājas* created who were smaller chieftains. They were allowed to rule over 500 feudatory chiefs each and were placed under the above *mahārājas*. The first *adhirājas* to be appointed by Rishabhadeva were Kachchha, Mahākachchha and other *kshatriya* princes.

On the left we can make out the figure of Rishabhadeva seated on a throne. He is evidently determining the classification of *vaṃśas* as indicated by the label. The figures of four kings (their dress and the *kirita* on their heads mark them out as such) standing on the right of Rishabhadeva represent the four starters of the families, Kuru, Hari, Natha, and Ugra respectively. The first in this group of four is King Kuru, the lord of the Kuruvamśa, as borne out by the label below. The labels of the other three are much obliterated; so also the last king, the one standing on the extreme right of the painting. Their attitude with their hands folded against their breasts in *añjali* or worship is indicative of their submission to Rishabhadeva both as their leige-lord and as their benefactor. They are ready to take charge of their respective provinces after receiving the necessary instructions from him. The *añjali* pose is also indicative of their extreme reverence for him, which was shared by one and all of his subjects, not to speak of the beings in the heavens, the *devas*.

Painting No. 26 (pl. xiii)—

. . . (K)  . . .
 . . . [Nī]lāñjanai . . .
 " . . . Nīlāñjanai . . . "

When a great part of the life of Rishabhadeva was spent, one day he was witnessing a dance in his court, sitting on his throne, among his sons beginning with Bharata, and among various kings like Kuru and others. This dance, it is said, was arranged by Indra of the first heaven, *i.e.*, Saudharmendra who had brought for the dance Nīlāñjanā,² a celebrated dancing girl of his world whose clock of life had only a few minutes left to run. At a signal from Indra she danced before the Lord and entertained the audience with her celestial dance. She probably knew the reason why she of all others had been asked to dance at that particular moment, and "she danced as she had never danced before. The presence of the World-Teacher in the closing moments of life filled her with courage and contentment and joy; she knew that her end was quite safe, and cared for nothing else." All at once, while in the midst of her swift and serpentlike movements, she staggered, reeled back, and stopped, and in the next instant she dropped down dead. The last spark of life had left her frame. This incident reminded all assembled, more particularly the king, that life was not stable and everything was subject to decay. The spirit of *vaivāgya* or detachment or world-flight filled the mind of the

¹ Cf. C. R. Jain, *Rishabhadeva*, p. 106.

² Nemichandra, *Trilokaśūra* (*Vaimānika-adhikāra*), *gāthā* 496.

king. He made up his mind there and then to say good-bye to the world and to the good things of the world and set his face towards the work ahead—the grand object of becoming a World-Teacher.

In the painting we can make out Nīlāñjana, who is dancing in the centre between two other nymphs who keep her company, while those producing the accompaniment to the dance consisting of the musician, the drummer, etc., are on the right. Only one of them can be made out, a singer as is evident from his raised hand. The party that was being entertained including the king must have occupied the left of the painting which is now obliterated. But the top of a *vimāna* or pavilion in which the king was evidently seated can be made out.

Painting No. 27 (pl. xiv).—The Jains believe that there are *devas* of a special kind called the *Laukāntikas* or *Lokāntikas* who do menial service for the other higher gods.¹

When they came to know that Rishabhadeva was beginning to get tired of life, the eight chief classes of these *devas* felt that the time had come for them to discharge their work and so went to him and requested him to save the world which was groping in unreality by pouring on it nectar-like *Dharma* or the spiritual law. Rishabhadeva too felt that the time for such work had come and hastened to place the administration of the kingdom in safe hands so that he could start observing the necessary austerities. After crowning Bharata as king and Bāhubali as the *yuvārāja* and after dividing among his other sons a number of territories, he felt that he had no more worldly mission to discharge. From that time onwards he detached himself thoroughly from the world and repaired to a forest called "Siddhārtha-vana" where he hoped to seek *dīkshā*.

27-a. அரிஷ்டன் | அய்யாபாத்தன் | துஷிதன் | மத்தகொய்யன் | அருணன் | வஹி | ஆதித்யன் | சாரஸ்வதன்
வாராஹத்தன் முதலாகிய லோகாந்திகர் எண்மரும் வரவாணனு யிடு திக்ஷா
காடுமென்று சொல்லுகிறது சிவடம் உ.

Arishṭan | Ayyābādhan | Tushitan | Gardatōyan | Aruṇan | Vanhi | Ādityan | Sārasvatan
mudalāgiya Laukāntikar eṇmarum Bhagavāṇukku yidu Dikshākalam-eṇu
sollukunradu yivadam உ.

"Arishṭan, Ayyābādhan, Tushitan, Gardatōyan, Aruṇan, Vanhi, Ādityan, Sārasvatan—these eight *Laukāntika-devas* are here telling him (the *Svāmī*) that it was time for *dīkshā*".

¹ Umāsvāmi Āchārya, *Tattvārthasūtra-Sūtra*, ch. IV, sūtras 24-25 :

(1) *Brahmalokālaye Laukāntikāḥ*, (2) *Sārasvatīdītya-vahnīyurum-gardatoya-tushitā-ayyābādha-rishṭakāḥ*.

The *Laukāntikas* are heavenly beings that live in the highest parts of the fifth heaven, called *Brahmaloka*. They are so called because their connection with the world (*loka*) has come to an end. In their next birth they will be born as human beings and attain liberation. They are of eight chief classes, Sārasvata, Āditya, Vahni, Aruṇa, Gardatoya, Tushita, Ayyābādha and Arishṭa. There are sixteen subsidiary classes of these *devas*, two between each pair of the above eight classes. Thus there are 24 classes of them in all and the heavens where they live take their names after them. Their total number is said to be 407,806. They are all alike and are independent. They are also called *devapūṣhāḥ* because they have no sexual desire. Those of the eight chief classes descend and go to the Tirthankaras to strengthen them in their resolve when the latter decide to renounce the world. For details see below, p. 232. See also Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, p. 270.

In the painting these eight *Laukātika-devas* are shown on the left as standing in front of Rishabhadeva sitting on a throne and addressing him with their right hands extended and palms hanging down, except the sixth from the left, in whom the position of the hands is reversed.

27-b. ஸ்வாமி ஸம்ஸார வெவாராமுடி யிருக்குறது யிவடம் உ.

Svāmi saṁsāra vairāgyam yirukkuṛadu yivadam u.

"The Svāmi (Rishabhadeva) is here disgusted with worldly life."

After listening to the *Laukātika-devas* Rishabhadeva lost even the little attachment that he had for the world.

He is shown sitting on a throne in a contemplative mood while an attendant is fanning him.

Painting No. 28 (pl. xiv).—This row which runs from right to left shows Rishabhadeva departing for the forest for *dikshā*.

The *devas* brought a palanquin or *vimāna* called Sudarśana and Saudharmendra helped him to get into it. It is said that at first the *vimāna* was lifted seven feet high from the ground by the kings of the world. Then Vidyādhara from the *Videha Kshetra* took it from them and raised it seven feet more, from which height the *deva*-kings or the *Sura-patis* took it on their shoulders and proceeded to a forest called *Siddhārtha*.¹ Saudharmendra held a white umbrella in front of the Svāmi, Sanatkumāra and Māhendra, two other *devas*, held *chāmaras* on either side of him, *Apsaras* or heavenly nymphs danced and sang in front of him while bugles and drums were sounded to announce to the world that the Svāmi had started for *dikshā*. Thus in a pompous manner the Svāmi was carried to the forest *Siddhārtha* where Saudharmendra came forward and lifted him down.

ஸுடர்ஸன-தமென்னும் விமீனத்து ஸ்வாமி எழுந்தருளி திகெசுடபன்(ண்)றி(ணி)கொ
ன்னபொறது யிவடம் உ.

Sudarśanam-ennum vimānattule Svāmi eṇḍuruli Dikshai paṇ(ṇ)ri(ṇi)kolḷaporaḍu yivadam u.

"Here the Svāmi is going on a *vimāna* called Sudarśana, to perform *dikshā*."

The painting which is in a good state of preservation shows the procession. Four gods carry him in the *vimāna*. The Svāmi's right hand shows the *jñāna-mudrā*, the pose of knowledge. Saudharmendra holds an umbrella in front. Another *deva* of comparatively small figure stands below the *vimāna* waving a *chāmara* on the Svāmi's side. Yet another, probably Īśānendra, carries a flag in front. Two heavenly nymphs or *Apsaras* are dancing while a *deva* behind them is beating time with his hands. Another *deva* who has turned away from the party and has his back to them beats a drum, which is so big that he has placed it on the ground. Yet another, the last in the painting, is blowing a bugle or trumpet.

¹ This forest is supposed to be close to Allahabad. See C. R. Jain, *Rishabhadeva*, p. 110.

Painting No. 29 (pl. xiv).—On reaching the "Siddhārtha-vana" Rishabhadeva got down from the *vimāna* and commenced performing *diksha*. He sat crosslegged on a white moon-stone slab under a banyan tree, facing east, and divested himself of all kingly ornaments and dress even as the Buddha did. After offering his salutations to the *Siddhas*¹ to ensure success in his efforts he plucked out in five handfuls, with cheerfulness, the hair on his head and face and deposited them along with the ornaments he had on his person in bowls² made of precious stones, which were carried immediately by the *devas* headed by Saudharmendra and thrown in the milk-oceans (*kshīra-sāgara*). After the preliminaries were over he commenced standing nude and observing a very rigorous penance to exhaust all his remaining *karma*, this being necessary before he could obtain the *kevala-jñāna* or omniscience, that every Tirthaṅkara must needs acquire.

Among those that followed him to the garden were 4,000 kings, the chief of them being his brothers-in-law, Kachchha and Mahākachchha, who, out of love for him, followed him to the forest. Finding him doing penance and thinking that it was easy work which they could also do, and in a fit of passing enthusiasm, all of them plucked out their hair, removed their clothing and stood like him exposed to the weather, little realizing what they were doing and why.

Within a very short time they all regretted the step they had taken, for hunger, thirst, and the biting cold began to tell on them. They left the Svāmi to his fate and went in search of food and clothing in the forest. Though they could have returned to the city they did not do so for fear that they might be branded by Bharata and the other kings as insincere and fickle-minded and thus become objects of ridicule. With sticks they beat down fruits from trees and dug up roots from the earth and fed themselves with them wondering how the Svāmi could endure hunger. Unable to bear cold and heat they clothed themselves with the bark of trees and wondered how the Svāmi could stand for such a long time nude and exposed to the weather.

As they ceased to pluck out their hairs, the process being too painful, they soon had long *jatās* or locks on their heads. For this reason they were called *Jatilas* or people with long locks of hair and *Pashandins* or "Unbelievers". The *Pashandins* are those that do not conform to the particular tenets of a faith. Thus the Jains would call all of alien faith *Pashandins*. The Śrī Purāṇa calls them *Pashandins* and from the fact that they happened to acquire *jatās* would compare them with the Kāpālikas and the Pāśupatas, a set of extreme or fanatical Śaivites who grew *jatās*.

It now remains to see what details in the above episode are shown in the painting. The painting, which is in a fair state of preservation with, however, the labels rubbed here and there can be divided into three convenient panels (*a*, *b* and *c*).

29-a. ஸ்ரீ விநாயக-பூசனம் செய்து அந்நேரம் திருவிடைமருதூர் கிணற்றுக்கு அருகேயுள்ள பஞ்சவர்ணிகளிடம் இருந்த கைபாசுபண்டம் கொண்டு வந்தது கிவடம் வ ||

¹ See *below*, pp. 187-189.

² Another version is that Indra picked up these hairs, and placed them in a jewelled casket and that they were subsequently dropped into the milk-ocean. See C. R. Jain, *Rishabhadeva*, p. 110.

Svāmi Siddhārtha-vanattile chandrakānta śilaiyil melirundu dīkshai paṇṇikollu-guṇadu yivadam. ௨ ||

"The Svāmi is here (shown) doing *dīkshā* seated on the moon-stone slab in Siddhārtha-vana."

Three figures are here shown, two standing and one sitting on a white slab. The sitting figure represents Rishabhadeva who is observing one of the preliminaries of *dīkshā*. Sitting crosslegged on the moon-stone slab (the slab is hence painted white) and removing his crown, dress and ornaments which are shown in the painting to the left, he is plucking out the hairs on his head with his right fingers (*pañcha-mushti*), a painful but necessary process in *dīkshā* called *Loch*. The two other nude figures on the right probably represent Kachchha and Mahākachchha, the Svāmi's relations, who are trying to imitate him. They are watching him plucking out his hairs.

29-b. The Svāmi is here shown standing nude under a tree, engaged in a rigorous penance. Indeed this is one of the processes in penance called *kayotsargu*, the party standing immovable, exposed to the weather and heedless of hunger and thirst. The same two figures, which occurred in 29-a, and which represented Kachchha and Mahākachchha are here similarly engaged, watching the Svāmi perform the penance and are trying to imitate him in the belief that form meant everything and not realization of what the form meant. They thought that they had only to imitate the Svāmi and the object that the Svāmi himself aimed at would be theirs also.

29-௮. கச்சேனாக . . . முதலாகிய . . . மஹாகச்சாமில் பரமசுத்திகளாகத் திவடம் ||

Kachchha-Mahāka . . . mudalāgiya . . . haṁ tālāmal Pashandigaḷ-ānadu yivadam ||

"Kachchha and Mahākachchha and others . . . unable to bear thirst . . . are here (shown) becoming *Pashandins* (the unbelievers)."

Kachchha, Mahākachchha and the others who tried to imitate the Svāmi soon realized that they were failures. They are here shown with *jaṭas* or long locks of hair on their heads, with sticks in their hands with which they beat down fruits from trees and dig up roots and with bark-clothing round their loins. Three of them have the *jaṭas* hanging down while the other two have secured them in knots. Three out of five that hold staffs in their hands are beating down fruits from trees. The fourth who has a beard and who is probably old and is therefore unable to do the work that others are engaged in is merely standing leaning on his staff. The fifth with the staff in his hand is kneeling on the ground and is digging in search of roots. Yet another who is standing in the middle of the panel is a man of comparatively small size. He is tasting a fruit which he holds in his left hand. They have all smeared their foreheads, hands and chests with *vibhūti* or the sacred ash, which is a Śaivite mark, suggesting that they probably represent the *Kāpālikas* and *Pāsupatas*. Indeed the fact that the figures bear the marks of Śiva, the sacred ash, in stripes on the forehead, chest and hands removes any doubt that one may entertain on this point, for the *Kāpālikas* and the *Pāsupatas*, being the followers of Śiva, smeared their bodies with ashes. This custom survives

to-day, every Śaivite being expected to rub the sacred ash called *vibhūti* on the parts where the figures in the painting are smeared. This and the *jalās* make the possibility a certainty, *viz.*, that Kachchha and Mahākachchha and others who failed to conquer hunger and attachment to their bodies are here ridiculed for it, the highest form of ridiculing them being, in the eyes of the Jainas, a representation of them as the *Kāpalikas* (the *Pāṣaṇḍins* or the unbelievers).

Painting No. 30 (pl. xiv; Coomaraswamy, pl. lxxx, 256).—This row, which is in a very good state of preservation, consists of three panels and illustrates an incident that happened in the Siddhārtha-vana, where Rishabhadeva was doing penance, after Kachchha and Mahākachchha and the others had left him.

Kachchha and Mahākachchha had two sons called Nami and Vinami who were not present when Rishabhadeva divided the kingdom on the eve of his retirement from worldly life and consequently obtained no share in the divisions. These sons repaired to the forest to demand their shares from the Svāmi, little dreaming that he was different from what he was while he was king and that he had no attachment to the world. As worldly people they approached him with crowns on their heads and weapons of war in their hands. Not knowing that he was engaged just then in a rigorous penance, without taking food or drink, and that he must therefore not be disturbed, they prostrated themselves before him and stood humbly by his side being, as worldly people, bent upon attending to their own work as soon as possible. Soon they announced to him the object of their visit and requested him to do justice to them then and there. But their representations fell on deaf ears for the Svāmi's attention was devoted elsewhere, so deep and severe was the penance he was engaged in.

Meanwhile the throne of Dharaṇendra, one of the two Indras of the Nāga-Kumāras, a class of the *Bhavanavāsi-Devas*¹, shook and Dharaṇendra immediately recognized some disturbance to the Svāmi's penance, and sped to his protection. Taking the form of a man he approached Nami and Vinami and scolded them for disturbing the Svāmi, who had dissociated himself from the world long ago and who was just then engaged in a wonderful penance. He then advised them to depart and to seek the things they wanted at the hands of the Svāmi's son, Bharata. The princes resented his interference and asked him to go away saying that they would seek what they required from Rishabhadeva himself who resembled the *kalpaka-vṛiksha* or the "wish-tree" and not from ordinary and useless people like Bharata and others who resembled useless trees. Admiring their regard and devotion to the Svāmi Dharaṇendra revealed to them his real form and explained to them that the Svāmi, who had heard their prayers and who did not like to be disturbed just then had given him, a *dāsa* or humble servant of his, instructions in the matter. At first the princes felt doubtful but the sincerity and the grand appearance of Dharaṇendra with the snake-hoods spread over his human head infused confidence in them and they agreed to abide by his decision. As there was no portion of land left in this world which Dharaṇendra could give them he asked them to accompany

¹ See Appendix III, pp. 228-229.

him in his *vimāna* which they did. He took them to the *Vidyādhara* world and told the *Vidyādhara*s that Nami and Vinami were their future kings. On their agreeing to Dharanendra's proposal, he divided their world between the two princes and anointed each as king in his own part.

30-a. ஸ்வாமிநெய் ததி விநமி ர(இர)ண்டு பெரும் ராஜ்யக் குடுக்க பிரார்த்திக்குறது சிவடம் உ.

Svāmiyai Nami Vinami ra(ira)ṇḍu perum rājyam kuḍukka pirārthikkuradu yivadam u.

"Nami and Vinami, these two people, are here requesting the Svāmi for kingdom."

Rishabhadeva is here standing in the *kāyotsarga* attitude, doing penance. Nami and Vinami are twice shown, one on either side of him, first as kneeling before him and worshipping at his feet with flowers and next as standing expecting a reply from him. They are holding battle-axes in their hands.

30-b. யானெனஞ்ஞ வந்து சீத-ஹ்யா-ஞவங்கொண்டு சொல்லுறது சிவடம் உ.

Dharanendran vandu manushyarūpan-konḍu sollukuradu yivadam u.

"Here is (shown) Dharanendra coming, and taking the form of a man speaking (to them)."

Dharanendra is here shown twice, first as an ordinary man with a turban on his head addressing the princes, who can be distinguished by the crowns on their heads, and perhaps scolding them for disturbing the Svāmi, and next as a Nāga-king, with serpent-hoods raised over his crowned head, revealing to them his real form when they asked him to mind his own business. The first finger of his right hand is in a threatening attitude (*tarjini*). He is of large size as it is said that his person coupled with his sincerity infused confidence in the minds of the princes.

30-c. This illustrates what followed.

பிரகு தகது வடிவிகொண்டு குமாரரிருவரையும் விநாயகமெற்றிக்கொண்டு விஜயார்த்த பரவாதத்துக்குப் போது சிவடம் உ.

Piragu tanadu vadivukonḍu kumārār-iruvārāiyum vinānamerrik-konḍu Vijayārtha parvatattukku poradu yivadam u.

"Here (is shown) Dharanendra going to the mountain Vijayārtha after assuming his real form and taking the princes in his *vimāna*."

Dharanendra, who can be distinguished by the snake-hoods over his head is here shown as taking the princes in his *vimāna* to the *Vidyādhara* world. He is seated at the extreme right of the *vimāna* and the princes are seated behind him, one behind the other.

Painting No. 31 (pl. xv).—This row which is also in a good state of preservation as also its label below, is in two parts and shows the coronation of the princes, Nami and Vinami as partners-in-kingship of the *Vidyādhara* world.

Dharanendra divided the *Vidyādhara* world into two and gave one half, consisting of fifty cities, to Nami and the other half consisting of sixty cities to Vinami. He himself

attended to the coronation ceremony of both. Establishing Nami in the land to the south of a mountain called Vijayārtha, which stood as a convenient mark of division of the land, he anointed him there. In the land to the north of this mountain Vinami was similarly established and anointed.

யாரணேந்திர விஜயார்த்தபர்வதக் தட்சிண மொணியிலே தநிகுமாரனை ஸ்தாபித்தான் || விஜயார்த்தபர்வத உத்தரமொணியில் விநிகுமாரனை ஸ்தாபித்தான் தருவிலடம் உ

Dharanendra Vijayārtha-parvata-dakṣiṇa-śreṇiyile Namikumārānai sthāpittanai || Vijayārtha-parvata-uttaraśreṇiyil Vinami-kumārānai sthāpittanai yivadam.

"Dharanendra established the prince Nami in that half which fell to the south of Vijayārtha mountain."

"(Dharanendra) establishing the prince Vinami in the half, north of Vijayārtha mountain is (shown) here."

The painting shows the coronation of Nami by Dharanendra on the left and the coronation of Vinami on the right. Dharanendra is performing in both ceremonies and four Vidyādhara, one of them holding a *chāmara* in each case, are witnessing the function on each side. As an indication that Nami's coronation took place earlier than Vinami's, Dharanendra is shown on the left with two crowns in his hands. One he is placing on the head of Nami and the other he is holding in his left hand. When he is shown again on the right as crowning Vinami he has only one crown which he is placing on the head of Vinami. In both the scenes he can be distinguished by the snake-hoods over his head.

Painting No. 32 (pl. xv).—This row which is well preserved as also its labels is in three parts and represents the Svāmi going to the cities in search of food and returning without obtaining any.

In accordance with a custom among the Jaina ascetics that perform such a penance as the Svāmi was doing, the Svāmi roused himself from his penance after six months and went to the cities for food. He was not expected to tell anyone what he wanted but had to be silent. If any one offered him food in the manner prescribed in the Jaina texts he was to take a little of it, just enough to prevent his body from withering away, and return to the forest again where he should start his penance forthwith for another six months. This silent quest for food is called "charyā" and the Svāmi, by so going for food is said to teach to the world how a "charyā" should be done and how one who supplies food to the Svāmi acquires untold happiness.

The Svāmi went into the cities where everyone knew him. As he was silent nobody knew what he wanted or why he came there. The kings of the land brought elephants, horses, clothes, cash, and ornaments and offered them as presents to him. Some brought him water for bathing and even offered him lands. Others brought their girls and showed them to him. In short they brought him everything but food¹. And the Svāmi, finding

¹ Another version is:—Some did bring him food also, but it was not prepared and offered in the proper way, and could not be accepted. See C. K. Jain, *Śiṣyabhāṣya*, p. 115.

that there was no prospect of any of them feeding him returned to the forest where he once again commenced his penance.

32-a. ராஜாக்கள் கரிதூர மாடுகளைக்கொண்டு எதிர்கொள்ளுறது யிவடம் உ ||

ஸ்வாமி சரிகைக்கு பொறது யிவடம் உ ||

Rājakaḷ kari-turagā-digalaik-konḍu edirkolluradu yivadam உ || Svāmi charikaikku poradu yivadam உ ||

"The kings (of the land) are here (shown) receiving (him) with elephants, horses, etc."

"The Svāmi is here going for 'charyā'."

In the painting the kings are shown welcoming him in a worldly manner befitting a royal person. They are here presumably presenting him with an elephant, horse, clothes and women. The leader of the party is accosting him with hands placed in worship.

32-b. ஸ்வாமி ஸ்ரீவிஷ்ணுமாய் தவ்வாவதத்துக்கு பொறது யிவடம் உ ||

Svāmi charyā-vikṣnamāy tapōvanattukku poradu yivadam உ ||

"The Svāmi is here (shown) going back to the forest for penance when his *charyā* became (thus) fruitless."

The Svāmi is here shown turning away from them and returning to the forest, where he resumed his penance.

He is shown again (on the extreme right), for a third time, this time in the *kāyotsarga* attitude, the attitude prescribed for doing penance standing erect.

Painting No. 33 (pl. xv).—This row, which consists of four parts, represents one of the events relating to the Svāmi's second "charyā".

Somaprabha, a king or rather the founder of the Kuru dynasty, who was ruling over the city of Hastināpura was noted for the very virtuous life he was leading. He had an younger brother called Śreyānkumāra¹ who excelled even his brother in piety. One day, while sleeping, Śreyānkumāra dreamt that he saw the mountain, Mahā-Meru, the wish-giving tree (*kalpaka-vriksha*), a lion, a bull, the sun, the moon, the ocean and several gods and goddesses with eight kinds of auspicious things² in their hands. These dreams gave him some unknown pleasure and he hastened to narrate them to his brother. And Somaprabha, whose curiosity was aroused, sent for a *purohita* or preceptor whom he requested to explain their significance. The *purohita* explained that they all foretold that the Tirthaṅkara Rishabhadeva would come to the city for food or *charyā* on the following morning.

33-a. ஸோமபுரஹ ||

Somaprabhan ||

"Somaprabhan."

¹ Also called Śreyāmsa. See C. R. Jain, *Rishabhadeva*, p. 117.

² See *Idam*, p. 130.

Somaprabha is shown sitting on a throne, fanned by an attendant.

33-b. *செய்யாது கூரோது ஸ்ரீயங்குமாரது ||*

Śreyāṅkumāraṇ svapnaṁ kāṅguraḍu ||

"Śreyāṅkumāra dreaming."

Śreyāṅkumāra is here shown lying on a couch, while two men are attending on him, one massaging his legs and the other fanning him. He is evidently dreaming as explained by the label.

33-c. *செய்யாது கூரோது ஸ்ரீயங்குமாரது ஸொரீபுறமுடெ சொல்லுருது ||*

Śreyāṅkumāraṇ svapnaṁai Somaprabhaṇode solluguraḍu ||

"Śreyāṅkumāra narrating his dreams to Somaprabha."

Two figures are shown here, one representing Śreyāṅkumāra and the other Somaprabha. Probably the figure on the right represents Śreyāṅkumāra for he is shown as holding his right hand in an attitude suggesting that he is speaking.

33-d. *புரோகிதன் ஸொரீபுறமுடெ செய்யாது கூரோரு ஸ்ரீயங்குமாரதுச் சொல்லுருது யிவடம் உ ||*

Purohitaṇ Somaprabha-Śreyāṅkumārarku svapnaphalattaichchollu(ku)raḍu yivaḍam உ ||

"The purohita narrating to Somaprabha and Śreyāṅkumāra the significance of the latter's dreams."

The two brothers are here shown listening to the purohita who is seated on the right, in front of them. He is holding his right hand in the same attitude in which Śreyāṅkumāra is holding in fig. 33-c, suggesting that he is engaging them in a conversation, himself being the speaker. He is evidently explaining the significance of the dreams to the brothers.

Painting No. 34 (pl. xv).—This painting is in the centre of the ceiling and is marked by a square projection of the stone within which a full-blown lotus is designed. The lotus petals were carved on the stone and have been painted over. The whole is well finished with *yāli* heads marking the four corners. Unfortunately, however, a hook has been driven into the centre of the lotus and a rod inserted in it to suspend lamps from it. There are two scenes, one on the right and the other on the left of this square projection.

34-a. *செய்யாதுகூரோடு ஸ்ரீ சரியைக்கி வாரூரென்று தாதன் வந்து சொல்லுருது யிவடம் உ ||*

Śreyāṅkumāraṇode Svāmi chariyaikki vārāreṇu dūtaṇ vandu solluguraḍu yivaḍam உ ||

"A messenger narrating to Śreyāṅkumāra that the Svāmi was coming for *charya*."

The brothers are here shown sitting eagerly awaiting the arrival of Rishabhadeva when a messenger enters and with hands held together in worship announces the arrival of the Svāmi.

34-b. *ஸ்ரீ சரியைக்கி வர செய்யாதுகூரோது யெதிரகொண்டு அழைக்குருது யிவடம் உ ||*

Svāmi chariyaikki vara Śreyāṅkumāraṇ yedirkondu alaikkuraḍu yivaḍam உ ||

"The Svāmi coming for *charyā*, Śreyānkumāra is here (shown) receiving him and inviting him."

The brothers are here shown approaching the Svāmi bareheaded and worshipping him by kneeling at his feet, and then standing up and with their hands placed together in worship (*añjali*) requesting him to accept food from them.

Though in both the labels only Śreyānkumāra is mentioned, Somaprabha finds a place in the painting probably because he too felt like his brother in the matter.¹

Painting No. 35 (pl. xvi).—Rishabhadeva was taken into his palace by Śreyānkumāra who led him to a top-floor in the palace. Arrived there, Śreyānkumāra served him with a few morsels of food mixed with the juice extracted from sugarcane. His brother assisted him by getting water ready for washing hands and feet and for drinking. It is said that when the Svāmi was fed the gods of the heavens poured down on the party flowers, and in the palace gold pieces, in commemoration of the feeding.

After partaking of the food thus offered the Svāmi left for the wood, accompanied by the brothers till the city limits where they respectfully took leave of him. On reaching the wood he once again commenced his penance, at one time doing one kind of *yoga* or meditation called "Sthavira-kalpa" and at another, closely following this, another kind of *yoga* more rigorous than the former, called "Jina-kalpa." These two kinds of *yoga* he practised in a standing attitude. During the intervals he travelled widely.

Thus for 1,000 years he did severe penance and austerities, till one day he entered a city called Purimatālapura and in it a garden called "Śakata-mukhya." There he found a rock convenient for further penances, under a big spreading banyan-tree and sitting on it in the *pariyāṅka-āsana* or cross-legged he attained the state of a *kevali* or one endowed with *kevala-jñāna*² or omniscience.

This is the final preliminary stage in the career of any Tīrthaṅkara on the eve of his becoming one. And after he becomes a *kevali* the gods create for him a heavenly pavilion called "Samavasaraṇa," seated in the centre of which every Tīrthaṅkara expounds *dharma* and is accessible to all.

35-அ. ஸ்ரீரங்குமரன் சுவாமிக்கு உணவு கொடுத்தான் பண்ணைத் திடீரென்று ||

Svāmikku Śreyānkumāraṇ aṇṇaḍaṇam paṇṇadu yivadam e. ||

"Here did Śreyānkumāra give food to the Svāmi."

¹ For details about Śreyānkumāra's past births as (1) Svayamprabha and (2) Śrīmati see C. R. Jain, Rishabhadeva, p. 117.

² The Jinas recognize five kinds of knowledge—

(1) *Mati-jñāna*, sense knowledge.

(2) *Śruta-jñāna*, scriptural knowledge.

(3) *Avadhi-jñāna*, direct visual knowledge or clairvoyance.

(4) *Manah-pariyaya-jñāna*, direct mental knowledge or telepathy.

(5) *Kevala-jñāna*, perfect or all embracing knowledge or omniscience.

For details see Umāsvāmī, *Tattvārthadhigama-Sūtra*, Ch. 1, sūtras 13-29; Jaini, *Outlines of Jainism*, pp. 61-65.

The Svāmi is shown here as standing on an elevated lotus-pedestal. Śreyānkumāra is offering him something round, probably the food said to have been mixed up with the juice of sugarcane, taken from a tray near by which contains some more of the same kind of food. Somaprabha stands behind Śreyānkumāra with a water-vessel in his hands. Both the brothers are in an attitude of reverence and humility, bareheaded and bare-footed and with their upper clothes tied round their waists.¹

The various star-like things behind the Svāmi indicate the shower of flowers and gold that the gods are said to have dropped down. The feeding is said to have taken place on the top-floor of the palace. Three small *vimānas* and two finials between them indicate the palace.

35-b. ஸ்வாமி தடுவரவதகூங்கு டெரமு திவடம் உ ||

Svāmi tapovanattukku poradu yivadam u ||

"The Svāmi is here (shown) going to the forest."

The Svāmi is here departing for the forest accompanied by the brothers up to some distance, who, this time have crowns on their heads and clothes covering their chests while their hands are respectfully placed together in worship probably indicating that they are taking leave of the Svāmi.

35-c. ஸ்வாமி கர்ப்பகாயம் பண்ணுகுறது திவடம் உ ||

Svāmi karmmakshayam pannuguradu yivadam u ||

"The Svāmi exhausting his *karma* here."

The Svāmi is shown here in two stages, first as standing under a small tree and next as sitting under a big tree. Standing he is doing the *yoga* called "Sthavira-kalpa" and "Jina-kalpa." He is shown next in the attitude in which he is said to have become a *kevali*. The painting here strictly answers the description given in the Śrī Purāṇa (Vol. I). The big tree over him is the spreading banyan-tree and the Svāmi is sitting under it in the *pariyāṅka-āsana*.

Painting No. 36 (pl. xvi).—Such an event as the acquisition of *kevala-jñāna* by the World-Teacher (Tirthaṅkara) was not likely to remain unnoticed. The first to observe it were naturally the *devas* by some specific signs that happened in their heavens from which they realized the importance of the event and ran to the place where the Svāmi was, in order to worship him and to enable him to teach and preach the Truth to the world. Under instructions from the Indra of the first heaven celestial artisans erected a heavenly pavilion called the *Samavasaraṇa*. The World-Teacher was expected to take his seat in it, above a lotus and deliver discourses, to hear which all the *devas*, men and animals flocked and were given places in this heavenly structure. Thus the *samavasaraṇa*, which consists of two words, *sama* and *avasaraṇa*, was just a construction made by an Indra, "and in default of him, by the gods and pre-eminently amongst them, the

¹ The Jains share with the Hindus the custom of being bare-bodied and bare-footed when visiting sacred places, like temples, etc., and when paying obeisance to great men and elders.

Vyantaras",¹ for the World-Teacher to sit in the midst of a huge congregation consisting of all the gods and other forms of creation and preach the Truth, immediately after he attains to the condition of a *kevali*. All the 24 Tirthaṅkaras have their own *samavasaraṇas*. Like all other objects, sacred to the Jains, such as *Ashtāpada*, *Sammata*, *Śatruñjaya* and so forth, *Samavasaraṇa* is also sculptured. "Not a single Jaina temple of eminence exists without a sculpture of *samavasaraṇa* in it . . . like the *Chānmukh* or *Ashtāpada*, even temples are built dedicated to *samavasaraṇa*".²

Dr. Bhandarkar, the eminent archæologist, who has an interesting article on the *Samavasaraṇa* in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XL, pp. 125-130, 153-161, exclaims on page 160, "I have not yet found any *samavasaraṇa* which faithfully depicts all or even almost all the details set forth in the works." The pictures of *samavasaraṇa* that he is illustrating and describing in his article clearly follow the description of the *samavasaraṇa* found in Hemachandra's *Trishashti-śalākāpuruṣa-charitra*³ (first and second *parvas*) published by the Śrī-Jaina-Dharma-prachāraka-sabha of Bhavnagar, and Dharmaghoshā-sūri's *Samavasaraṇa-stavana*. They consist of only three "ramparts with battlements" and are therefore less in details and elaborateness than representations of the *samavasaraṇa* at Tiruparuttikunṇam, which follow the descriptions found in the Digambara works such as the Śrī Purāṇa, Merumandara Purāṇa⁴ and Ādi Purāṇa⁵. In contrast to those described by Dr. Bhandarkar the *samavasaraṇas* here are elaborately painted and faithfully depict almost all the details set forth in the above works. It is necessary that a brief description of these details should be set forth first before attempting to describe the paintings themselves:—

The word *samavasaraṇa* is a compound of two words, *sama* meaning general or common, and *avasara*, meaning opportunity, the whole giving the idea that it denotes a place where all have a common or equal opportunity of hearing the World-Teacher and acquiring divine knowledge, or "where souls get the opportunity to attain to dispassion".⁶

This structure was the work of the *devas* and as such excelled everything that the human eye had ever beheld in the world. It stood above ground, circular in form, with a

¹ See Appendix III, pp. 229-230.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, p. 160.

³ Hemachandra who converted to the Jaina faith King Komārapāla of Gujrat and must therefore have lived in the latter half of the twelfth century. For discussion on this, see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. 11, "Papers on Śatruñjaya", pp. 15 and 195.

⁴ A Tamil classic, relating to Jaina philosophy and religion, the author of which is Vāmana also called Malliṣṇa, who flourished at Tiruparuttikunṇam in the fourteenth century. The best edition of this work is by Professor A. Chakravarti of the Presidency College, Madras, published 1923.

⁵ A Jaina compilation ascribed to Jināsena Āchārya, who is said to have lived in the reign of Vikramāditya, but who was probably much later. A tradition current in South India speaks of him as the *guru* of king Amoghavarsha, who is said to have ruled in Kāñchi in the sixth century. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. 11, p. 198.

See also Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, pp. 394, 406-8, where Ādi-Purāṇa is said to have been done by Jināsena in about 814-5 A.D.

See also *above*, p. 6.

⁶ C. R. Jain, *Rishabhadeva*, p. 134.

diameter of twelve *yojanas*.¹ Its floor was paved throughout with blue-crushed gems (*nīla-maṇi*). On its four sides were 20,000 steps of gold, for all creatures to climb up to hear the World-Teacher's sermons. Above these steps were four wide roads, one from each cardinal point, which crossed the ground of the blue gems and led towards the centre. On either side of these roads there were *vedikās*² made of crystal provided with doorways, above which arches and flags and festoons flew producing a pleasing effect.

On the outer side of this ground, that is to say, enclosing it, was a wide *Sāla* or wall³ called *Dhūlisāla* which was made of gems and other precious stones of different colours, which glistened in the sun, producing rainbow effects all round. On the top of the wall were fixed banners and flags and festoons that fluttered in the breeze as if they were beating time to the music that the celestial damsels were producing in theatres situated within the wall near the entrances found on the wall.

Enclosed by this wall was the first region called *Chaitya-prāsāda-bhūmi*, one *croṣa* × $\frac{1}{2}$ *croṣa* which consisted of palaces (*prāsādas*) and *chaityas* or *Jina-bhavanas* or temples of the Jina, the latter being placed between every five palaces. The four roads continued here too and were flanked by theatres and dancing halls where celestial nymphs entertained those that were lucky enough to reach that region with songs and plays from the previous lives of the World-Teacher. Where each of the four roads reached this region was a huge column called *Mānastambha* (literally pride-pillar), the sight of which was sufficient to deprive the onlookers of pride and attachment to the body. These *Mānastambhas* were placed on pedestals which rose up in three terraces and were reached by a flight of sixteen steps, eight for the lower terrace, four for the intermediate and four for the top terrace. On the tops of these columns flew flags and festoons, while niches below these flags and festoons contained images of the Jina, the sight of which was sufficient to remove darkness and misconceptions in the minds of the faithful. The platform on which each of the *Mānastambhas* stood was surrounded by three enclosures with doors facing the four cardinal points and opening on to four beautiful lakes filled with crystal water in which the faithful washed their feet before proceeding further.

Bounding the first region (*Chaitya-prāsāda-bhūmi*) on its inner side was a *vedikā* lined with gold which was provided with four gateways, one for each cardinal point, over which

¹ 24 *āṅgulas* (inches) make one *hasta*; 4 *hastas* make one *dhanus* or *chōpa*; 2,000 *dhanus* or *chōpas* make one *croṣa*; 4 *croṣas* make one *yojana*. There are two kinds of *yojanas*, one small which is equal to 8 miles, and the other big equalling 4,000 miles. Here the bigger *yojana* is meant.

² *Vedikā* or *Vedi* has been interpreted in different ways in accordance with its definitions found in the *Sūtraśāstras* such as *Mānassara* and *Aśvamedha-śāstra*. Such are:—A platform, an altar, a talling (see P. K. Acharya, *Indian Architecture according to Mānassara-Sūtraśāstra*, pp. 61, 87 and 92), a dais, a basis or basement, a pedestal, some platform other than pedestal or throne of the idol, rail-moulding, a moulding such as that of a column, "bands of string course carved with rail-pattern," portion above the neck-part of a building, a stand, bench, arbour, a kind of covered veranda or balcony in a court-yard, a hall for reading the *Vedas* in (see P. K. Acharya, *A Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*, pp. 564-7), marriage pavilion, plinth, and a mode of sitting (*āsana*) (see A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Indian Architectural Terms* (J.A.O.S., Vol. XLVIII, p. 273).

³ *Sāla* or *Sālā* means generally a wall or rampart and sometimes an apartment and a house (see P. K. Acharya, *A Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*, p. 628).

flew flags, etc., and where sweet jingling bells sent their pleasing notes to far off places where the faithful heard them and were thrilled by them.

This *vedikā* formed the boundary of a region of water called *Khātikā-bhūmi* which was filled with crystal water, water-beings like fishes, etc., lotuses and water-lilies and water-birds like the swan (*hansa*). It was provided with steps made of precious stones. Its dimensions were like those of the first region (*Chaityaprasāda-bhūmi*).

Within this again there was the second *vedikā* which enclosed a forest called *Vallī-bhūmi* full of pleasant scenery consisting of creepers like jasmine, etc., and wooded bowers and raised seats in the midst of clear spaces as in modern parks. This was intended for the faithful who required an airing. The dimensions of this third region were twice those of the first region.

Bordering the forest was a wall (*sāla*), the second wall in the structure, which resembled in all respects the *Dhūlisāla*. This was provided with tower-like gateways which were guarded by the *Yaksha-kumāras*.¹ These gates were as usual, one facing each cardinal point, and were decorated with paintings of animals and female figures.

Within this wall and enclosed by it was a garden (*Upavana-bhūmi*) where wooded avenues of *aśoka* (*Saraca indica*), *chāmpaka* (*Michelia champaka*), *chūta* (the mango), and *saptachchhada* (a kind of tree whose leaves range themselves in clusters of seven, whence its name) delighted the hearts of the faithful that came to attend the World-Teacher's discourses. The dimensions of this fourth region were twice those of the first region. As in the previous region there were theatres in it where dances and music were a permanent feature.

Within this again there was a third *vedikā* resembling the second, the four gates of which were guarded by the *Yaksha-kumāras*. On going in through the gates the spectator's gaze fell on a row of fluttering banners for which reason the region enclosed by it came to be called the region of flags (*Dhvaja-bhūmi*). Its dimensions were twice those of the first region. These flags were 108 of each specific mark, in each direction, and the total number of them in the whole region came to 470,980. They bore the following marks, lion, elephant, bull, Garuḍa (the brahman-kite), peacock, moon, sun, swan, lotus, and discus (*chakra*).²

Behind the row of flags was a wall (*sāla*) resembling the *Dhūlisāla*, but twice its dimensions, again provided with the four gates, on either side of which were the usual music halls and the theatres. Within this wall and enclosed by it was the *Kalpaka-vriksha-bhūmi*, the sixth region, of dimensions twice those of the first region, and containing rows of the ten kinds of *kalpa* trees called *pānāṅga*, *turyāṅga*, *bhushaṅga*, *vastrāṅga*, *bhōjanāṅga*, *ālayāṅga*, *dīpāṅga*, *bhājanāṅga*, *mālyāṅga* and *jyōtirāṅga*.³ These trees were scattered about in the wood in elegant confusion, and from their illuminations produced a fairy scene of

¹ See Appendix III, pp. 229-230.

² In other texts, in the place of the sun and the moon a garland and a piece of cloth are given. Also see C. R. Jain, *Nishubhadra*, p. 129.

³ See above, p. 78.

exquisite loveliness. Images of the Jinas were installed on platforms of gold which were placed under trees of bewitching beauty that shed brilliant light all round. There were as usual theatres and music halls from which celestial music went round and delighted the hearts of the faithful.

Within this region again there was the fourth *vedikā* which resembled the first and which was provided with four gates, one for each direction, guarded by the *Nāga-kumāras*¹. Within this *vedikā* and enclosed by it was the seventh region called *Bhavana-bhūmī*, which consisted of mansions and other habitations built of precious stones and metals. Its dimensions were like those of the first region. In it were innumerable mansions over which flew triumphantly flags and banners, and from within which rang sweet notes of celestial music produced by the *devas* and their damsels. Again, in this region, in every street, there arose a line of nine *stūpas* or places of worship and these *stūpas* were called Loka, Madhyamaloka, Mandara, Graiveyaka, Sarvārthasiddhi, Siddhi, Bhavya, Moha and Bodhi² respectively. Within these *stūpas* were installed images of Jinas and *Siddhas*³ to whom worship was offered to the accompaniment of celestial music and dance. Between every two *stūpas* were hung *makara-toranas* which by waving in the wind appeared to invite in the faithful (*bhavyas*) so that they can do *abhisheka* or the bathing ceremony to the gods and *Siddhas* installed in.

Within this region was another wall (*sāla*) called *Ākāśa-sphatika-sāla*, so called because it was made of white crystal. It was provided with the usual four gates, one for each cardinal point, guarded by the *Kalpavāsi-devas*⁴. Its dimensions were like those of the *Dhūlisāla*. Beyond this wall was a clean open space, one *yojana* by one *yojana* (here *yojana* equals eight miles)⁵, which was set apart for the grand congress that was to assemble to listen to the World-Teacher's discourses. In the centre of this open space was erected a *mandapa* or pavilion called *Lakshmīvara-mandapa*. This *mandapa* was divided into twelve equal compartments or halls (*kośhas*) by sixteen walls of crystal that were supported on pillars of gold.

The people that were assembled in these halls were as follows: commencing from the eastern direction, in the first hall were apostles (*Gaṇadharas*) and many other saints of seven classes (*Pūrvadharas*, *Vikriyāridhhi-prāptas*, *Avadhijñānins*, *Kevalins*, *Munah-paryaya-jñānins*, *Vadis*, and *Śikshakas*); in the second hall *Kalpavāsi-devīs*⁶ or the ladies of the

¹ See Appendix III, pp. 228-229.

² This term meaning "enlightenment" is common in Buddhist parlance, being associated with Śākya Muni Buddha's attainment of divine knowledge under the pipal tree at Bodhi Gaya. Later on the tree became to the Buddhists an object of worship under the name "bodhi" tree.

³ The *Siddhas* are liberated souls and are many in number. They are exactly like the Tirthankaras in all respects in so far as innate virtues and attainments are concerned. They are endowed with all the attributes as the Tirthankaras, even with *brahma-jñāna*, but no "samavasāraṇa" is created for them. No such pomp surrounds them for they do not preach to people like the *Pachchake-Buddhas* in Buddhism, for teaching is not their mission in life in the same way as it is that of the Tirthankaras. The place of these liberated souls is called *Siddha-kṣetra*. For details see Appendix III, pp. 187-190.

⁴ See Appendix III, pp. 231-234.

⁵ See Appendix III, pp. 231-234.

⁶ See C. R. Jain, *Śikṣakadeva*, p. 130.

heavens (*kalpas*); in the third hall nuns and women in general (*Āryakāśrāvaki-samūha*); in the fourth hall *devīs* of the *Jyotiṣhka* or stellar regions¹; in the fifth hall *devīs* of the class of celestials called *Vyantarās* or *Vānavyantarās* or the peripatetics²; in the sixth hall *devīs* of the class of celestials known as the *Bhavana-vāsins*³ or the residential; in the seventh hall *Bhavana-vāsins* or the residential celestial beings, consisting of ten orders, viz., *Asura*, *Nāga*, *Vidyūta*, *Suparna*, *Agni*, *Vāta*, *Stanita*, *Udadhi*, *Dvīpa*, and *Dik-kumāras*⁴; in the eighth hall another group of celestials called the *Vyantarās* or the peripatetics which consisted of eight orders, viz., *Kimbara*, *Kimpurusha*, *Mahoraga*, *Gandharva*, *Yaksha*, *Rākshasa*, *Bhūta* and *Pisācha*; in the ninth hall the five kinds of the *Jyotiṣhkas* or the *Stellars*, viz., the sun, moon, planets, constellations, and scattered stars; in the tenth hall *Kalpavāsi-devas* or heavenly beings consisting of twelve classes corresponding to twelve heavens in which they live⁵; in the eleventh hall kings, chieftains, men and other common beings that move on the ground and in the sky; and in the twelfth hall animals such as elephant, lion, tiger, deer, rat, cat, etc., and birds.

Within these compartments and enclosed by them was a *vedikā*, the fifth in the list, which was similar to the fourth wall or *sāla* above described. Within this *vedikā* was the first pedestal or platform (*prathama-pīṭha*) which had sixteen steps on each side, where Yakshendras stood with *dharma-chakras* on their heads. All the members of the assembly (such as *Gaṇadharas*), got on this pedestal and after circumambulating on it and offering worship to the World-Teacher returned to their respective halls. On this pedestal there was a second one (*dvitīya-pīṭha*) which had eight steps facing each cardinal point, on which were placed objects of worship like flags bearing the marks of bull, lotus, *chakra*, Garuḍa, elephant, incense-vases, nine *nidhis* or treasures, other auspicious things and materials necessary for *pūja* or worship. And over this pedestal again there was the third and last pedestal (*trītiya-pīṭha*) which was round like the sun and made of various precious stones. On its four sides, answering the four cardinal points, were eight steps as in the case of the second pedestal.

In the centre of this pedestal was erected a bower called *Gandhakūṭi* "that attracted every eye by the loveliness of its design"; fragrance from heavenly incense and illumination from innumerable lights filled the atmosphere. In the centre of this *Gandhakūṭi* was placed the throne of God, a lion-throne (*siṃhāsana*) in which were embedded all the precious stones and gems of the world and the heavens put together. In the centre of this throne was placed a blossomed thousand-petalled lotus flower with the seed-vessel showing prominently, over which sat the World-Teacher, without however touching it, but suspended in the air about four fingers or two inches above it. "His face shone radiant like a thousand suns shining in one place. Sixty-four Indras (heavenly kings) stood in attendance on him, waving *chāmara*s". While he was thus seated, the faithful were able to observe that they were all able to conquer gravitation and possess the power of levitation, that they could live without food or water, that their eyes never closed or

¹ See Appendix II, p. 182.

² *Ibid.*

³ See Appendix III, pp. 229-230.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 231.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 228-229.

winked, that their bodies cast no shadow, that their hairs and nails grew no more, that ferocious natures and forces were tamed, animals that were naturally hostile became friends before him, that flowers and fruits appeared in seasons when they were not expected and that "peace and plenty" (*śānti*) prevailed everywhere. When seated in the *samavasarāṇa*, the World-Teacher, who now fully deserved the title of Tirthaṅkara, appeared to be looking in all the four directions, though he only sat facing the east. This was also the case with all the other Tirthaṅkaras. When he spoke, he spoke in the *Sarvārtha-māgadhi* language which resembled the roar of surging oceans and was distinctly heard by every one present. With regard to his speech it is said in many works on Jainism that it was produced independently of the movements of the glottis, "and is for that reason termed *anukshari* (without letters)." The *Gaṇadhara*s who were in the first hall heard his speeches and interpreted them to all assembled. It is said that they arranged all his teachings under twelve main heads which later on came to be called *aṅgas*¹, and the whole subject matter of these *aṅgas* is termed *Śruti* or *Śruta-jñāna*, because of its having been heard from the World-Teacher. These *aṅgas* are nowadays symbolically represented by a book resting on a folding book-rack (pl. xxxvi, fig. 2) or by a tree with twelve branches which is called the "tree of Wisdom Divine."²

Immediately after the discourse by the World-Teacher was over, many men and women determined to follow the Lord on the path of virtue (*Dharma*) set forth by him. The foremost among them was Rishabhasena, one of the younger brothers of Bharata, who was formerly the *pandit* of the Tirthaṅkara when he was born as Vajrajaṅgha, and

¹ The twelve *aṅgas* according to Hemachandra are :—

- (1) *Āchāra-aṅga*, a work on sacred usages like the rules of conduct for ascetics.
- (2) *Sūtrakṛta-aṅga*, a work on general instructions, religious rites and differences between the rites of one's own religion and those of the religions of others.
- (3) *Śikṣā-aṅga*, a work on the sense organs and the conditions of life—a work dealing with *sthānas* or points of view regarding soul (*jīva*), matter (*padgala*) and other *dravyas* or substances.
- (4) *Samavāya-aṅga*, a work on the categories (*padārthas*).
- (5) *Vyākhyā-praśṅgī* or *Śhaṅgavati* or *Vivāha-praśṅgī*, gives an account of the 60,000 questions put to the Tirthaṅkara by his chief disciples. Most of these relate to ceremonies attendant on divine service (*archanā*).
- (6) *Jñātipiḍhama-kathā-aṅga* also called *Dharma-kathā-aṅga*, a work representing the knowledge that is communicated by the knowers on subjects like the nature of the nine categories (*padārthas*), *jīva*, etc.
- (7) *Upāśaka-dāśū* or *Upāśakadhyaṇya-aṅga*, a work on the manner of living enjoined on the *Śrāvakas*, who are only lay people.
- (8) *Antaśrid-dāśū-aṅga*, speaks of the doings of the Tirthaṅkaras and gives an account of the ten ascetics who, in the period of each of the twenty-four Tirthaṅkaras, undergo tortures of asceticism and finally become liberated from bondage.
- (9) *Anuttaraopapādaka-dāśū-aṅga*, speaks of the ten ascetics who as a result of their asceticism took birth in the *Anuttara* heavens (*vimānas*). Here is also mentioned the future births of the Tirthaṅkaras and the question of salvation is discussed.
- (10) *Pratītyakṣāraṇa-aṅga*, a code of Jain law (*dharma*) in the shape of questions. It furnishes an account of the four kinds of narration.
- (11) *Vipākā-sūtra-aṅga*, detailing the fruits of actions, contains an exposition of bondage, operation of *karma*, etc.
- (12) *Dṛṣṭi-pravāda-aṅga*, a work divided into five parts :—5 *Parikarmas*, *Sūtra*, *Prathamānujoga*, 14 *Pūrvagatas*, and 5 *Chalīsās*, for details of which see *Tattvārthasūtrahigama-sūtra*, Ch. I, *sūtra* 20, pp. 29-38.

² C. R. Jain, *Rishabhadeva*, plate to face p. 136.

who now became the first *Gaṇadhara*¹ or apostle of the Tirthāṅkara. Then came the turn of Somaprabha and Śreyāṁśa or Śreyāṅkumāra, those illustrious brothers who were associated with the Svāmi's *charyā* or feeding described on pp. 102-4. Bharata, the son of the World-Teacher, to whose care he had entrusted the kingdom, worshipped his father in the *samavasaraṇa* and after getting enlightened as to spiritual science, a subject that could be explained only by a Tirthāṅkara, left for his kingdom in the world.

After he had departed, Saudharmendra (the Indra of the first heaven) summoned his retinue of dancers and performed a dance more to express his feelings of joy than to entertain anybody in the *samavasaraṇa* for no one had time to witness his performance, so engrossed were they with the work that they then had on hand, *viz.*, to take advantage of the Tirthāṅkara's presence in their midst and in the *samavasaraṇa*, a structure which is not to be found often but only occasionally. After thus entertaining himself and his host he requested the Tirthāṅkara to leave the *samavasaraṇa* and proceed to the other parts of the world where many *bhavyas* (the faithful) were in need of his discourses. The Tirthāṅkara assenting, a procession was formed, and the Tirthāṅkara proceeded on his divine mission, "surrounded by *devas* and men, in the midst of scenes of great enthusiasm and heavenly pomp, which the residents of heavens brought together to glorify the World-Teacher".

In the painting the *samavasaraṇa*², which is circular in form is shown in plan on a red back-ground which should be taken to represent the region that stood above the earth, five thousand *dhanus* in height. Rishabhadeva, now the World-Teacher (Tirthāṅkara), is seated in the centre of the *samavasaraṇa* facing east, though he would appear to the congregation as facing all directions. To the west of the *samavasaraṇa* a long column is shown in elevation. This represents the *mānastambha* or "pride-pillar". Though placed here outside the circular structure, its legitimate position should be within the first circular enclosure. But such a representation can, perhaps, be justified, for in the case of many Jaina temples the *mānastambha* finds a place not within the temple enclosures but outside their *gopuras* or entrances, the idea being that the visitor to these temples should first cast his eyes on the *mānastambha* so that his misconceptions may get removed on sight of it. Additional authenticity is given to such a representation by some North Indian Jaina paintings representing the *samavasaraṇa* in which also the *mānastambha* occupies a similar place³.

This pillar is placed on a pedestal which does not appear to be in three terraces nor is it flanked by the steps mentioned in the description. On this base rests a long shaft, the region of its capital showing a circular abacus and over it a pavilion in which images of the Jina were installed. Here we can make out within the pavilion the seated figure of the Jina with the *bhā-maṇḍala* or the halo over his head. Though there were, according

¹ *Tattvārthasūtra*, Ch. I, sūtra 20—*Gaṇadhara*s are apostles who arrange the *uṣṇas* and *gṛantas*. They have all the five kinds of knowledge except *kevala-jñāna* or perfect knowledge.

² The *samavasaraṇa* forms also the subject of the ceiling paintings at Sittannavālai and Tirumalai. For discussion see above, p. 62, l. n. 1.

³ See painting in the Jaina Siddhanta Bhavan, Arrah, figured in C. R. Jain's *Rishabhadeva*, facing p. 129.

to the text, four such pillars, one for each direction, only one is shown here as also in the painting at Arrah because it was evidently felt that even one was sufficient to indicate the purpose for which these pillars were intended.

The flower-like circular designs shown in white at the four corners serve merely purposes of decoration¹. Four Gandharvas, two on the north-west and two on the south-west of the *samavasaraṇa* shower down flowers which are supposed to be falling upon it but are actually shown outside it leaving, however, space for the steps that lead to it. This shower of flowers will be further explained below.

The circular structure is divided into its various regions by concentric circles which are crossed by the four roads from the four cardinal points. Their 20,000 steps are indicated by transverse white lines.

The first circle represents the wall called *Dhūlisāla* and enclosed by it is the region called *Chaitya-prāsāda-bhūmi*. This is the wide band that lies between the first circle and the second. A row of pavilions running all along the circle represents the *prāsādas* and the *Jina-bhavanas* with which this region was filled.

The second circle represents the *vedikā* between the first and second regions. The space enclosed by the second and third circles constitutes the *Khātika-bhūmi* or region of water. Water-creepers and other water-plants including the lotus and the water-lily are shown, though it is difficult to make them out easily.

The third circle represents the second *vedikā* between the second region and the third or *Vallī-bhūmi*. This (*Vallī-bhūmi*) is bounded on the inner side by a fourth concentric circle. In it can be made out the creepers and other plants with which it was filled.

The fourth circle represents the second *sāla* or wall resembling the *Dhūlisāla*. Though in the description this and the other *sālas* and *vedikās* were said to have gateways guarded by various *devas* they are not indicated in the painting, it being scarcely possible to show them. Similarly the various music-halls and theatres that were situated beyond the gates and from which celestial music emanated to please the *bhavyas* do not find a place in the painting. Within this *sāla* lies the fourth region, the *Upavana-bhūmi*. This is indicated in the painting by a space containing a row of trees which represent no doubt the wooded avenues of *aśoka*, *chāmpaka*, *chūta*, *saptachchhuda*, etc., that delighted the hearts of the *bhavyas* that came to that region.

The fifth concentric circle represents the third *vedikā* which enclosed a region where flew a number of banners, for which reason it was called *Dhvaja-bhūmi*. Though some of the flags which, according to the text numbered 470,980 are shown, the emblems that they bore, such as the lion, elephant, etc., can hardly be made out in the painting.

The sixth concentric circle represents the third *sāla* or wall which enclosed the sixth region called *Kalpaka-vriksha-bhūmi*, where were found "wish-trees" belonging to the ten categories described above (p. 78). In the space between the sixth and seventh circles a row of trees can be made out which represent them.

¹ Cf. Painting No. 45.

The seventh circle represents the fourth *vedikā* which enclosed the seventh region called *Bhavana-bhūmi*¹, which consisted of mansions and habitations of precious stone and metals. Within the space between the seventh and the eighth concentric circles can be made out a row of houses looking more like pavilions or temples such as we find in the first region (*Chaityaprasāda-bhūmi*), than like ordinary houses. This has no doubt been done for the sake of symmetry and uniformity as mansions would vary in form. The nine *stūpas*, the *makara-toranas* and other music-halls mentioned in this region do not find a place in the painting for obvious reasons.

The eighth concentric circle represents the fourth *sāla* or wall called *Ākāśa-sphatika-sāla*. The circular space enclosed by this *sāla* represents the clean, open space which was set apart for the Grand Assembly and in which the *Lakshmiwara-maṇḍapa* was installed. Radial lines resembling the spokes of a wheel divide this region into 12 halls or compartments (*koṣṭhas*), divided into groups of three by the four roads that pass from the first region to the World-Teacher in the centre, and the white patches in them represent four gateways to which steps from below lead and through which the faithful will have to pass to reach the actual place where the World-Teacher is seated. The twelve halls contain two representatives of their respective occupants in each.

Starting from the east and proceeding clockwise, we find in the first hall two naked men who are presumably two of the *Gaṇadhara*s who heard the Lord's sermons and collected them into twelve *aṅgas*. For the other sages and saints such as the *Pūrvadhara*s etc., there is no room. Another possible interpretation would be that the man in front represented the *Gaṇadhara*s and that the one seated behind was a representative of this saint-class. In either case the former probably represents Rishabhasena, the first *Gaṇadhara* of Rishabhadeva. He is squatting with crossed legs, the right hand raised up to the level of his breast in the *upadeśa-mudrā* or teaching pose while the left hand rests on his lap indicating *yoga* or meditation. The pose of the right hand would mean that he is interpreting the discourses of the Lord for the ordinary folk to understand. The second person in the hall is similarly seated and posed. Hence he may be taken to be more probably the second *Gaṇadhara*. If so, it is not clear whom he represents, Śreyāṃśa or Somaprabha.

In the second hall two representatives of the *Kalpavāsi-devi*s are seated. They are dressed figures and have small crowns on their heads befitting their status while their hands are folded against their breasts in *añjali* (worship).

In the third hall two ladies are seated; they are the representatives of the class of nuns and other women (*āryakā-śrāvakīs*). While their hands are in poses like those of the occupants of the first hall they are dressed in white cloth which are drawn over their heads as is the case with widows in South India, particularly in the Brahman community. Next to this hall comes the road from the south, containing the entrance into the region above, which is represented by a *gopura*.

¹ Or *Gṛihāṅga-bhūmi* according to *Meyyāṇḍara Purāṇa* (p. 39). *Gṛihāṅga* means the same as *Bhavana*.

In the fourth compartment are two other figures, the representatives of the *devīs* of the *Jyotishka* or stellar heavens. In the matter of dress and decoration they are like the *Kalpavāsi-devīs* in the second compartment. In the fifth hall two representatives of the *Vyantara-devīs* of the peripatetic heavens are seated who also resemble the *Kalpavāsi-devīs*. In the sixth hall two representatives of the *devīs* of the *Bhavanavāsi* regions, resembling the *Kalpavāsi-devīs*, are seated. Next to this hall comes the road from the west, with a *gopura* through which the faithful should pass to go above.

Then comes the seventh hall where two representatives of the *Bhavanavāsi-devas* are shown sitting. They wear conical crowns on their heads (*kirīṭas*) and are dressed with an undergarment and a shirt, the latter showing in yellow a corset against the breasts, such as we find in the dress of actors in Indian dramas that impersonate ancient kings. Their hands are posed like those of the occupants of the first hall. Next to this is the eighth hall in which two *Vyantara-devas* representing the whole *Vyantara* heaven are seated. They are dressed and posed as the two *Bhavanavāsi-devas* in the preceding hall.

The ninth hall comes next and in it are seated two representatives of the *Jyotishka-devas*, dressed like the *Bhavanavāsi-devas* but not similarly posed. They have their hands folded against their breasts in *añjali*, a pose that the text prescribes for all these *devas*. Next to this hall is the road from the north where a *gopura* can be discerned similar to the southern and western *gopuras* already mentioned.

Then comes the tenth hall in which are two representatives of the *Kalpavāsi-devas*, who resemble the *Bhavanavāsi-devas* shown in the seventh hall. One of these two, the one sitting behind the other, has his hands folded in *añjali* against his breast. In the eleventh hall are seated two persons representing all ranks of mankind. They are dressed and posed like the occupants of the ninth hall. Next and last we come to the twelfth hall where were assembled all the animals of God's creation. In the compartment we can make out three animals, all facing the right and standing one below the other. The one on the top is a lion of the conventional type known to South India,¹ the next is a deer in the act of leaping, and below it stands a spotted leopard or cheetah. The tail of the lion ends in a loop. Between this hall and the first one comes the road from the east with its *gopura*.

Enclosed by these halls is the last circle in the whole structure, which represents the fifth *vedikā*. Within this, on a throne, the pedestal or the base of which is in the form of a pyramid agreeing with the description that it arose in three successive terraces, is seated the World-Teacher with legs crossed and hands placed on lap in meditation. Behind him is a cushion or rest on which he leans. Its white colour indicates that it was made of crystal (*sphaṭika*). The eight marks of honour (*pratihāryas*) which are associated with the World-Teacher are as follows:—the *āśoka* tree, shower of heavenly flowers, celestial music accompanying the sermon, *chauri* or the *chāmara*,

¹ Cf. similar lions in temple architecture and sculpture of the Vijayanagara times.

siṃhāsana (lion-throne), nimbus (*bhā-waṇḍala*), drum and parasol.¹ Some floral designs over the head of the Tirthaṅkara suggest the *aśoka* tree²; the shower of flowers is found outside the circle thereby meaning that the whole structure received the shower. Celestial music can only be inferred for it cannot be shown in a painting. The waving of the *chāmara*s or cow-tail fly-whisks is attended to by two Indras standing behind the throne of the Teacher, one on either side of it.³ The *siṃhāsana* is the throne on which the Teacher is seated. It is not however shown as a lion-throne but as a lotus-throne, with three tiers. The nimbus or halo is painted in white and can be seen behind the Teacher's head. The drum can only be inferred for it is said that the drum was beaten to keep time with the celestial music. The parasol is technically called *mukkoḍai* or the three-tiered parasol. In the painting it rises above the head of the Teacher in three tiers, the central shaft standing vertically over the centre of his head. Though he is shown as facing east it should be understood that he appeared to be looking in all the four directions.

Each of the four roads leading to the centre has a *gopura* on either side of it in each of the first seven regions.

Painting No. 37 (pl. xvii)—

. . . பண்ணுரது யிவடம்.

. . . pannuguradu yivadam.

" . . . doing . . . here".

The scene shown here represents the dance performed by the Indra of the first heaven (Saudharmendra) as soon as Bharata, the son of the World-Teacher had left the *samavasaraṇa*. Saudharmendra, who is four-handed, is dancing in the midst of six of his damsels who have so arranged themselves that three of them stand on either side of him. These damsels are keeping him company by dancing also, looking at the same time at him as if to be inspired by him. In contrast to them Indra faces forwards, suggesting that he is looking at the World-Teacher seated in the *samavasaraṇa*. He wears a conical crown (*kirita*) on his head, *patra-kundalas* in his ears and a long flower-garland, to the ends of which are suspended lotus flowers, on his neck. Two of his hands, the upper ones, are in poses suggestive of singing, while the two lower hands are held in the *añjali* pose against his breast. The damsels are similarly decorated but the garland is missing. On the left of this dancing party stand two men, one small and the other big. The small figure represents an attendant as is evident from the *chāmara* that he is holding in his right hand. The bigger person is also an attendant who, with hands folded against his breast in *añjali*, is intently watching the performance. He and his companion have turbans on their heads and these turbans are of the type that we come across in South India.

¹ *Aśokaśikhaḥ suraṅgushpaṇḍitāḥ divyodhavanāḥ chāmaramūṣanum cha| Bhūmandalam dundubhīrūṭapātrani utprātihāryāni Jineśvarānām||*

See also *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XL, p. 159.

² Cf. painting from Arrah in C. R. Jain's *Śikhahadeva*, p. 129.

³ Cf. painting in C. R. Jain's *Śikhahadeva*, p. 126.

With this row the scenes from the life of Rishabhadeva come to a close. The events that followed the above scene may, however, briefly be described:—

The 4,000 kings and chieftains who had slunk away from the severe penance and were therefore called *pāshandins*¹ now came to the Tirthaṅkara and entered the Congregation (*saṅgha*). Bharata visited his father in the *samavasaraṇa* and when he left, Saudharmendra sang the praises of the Tirthaṅkara by composing an adoration (*stuti*) describing the Lord by 1,008 auspicious names. Then he and the other *devas* besought him to proceed to the other parts of the world to enlighten all *bhavyas* (those who "possess the realisable potentiality of divinity in their nature") by his divine discourses. The Tirthaṅkara agreeing, a procession was formed by the *devas*, and the Tirthaṅkara proceeded on his divine mission surrounded by both men and *devas* and with all pomp.

When a fortnight remained in his life, the *samavasaraṇa* structure disappeared. The Tirthaṅkara applied himself now to destroy the remaining *kārmic* forces of a "non-inimical type" that still clung to his indomitable spirit. On the last day (*paurṇamāsī*) in the month of *Pauṣa* he sat, facing the east, between the two summits, *Śrī-sikhara* and *Siddha-sikhara* of Mount *Kailāsa*, and practised self-contemplation of the highest type. At last, on the fourteenth day of the dark half of the month of *Māgha*, at the time of sunrise, when the moon was passing out of the *Abhijit* constellation, "the Lord resorted to the third form of the holy *śukla dhyāna* (self-contemplation) termed *śūkshmakriyāpratīpatī* (lit. having the slightest bodily tinge) and destroyed the three channels of the approach of matter, *viz.*, the mind, speech and the body! He immediately attained to the fourteenth and the last *guṇasthāna* (psychological station on the Path), whence, adopting the last form of the holy self-contemplation (*vyūpratakriyānivṛtī*, signifying a cessation of all kinds of organic activities), he passed into *nirvāṇa*, in the space of time required to articulate the five vowels, *a, i, u, ri, ṛi*! The next instant marked the appearance of another One to grace the Holy Land of the Abode of Gods in *nirvāṇa*, at the top of the Universe." As already noted (p. 66) his body disappeared like burnt camphor, only some hairs and nails remaining. Saudharmendra collected these relics and creating a mock-body of the Tirthaṅkara cremated it and with its ashes besmeared his body, the *devas* following him.

II

SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF VARDHAMĀNA.

Twenty-seven rows of paintings (Nos. 38 to 64, both rows inclusive, pls. xvii-xxiv) represent scenes from the life of Mahāvīra or Vardhamāna, the twenty-fourth Tirthaṅkara. The life history of Vardhamāna is similar to that of Rishabhadeva; but in this temple it is not so elaborately painted. Fortunately most of the paintings retain their colouring to-day. Below every row is the usual space for the explanatory labels but none contains any writing. This does not mean that they once contained these writings which have now been rubbed away. The spaces are such clean black blanks with white borders that one

¹ See painting No. 29.

can easily see that no writing was ever attempted. With the aid of Śrī Purāṇa (Vol. IV) and the Vardhamāna Purāṇa I have, however, been able to identify the scenes.

The life story of Vardhamāna is briefly as follows:—

Vardhamāna or Mahāvīra as he is popularly called had, like Rishabhadeva, previous existences or *bhavas viz.*—(1) Lion¹, (2) a *deva*, (3) Kanakoṃjyala, a *Vidyādharma* king, (4) a *deva*, (5) Harisheṇa, king of Ayodhya, (6) a *deva*, (7) Priyamitra, a monarch (*chakravartin*), (8) a *deva* by name Sūryaprabha, (9) Nanda, king of Chhatrakāranagara, (10) Achyutendra. He was born to King Siddhārtha of the Nātha-lineage (*vamśa*), who was the lord of Kuṇḍapura (Kuṇḍagrāma), and his wife Priyakāriṇī². Just as the first Tīrthāṅkara entered the face of Marudevi in the form of a bull so also Vardhamāna entered the face of Priyakāriṇī in the form of an elephant.

As soon as he was born the gods headed by Saudharmendra came to the city and took him to mount Meru to anoint him with celestial waters (*janma-abhisheka*). When the celestial waters were poured on him, he sneezed and the sneezing was so very forcible that many *devas* that were near by were pushed down by the strong wind issuing out of his nostrils. Thereupon the gods named him Vīra (*i.e.*, a hero) and Vardhamāna (ever increasing) and took him back to his parents.

Gradually he grew into a handsome youth and became renowned for his might. While, one day, Saudharmendra, was holding court, he spoke very highly of Vardhamāna's strength. On hearing this, one of the *devas*, Saṅgama by name, became curious and wanted to put it to the test. He came to the city where Vardhamāna lived and was wondering how to get an opportunity for the desired test. Vardhamāna, just then happening to be sporting with his friends in a garden, Saṅgama took the form of a big snake and stood in his way twisting himself round a tree with the tail down and the hood over the tree. Vardhamāna, on perceiving the snake, walked over its body, crushing it at every step. When he reached the region of the hood and began to crush the hood, even as Kṛishṇa of the Hindu mythology crushed the serpent Kāliya, Saṅgama could no longer bear the pain nor disbelieve Saudharmendra's statement regarding Vardhamāna's strength. He assumed his real form and begged Vardhamāna's pardon for the trial he had put him to.

According to the Śvetāmbara tradition³ he married a lady called Yaśodā and a daughter was born to them named Anujā or Priyadarśanā.⁴ But the Śrī Purāṇa which is a Digāmbara text makes no mention of Vardhamāna marrying. "Modern research

¹ Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, p. 45:—

1. Nayasāra, a carpenter.
2. Maricht, the grandson of Rishabhadeva.
3. A *deva*.
4. A Brahmin.

5. Born alternately as a god and Brahmin, with the occasional interlude of being born a king, for countless ages.

6. Vāsudeva or Triprishṭha, a king.
7. Lion.

² She is called in most texts Trīśālā.

³ See *Kalpasaṅgraha* by Bhadrabāhu-Svāmī. (A.D. 454) for Vardhamāna's life; also *Jad. Ant.*, Vol. II, pp. 139-

⁴ Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, p. 29.

would seem to favour the Śvetāmbara belief that Mahāvīra had married, but this the Digambaras strenuously deny for an ascetic who has never married moves on a higher plane of sanctity than one who has known the joys of wedded life¹.

His parents died when he was twenty-eight years old and at the age of thirty he felt a longing to dissociate himself from worldly life, a longing which every Tirthaṅkara shared. No sooner did he experience such a longing than the *Laukātika-devas* came down from their heavens and reminded him of *vairāgya* or world-flight and of the initiation ceremony called *dikshā* that had to be performed before he could become a Tirthaṅkara. This ceremony, as has been explained while speaking of the first Tirthaṅkara consists of the observance under trees or in parks or forests, of certain rigorous austerities like the plucking out of hairs, etc.²

Accordingly Vardhamāna repaired to a garden outside Kuṇḍapura, mounted on a divine palanquin called Chandraprabha and performed *dikshā* seated on a crystal stone under a tree. After discarding dress and ornaments he plucked out the hairs of his head with his fingers in five handfuls (*pañchamushṭi*) and commenced a rigorous penance, sometimes standing and sometimes sitting under trees. Even as he had discarded dress he discarded hunger and thirst. Once in every six months, however, he came to cities, where men lived, in accordance with the practice among the Tirthaṅkaras, called "charyā" to visit cities periodically and to partake of food, if offered. The first time he went out for "charyā" he happened to pass through the city of Kūlagrāma, whose king, Kūla offered him food in the prescribed manner. After twelve years³ of rigorous *dikshā*, intermixed with periodical visits to the cities for "charyā" he obtained *kevala-jñāna* or omniscience while seated on a stone under a *sāla* tree in a garden called Manohara on the banks of the river Rījugatī⁴ and adjoining a village called Vijrīmbhikā.⁵ When the *devas* learnt that he had become a "kevali" they raised the *samavasaraṇa* or heavenly pavilion, worshipped him there and along with all other beings heard discourses on *Dharma* from him. About a year after gaining omniscience Mahāvīra became a Tirthaṅkara, "one of those who show the true way across the troubled ocean of life", the true way that he showed to his followers being that they should become members of one of the four *Tirtha*, a monk or nun, if possible, otherwise a devout lay-man or lay-woman⁶. He died in his seventy-second year, in the village of Pāpā, the modern Pāvāpurī near Rājagriha sitting with clasped hands and crossed knees (the *samparyāṅka* position). With regard to the date of his death there are differences in the Jaina traditions, one giving it as B.C. 502, another as B.C. 526 and a third as B.C. 539⁷.

¹ Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, pp. 30-31.

² See *above*, pp. 96-7.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II, p. 140-121 years is the duration of his *tapaścharaṇa* according to *Kalpa-sūtra* and other texts.

⁴ Rījugatī or Rījukulā or Rījuvālikā.

⁵ Also called Jīrīmbhikāgrāma or Jīrīmbhikā.

⁶ Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, p. 42.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II, p. 140.

Mahāvīra died in 527 B.C. after preaching for thirty years. He was not the founder but only a reformer of a previously existing creed, of which the head was Pārśvanātha, who died in 776 B.C. Jaina tradition has it that Mahāvīra attained *nirvāṇa* 250 years after Pārśvanātha which is confirmed by historical research. For details see Jaini, *Outlines of Jainism*, p. xxxiii.

Painting No. 38 (pl. xvii).—This illustrates the events that preceded the birth of Vardhamāna.

One day, while sleeping, Priyakāriṇī, wife of king Siddhārtha, of Kuṇḍapura, had the same sixteen dreams that Marudevī, the mother of the first Tirthaṅkara, had (pp. 80-82) with, however, this difference, that, while Marudevī dreamt that a bull entered her face, Priyakāriṇī saw an elephant entering her face. She related her dreams to her husband who explained to her that they all signified the birth of a great soul and that the *deva* Achyutendra had entered her womb.

38-a. The painting which is rubbed away, seems to have shown king Siddhārtha and Priyakāriṇī sitting.

38-b. Priyakāriṇī is here shown reclining on a swing which is gently moved by two attendant-women who hold the chains. She is evidently dreaming the sixteen dreams.

38-c. Siddhārtha and Priyakāriṇī are here shown as conversing with each other. Priyakāriṇī is evidently narrating to her lord her dreams and seeking from him an explanation for them.

38-d. Though the painting is obliterated, we can see that the king, who is fanned by an attendant-woman, is seeking an explanation for his wife's dreams from the *purohita* or preceptor, seated on the right of the picture. Though such a representation is a deviation from the text, for the Śrī Purāṇa says that the king himself offers his wife the explanations necessary, it can be justified by comparing this with painting No. 33 (pl. xv), where Śreyāṅkumāra's dreams are explained to him by a *purohita*. It would appear, therefore, that the work of explaining the significance of dreams is usually assigned to *purohitas*.¹

Painting No. 39 (pl. xvii).—This illustrates the birth of Vardhamāna which was followed by the *devas*, headed by Saudharmendra, carrying the child on the back of the elephant, Airāvata for *janma-abhisheka*.

As soon as they learnt that the child was born, the gods headed by Saudharmendra came down to the city. Śācī, the wife of Saudharmendra, entered the room where the child was born, and taking it placed it in the hands of her husband. The child was then placed on the back of Airāvata and carried with all pomp to mount Mahā-Meru, the *devas* forming a procession and holding flags and festoons.

39-a. Priyakāriṇī is half-concealed by a screen, the idea in the introduction of the screen being that she had given birth to the child². Śācī is standing on the left and is shown twice. She is first receiving the child either from Priyakāriṇī or from the attendant-woman who stands on her right and then turns back and delivers the child to Saudharmendra, who is accompanied by Īśānendra holding a *chhatra* or umbrella above.

¹ Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, p. 25.

² "All these dreams Trīśālā related to Siddhārtha on the next day . . ."

³ Cf. painting No. 17-b, pl. xi.

39-b. The child is shown as sitting in a howdah placed on the back of the white elephant, Airāvata, with Saudharmendra and another Indra seated behind in the howdah while a *deva* who plays the part of the mahout is sitting in front of the child and driving the elephant with a goad held in his right hand. Four other *devas* hold flags and festoons and walk before Airāvata. They form the end of a big procession which is continued in paintings numbers 40, 41 and 42 which will consequently be described from behind forwards.

Painting No. 40 (pl. xvii).—Some more members of the procession are shown in this painting which runs from left to right. Three *devas* hold flags and walk while five travel on the backs of animals. One goes on a tiger, another evidently Sanatkumāra¹ on a lion and a third probably Īśānendra on a spotted deer and all the three hold flags. The fourth from behind travels on horse-back and can therefore be identified as Lāntava. He holds the *chhatra*. The fifth goes on some animal (the painting is here much obliterated), perhaps a *makara*, in which case he would be Prāṇata, and holds a banner.

¹ Thanks to Mr. Mallinath, the editor of the local *Jaina Gazette*, who procured for my use a copy of Nemichandra's *Trilokaśāstra*, the identification of these *devas* has been made easy, in spite of the bewilderingly long list of *devas* known to the Jaina. As the verses (*gāthās*) of this work are in Prākṛit with a corresponding rendering of them into Sanskrit and as there are no translations of these either in Tamil or in English I quote below the particular *gāthās* from the text that throw light on the identity of the *Kalpataru-devas*, as the principal *devas* of the Jinas are called:—

- (1) *Narasurāṣa Bhavanatrayadevaṇāḥ cā sahitāḥ Saudharmādaye dvādaśa Kalpēndrāḥ.*
Gaya-ka-va-kasari-vatahe tārara-pika-hamsa-loka-garudeya!
Mayara-sikhi-bamalapuppha-yatimānapahnuṣim samārūḍhā || 974 ||
Gaja-ka-va-kasari-vatikhūm ārasa-pika-kuntia-loka-garudā cā |
Makara-sikhi-bamalapupphakavimānaprabhṛti samārūḍhā || 974 ||
Dioyaphalapupphakasthā tatthāḍḍharanā sachāmarūḍhā |
Bakudha-yatūdravā gattā kumanti kullānam || 975 ||
Dioyaphalapupphasthā tatthāḍḍharanā sachāmarūḍhā |
Bakudhavyatūdravā gattā kumanti kalyānam || 975 ||
 (2) *Sāhamādibhāsa rūṇa āraṇaḥ jagatī kamā |*
Devāna manlacinham varāhamayamaḥitānācchāvi || 486 ||
Saudharmādibhāsatara Anātāranakayugrī kramāt |
Devāna manlacinham varāhamayamaḥitānācchāvi || 486 ||
Kumārā dadduraturayā tē kuḍḍara chanda rappa bhaggi ya |
Chagale karakḍattā choddatamē kōḍi kappatarā || 487 ||
Kūma darduraturagattatāḥ kuḍḍarā chandrah sarpa bhaggi cā |
Chagale karakḍattāḥ chaturdāsamē bhavati kalpatarā || 487 ||

Translations of these are as follows:—

Gāthā No. 974.—The twelve Indras of the *Kalpat*, viz., Saudharmendra, Īśānendra, Sanatkumārendra, Māhendra, Brahma, Lāntava, Śakra, Sātara, Anata, Prāṇata, Arapa, and Achyuta accompanied by the other *devas* (Bhavaravāna, Vyantara, and Jyotishkas) are mounted on their *vāhanas*, like elephant, horse, lion, bull, the Indian crane (*ārasa*), cuckoo, swan, ruddy goose, *garuḍa* (brahman-kite), crocodile or a kind of sea animal, peacock, and *puppha-pada-vimāna* or vehicle made of lotus flowers respectively.

Gāthā No. 975.—With celestial fruits and flowers in their hands, adorned with excellent and auspicious ornaments, followed by a number of attendant gods holding *chāmara*s, and holding many flags and banners and producing divine music on musical instruments these *Kalpa-Indras* go to the place where the Jina is installed to worship him.

Gāthā Nos. 486 and 487.—The crest-bearers of the following *devas* of the *Kalpat*, Sandharma, Īśāna, Sanatkumāra, Māhendra, Brahma, Brahmoṭtara, Lāntava, Kāpiṣṭha, Śakra, Mahāśakra, Sātara, Sahasrāra, Anata and

Painting No. 41 (pl. xviii).—This runs from right to left. At the back comes Māhendra on his bull holding a white flag which bears a design of stars. Before him walks another *deva* with a white flag. A third is on the back of a *yāli* and is preceded by a fourth who walks with an yellow flag in his hand. The next *deva* holds a banner and is seated on the back of a *hansa* and is therefore either Śukra or possibly Mahāśukra. He is preceded by two other *devas* holding a *toraya*. Yet another evidently Āraṇa goes on a peacock. The ninth (defaced) who heads this row of *devas* walks before with a white spotted flag in his hand.

Painting No. 42 (pl. xviii).—In the painting which runs from left to right the band and dance which preceded the procession are represented.

Three dancing girls of the heavens (*apsaras*) are dancing to the accompaniment of music produced by three *devas* who stand behind them. One of these *devas* beats time with cymbals, another blows a bag-pipe and the third is beating a drum (*mṛdaṅga*). An elephant with a big drum (*muraja*) on its back beaten by a *deva* goes in front of them. Another *deva* seated on its neck is acting as mahout. Two other *devas* go in front. One of them walks with a flag while the other rides a horse and blows a trumpet.

Painting No. 43 (pl. xviii).—This illustrates the *Janma-abhisheka* or the anointing ceremony of Vardhamāna.

The *devas* took him to mount Mahā-Meru and placed him on a lion-throne (*siṃhāsana*) in one of the parks called *Pāṇḍuka-vana*. They bathed him with celestial waters brought from the milk-ocean (*kshīrabhī*). When he was being bathed in this manner, particles of water got into his nostrils and brought on sneezing, as a result of the force of which several of the gods that stood near him fell down like dead twigs or straw.

Prāṇata, and Āraṇa and Achyuta are fourteen, viz., boar, deer, buffalo, fish, tortoise, frog, horse, elephant, moon, serpent, rhinoceros, goat, bull, "wish-tree" (*kalpa-tree*). The Ānata and Prāṇata *kalpa-devas* have the bull while the Āraṇa and Achyuta *devas* share the *kalpa* tree. The other twelve *kalpa-devas* referred to above share the other animals respectively beginning with boar and ending with goat.

The vehicles and the crest-devices of the *kalpavāsi-devas* as indicated in the above verses may be represented in tabular form below:—

Crest-devices.				Kalpavāsi-devas.				Vāhanas or vehicles.			
1.	Boar	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Elephant.
2.	Deer	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Horse.
3.	Buffalo	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Lion.
4.	Fish	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Bull.
5.	Tortoise	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Indian crane (<i>sānta</i>).
6.	Frog	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
7.	Horse	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Cuckoo.
8.	Elephant	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
9.	Moon	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Swan.
10.	Serpent	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
11.	Rhinoceros	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Ruddy goose (<i>loti</i>).
12.	Goat	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
13.	Bull	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Garuda.
14.		...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Makara.
15.		...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Peacock.
16.	Wish-tree	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Paṭāṅga-vimāna.

In the centre of the painting Vardhamāna is shown seated cross-legged on a pedestal placed on a white crystal slab. He is in an attitude of meditation with his hands placed one over the other on his lap. Two gods stand symmetrically, one on either side of him and are evidently pouring milk on him from a vessel that each is holding. The white patch on either shoulders coupled with the fact that according to the Śrī Purāṇa, the waters for the anointing ceremony were got from the milk-ocean lends support for the inference that it is milk that is shown as being poured on him. On either side stand five more *devas*, each with a pitcher in his hand. All hold the pitchers in both their hands except one, the second from the right, who carries a pitcher in his left hand which he has raised to the level of his shoulder, while his right hangs down. Three more *devas* with similar pitchers in their hands are shown on the left of Vardhamāna, falling down on their backs. These evidently represent the many *devas* that were pushed down by Vardhamāna's violent sneezing.

Painting No. 44 (pl. xviii).—This illustrates less elaborately the return of Vardhamāna to the city in the same processional manner as he was taken to Mahā-Meru.

The elephant Airāvata, which is depicted as moving, evidently carried Vardhamāna seated in a howdah, but the painting is here mostly obliterated. A *deva* who perhaps held a *chauri* or a *chhatra* is shown behind, as standing on a projection attached to the back of the elephant near its tail. Two *devas* walk behind the elephant, one holding the *chhatra* and the other a flag. Eight others go before and carry emblems of dignity. What the last three in the group that are close to the elephant carry cannot be learnt as the painting is obliterated. Two others that go before them carry a circular banner and a half-spread umbrella respectively. They are preceded by another *deva* who carries a flag. Two more *devas*, who form the front of the procession carry between them a *torana*.

Painting No. 45 (pl. xix).—This illustrates the celebration in the palace at Kuṇḍapura when Vardhamāna was brought back.

45-a. It is said that the *devas* returned to the city with the child and placed him on a *siṃhāsana* in the king's court. Saudharmendra danced for joy before Vardhamāna and gladdened the hearts of the Jina's parents, after which all the *devas* departed for their respective worlds.

Vardhamāna is shown seated on a throne attended by two *devas*, one on either side, who wave *chamaras* before him. Another figure stands on the extreme left probably witnessing the celebration. It is likely it may represent Siddhārtha, the father of Vardhamāna, who is admiring his son with legitimate pride or witnessing the dance performed by Saudharmendra on the right. Saudharmendra is shown with eight hands. The two front hands are folded in *añjali* against the breast, while the other six hands are all in singing attitudes. Two lotus flowers, one on either side of him, mark the two ends of a garland that he is wearing round his neck. The two star-like designs above are perhaps intended to divide this scene from the next one (45-c).

45-b. Here is shown the humiliation of the *deva* Saṅgama (see p. 117).

In the painting Saṅgama in the form of a serpent is shown as twisting round the tree with the tail on the ground and the hood spread at the top of the tree. Vardhamāna is standing on the tail evidently with the intention of climbing up and reaching the hood.

Two flower-like designs are so placed as to show clearly the purpose for which they were let in. They are marks dividing this scene from the next one (45-c).

45-c. Saṅgama is here shown begging Vardhamāna's pardon for his foolishness in attempting to test his strength.

In the painting Saṅgama is shown on the right in his true form worshipping Vardhamāna with hands pressed against each other (*añjali*), an attitude of worship and humility. Vardhamāna has his right hand lifted up in an attitude indicating that he is either warning Saṅgama or excusing him, or more probably assuring him of protection.

Similar flower-like designs, five in number, are shown on the extreme right, just where the painting ends. They serve no purpose and I am unable to understand why they were let in here, unless they mark one end of this row of painting.

Painting No. 46 (pl. xix).—This illustrates the renunciation of the world by Vardhamāna.

46-a. After thirty years had passed he felt a longing to renounce the world and lead an ascetic's life in forests and gardens by observing austerities and rigorous penance. The *Laukātika-devas* who learnt his resolve came down to him. They requested him to dissociate himself from worldly life and reminded him that the time had come for him to undergo initiation or *dīkṣā*. Thus encouraged, he became firm in his resolve and prepared himself to renounce the world.

The *Laukātikas* are here seen addressing Vardhamāna who is sitting, leaning against a cushion in a cot, and is hearing them. Only seven *Laukātikas* are shown here, though their number, as shown in painting No. 27 (pl. xiv) is eight.

46-b. Vardhamāna is here shown as being carried in a palanquin. After taking leave of all, he got into the divine palanquin called Chandraprabha and was carried to a park known as *Nāthashaṇḍa* outside the city. Five men carry the palanquin, two wave *chāmara*s beside it, and the eighth in the group goes in front carrying a flag. Vardhamāna holds a flower in his right hand which he is drawing to his nose to smell.

Painting No. 47 (pl. xix).—This illustrates his initiation, his penance and his periodical "charyā" or partaking of food.

47-a. On reaching the garden, *Nāthashaṇḍa* he got down from the palanquin and sat, facing north, on a crystal slab under a tree. Then he stripped himself of dress, ornaments and finery and commenced the most painful ceremonies that formed a necessary part of initiation, *vis.*, plucking out the hairs on the head and face with one's own fingers. This, as the Jainas believe, gives the performer power of endurance and deprives him of all attachment to worldly pleasures as it deprives him primarily of attachment to his own flesh.

In the painting he is shown as sitting naked on a white slab under a tree and plucking out the hairs from his head with his right fingers. His crown, dress and other ornaments are shown by his side.

47-b. Here he is shown as standing on a crystal slab under a tree in the *kāyotsarga* attitude, standing immovable (exposing himself to the sun and rain).

47-c. After six months of rigorous penance he went to the village of Kūlagrāma, whose king Kūla offered him food.

In the painting the feeding ceremony called "charyā" is shown in three panels. The one on the right shows the king in his palace seated with his wife, and two of his servants coming in and informing him of the arrival of Vardhamāna in the village. The king who, it is said, went out to receive him, meets him, as shown in the panel on the left. He is shown twice, first as worshipping Vardhamāna with his hands in *añjali* by kneeling before him and then standing up and requesting him to come into his palace and partake of food served by himself. The central panel shows the actual feeding. The king takes morsels of food from a tray placed on a stand near by and offers one after another to Vardhamāna, who receives them with both hands. To show respect to Vardhamāna he (Vardhamāna) is made to stand on an elevated *padmāsana*.

Painting No. 48 (pl. xix).—Vardhamāna is here shown obtaining *kevala-jñāna* and being worshipped by the *devas* in *Gandhakūṭi*, a part of the *samavasaraṇa*.

48-a. After twelve years of selfless penance and mortifications he became one day, a *kevali* under a *sāla* tree in a garden called *Manohara* on the banks of the river *Rijugati*, adjoining the village of *Vijrīmbhikā*.

He is shown here twice, first as walking to the tree, probably returning from the village after "charyā", and next as standing on a hill in the *kāyotsarga* attitude, under the *sāla* tree.

48-b. When the *devas* learnt that he had become a *kevali* they raised over him the *samavasaraṇa* or the heavenly pavilion and worshipped him there.

In the painting he is shown sitting with crossed legs and clasped hands on a pedestal within a *vimāna*. The *devas*, five on each side, have ranged themselves on either side of him and are worshipping him. The two nearest wave *chāmaras* in front of him while two more *devas*, probably *Gandharvas*, are flying above, one on either side of him, and are pouring showers of flowers over the *Gandhakūṭi*, within which the Tirthaṅkara is installed. The others have their hands in *añjali* against their breasts except one on the extreme right who holds them in *añjali* above his crown.

Paintings Nos. 49-64 (pls. xx-xxiv).—Nos. 49 to 64 are found on the ceiling of the veranda (*mukha-maṇḍapa*) in front of the Vardhamāna shrine and the *Trikūṭa-basti*. These have suffered badly owing to the fact that they are all within hand's reach, the level of the veranda being raised as entry into the shrines is from this veranda, access to which is by flights of steps from the level of the *Saṅgita-maṇḍapa*. Also the lighting of torches and other smoke-giving lights that are hung in this veranda have affected the paintings adversely by giving them a smoky tinge. As a result of this smoky tinge these paintings are losing their natural colours and before long are likely to disappear. Their damaged condition can be realized on examining the paintings figured in plates xx-xxiv where very little remains of the scenes. All means were tried to take good photographs of these and

those that are figured here are the best that could be had. None of these is labelled which proves that these are really the continuations of the Vardhamāna rows found on the ceiling of the *Saṅgīta-mandapa*. As in the case of the latter, narrow bands of black, bordered by thick white lines indicate the space for the labels. These paintings run from the northern end of the veranda and proceed south till they reach the *samavasaraṇa* paintings (Nos. 62-64). A row that could not be satisfactorily photographed comes first in this group and must now be described.

On a panel, on the right of the painting, a *deva* is sitting on a peacock with an attendant standing behind him. Both are in the attitude of moving. In the next panel stand common-folk and villagers who are all proceeding evidently to the *samavasaraṇa* to hear the Lord's discourse. As they move, they entertain themselves on the way by country-tricks like jugglery, wrestling and rope-dancing. The entertainers can be made out on the left of the painting and the entertained on the right. A few letters in modern Tamil found in one corner of the painting read as நல்ல பெய், "*Nalla pey*," which means "good devil," an expression which the jugglers of the country parts use even to-day during their performances to invoke by coaxing the aid of the devil (*kuṭṭi-sāttāṇ*), to warrant a successful culmination of their tricks.

Nos. 49-61 show the procession to the *samavasaraṇa*. The first three pictures deal almost exclusively with *devas*¹. The artist has apparently tried to avoid showing the less noble forms of *vahana* such as fish, frog, boar, etc., replacing them by the animal or bird forming the crest-device of the *deva* whenever the latter was more noble.

Painting No. 49 (pl. xx).—As has been explained above the paintings run from below and as these have been taken in groups of two, the bottom row in each case must be described before the one above it.

Two figures, evidently representing *devas* as they wear royal crowns and ride on birds—a *garuḍa* and a swan—which no king would do, are found on the right of the painting while two figures of men, one on horseback and the other on a buffalo or bull are shown moving on the left. The *devas* and the mortals are also going to attend the *samavasaraṇa* of the Lord. There are three trees in the painting, of which, the one in the centre, marks the line of demarcation between the *devas* on the right and the men on the left. The *deva* riding the *garuḍa* is Ānata and the one on the back of the swan is either Śukra or Mahāśukra, more probably Śukra, the Indra of the two heavens Śukra and Mahāśukra.

Painting No. 50 (pl. xx).—This row runs from right to left and shows more of the *devas*. The two last are on horseback, the next on a bull, the next on what looks like a rhinoceros (*khadgī*) and the fifth on a *makara* (partly defaced). The two on horseback represent Īśānendra and Lāntava. The one on the bull is either Mahendra or Prāṇata, presumably the former, for Prāṇata is found below in this row. The *deva* on the rhinoceros is Śatāra and the one on the *makara* Prāṇata. These *devas* hold in their hands lotus flowers as required by the *Trilokaśāra*². With their right hands they are holding the

¹ Concerning the identification of the *devas*, see above, pp. 120-1, f.n. 1.

² See *śāstra*, p. 120, f.n. 1.

flowers aloft. A circle behind the third *deva* from the left indicates a tree. Though the painting is much obliterated a tree is visible between every two *devas*.

Between Nos. 50 and 51, in a big space twice the size of any row of pictures in the veranda, is shown a much obliterated painting which could not be successfully photographed. It is arranged transversely to the other pictures, its top being to the west and its bottom to the east. What remains shows Devendra (Saudharmendra) riding his elephant, Airāvata. Devendra's hands hold a garland between them. Śachi, his wife, rides behind him on the elephant. She holds a tray with flowers in her hands. Above, in the same panel, two *devas* on horseback are shown, one on either side of Devendra. They are of comparatively small size.

Painting No. 51 (pl. xx).—The procession of the *devas* continues here.

On the extreme right a man with a *chāmara* in his right hand and a cup in his left (articles denoting dignity or honour) is walking briskly past a tree. Then comes a tiger with its rider. The tiger does not find a place in the list of *vāhanas* and crest-devices of the *devas* given in the *Trilokasāra*. But as some of the other animals, such as the goat, fish, tortoise and buffalo do not find a place in the paintings here it may be inferred that some of these inferior animals were removed to give place for animals of superior breed and strength. Thus the tiger comes in. But it is impossible to identify its rider with any particular *deva*. Then comes an elephant with its rider carrying a *chhatra*. The elephant is white and as such represents Airāvata, the white elephant-*vāhana* of Devendra or Saudharmendra, the Indra of the first heaven, and its rider is Saudharmendra. Then comes a lion (its mane can be distinctly seen) with its rider, its forepaws raised and tail aloft. The rider of the lion must be Sanatkumārendra. Then comes a *yāli* (a mythical animal) with its rider. As we do not find the *yāli* mentioned in the list the identity of its rider will have to remain for the present in mystery.

Then comes a deer with its rider, whose identity is also puzzling. From the list it appears that the deer is the crest-device of Īśānendra. But as he has already appeared in painting No. 50, where he rides a horse along with Lantava, also on horseback, it is impossible that he should again be represented here, unless we suppose that he is repeated, this row being different from the previous one, though both illustrate the procession of the *devas* to the *śamavasaraṇa*. Also there is the possibility of some other of the sixteen *devas* of the *kalpa* heavens being intended, especially in view of the fact that some of the inferior animals such as buffalo, tortoise, boar, etc., are replaced by animals of superior breed and strength or animals of gentle disposition. We have here probably such a replacement, the replacing animal in question being the deer of gentle disposition, while the replaced animal is not known.

The rider of the tiger holds a flag in his hand, the cloth of which can be made out. An attendant stands between the tiger and the elephant and holds also a flag. The rider of the lion has a banner, while the rider of the *yāli* carries a half-spread parasol. Another attendant stands between the *yāli* and the deer and carries a fully spread parasol, while the *deva* on the deer holds in his hand a banner which leans against his shoulder. In front of the deer can be made out another tree which probably represents the *kalpa* tree referred

to in the *Trilokasāra*. It is interesting to note that the tails of the *yali* and the lion are lifted up, the tips ending in a loop. Two other attendants standing between the elephant and the lion, and the lion and the *yali* carry flags.

The paintings here are badly damaged for reasons described above (p. 124); what has been described is all that can be made out¹.

Painting No. 52 (pl. xx).—Here celestial damsels are carrying eight auspicious articles or *aṣṭa-maṅgalas*². Some are dancing singly while others are standing under trees. The one on the extreme right carries a tray with lights in it, the next a spouted vessel, the third a banner or a circular fan, the fourth a narrow-mouthed vessel with mango leaves inserted in it (*kalasa*), the fifth a flag, the sixth something that is now obliterated, the seventh a parasol, the eighth a mirror and the ninth a *chāmara* in each hand held aloft. Of the tenth nothing can be made out.

The whole represents therefore the march to the *samavasāraṇa* of celestial ladies, of whom the four on the left form a dancing party and entertain the others, the idea being that when one party felt tired another should take its place.

Painting No. 53 (pl. xxi).—Three celestial *devīs* with crowns (*kirīṭas*) on their heads are dancing in the central panel. On either side of this party stand similar parties of four dancers who take instructions from the central party and imitate them as is commonly done in dancing parties, where many members take part.

Above this row is a row of rosettes representing lotus flowers with the seed-vessel exposed. Unfortunately this row is placed in the centre of the veranda where a pole has been suspended below it on which lamps are hung, so that smoke has spoilt the painting considerably. This accounts for the dark colour in most of the paintings on the ceiling of this veranda.

A row, not photographed, is so badly damaged that hardly anything more can be made out than a dancing *deva*. He dances within a circle placed in a square, the four corners of which show two *chakras* on the top and two conches below, one for each corner. The *deva* has several hands of which sixteen can be made out, two in *añjali* against the breast and the rest in singing attitudes. Two lotuses forming the ends of a long garland hang from his neck. The long garland that he wears, the hugeness of his form and the number of his hands suggest that Saudharmendra was intended, an identification with which the temple priest agreed.³ In six panels, three on either side of the circle, can be seen six celestial damsels, one in each, in dancing attitudes.

Painting No. 54 (pl. xxi).—Here there is another party, the party entertained being perhaps commonfolk and chieftains belonging to the mortal world. In the centre stands a chieftain under a tree with legs apart. On his head rests a long conical cap with its top shaped like a serpent's hood, but not sufficiently clear to be definitely put

¹ Both the temple priest at Tiruparuttikunram and Mr. Mallinath, editor of the *Jaina Gazette*, to whom I explained the above identifications approved of them.

² See *below*, No. 60, p. 130.

³ In fact he more often agreed than disagreed with me over the identification of these *devas*.

down as such; he has a long shirt or coat girdled at the waist with a sash or belt (a type of dress with which frequenters of South Indian theatres are familiar), while his legs are provided with long trousers, the tips of which are marked by anklets (*padasara*) painted in white. The feet are so arranged that they face each other in a dancing pose. His right hand hangs down while his left holds a shaft, the top of which is fashioned like a trident or flame of fire. The significance of the latter symbol is not clear. If the person represented is one of the *Bhavanavāsi-devas* and if what is held in his left hand is taken to be fire then the *deva* represented may be taken to be one of the *Agni-kumāras*¹; but as an *Agni-kumāra* is invariably shown with the flames of fire issuing out of his head-dress as represented in painting No. 56 (to be described below, p. 129) this cannot be an *Agni-kumāra*. But if what is held in the hand can be taken to be a *vajra* or thunderbolt (only the lower line of such a weapon is shown as a semi-circle rather than as a trident turned over) then he can be taken to be one of the *Bhavanavāsi-devas* called *Stanita* or *Megha-kumāra*.¹ Six celestial damsels are dancing, five to his right and one to his left.

On the right of this dancing group stand three men, one behind the other. All the three are beating time to the song of the damsel before them. The first stands leaning towards the damsel and is beating time with his hands (*taḷam*). The next is beating a drum (*mṛidāṅga*) hanging from his neck. The third is beating time with a pair of cymbals. All these three are dressed much in the same style as the *nattuvans* (professional nautch performers) of South India. They have a turban on their heads and wear a long robe extending to the ankles firmly secured at the waist with a sash or belt which gives it an elegantly stiff appearance.

Painting No. 55 (pl. xxi).—In this row can be seen a number of the other *Bhavanavāsi-devas*, who, as described in the *Trilokasāra* (p. 120) formed the followers of the twelve *Kalpavāsi-Indras* in their march to the *samavasaraṇa* to do worship to the *Tīrthaṅkara*. The identity of eight of these in this row becomes clear from a study of their distinguishing marks as detailed in *gāthā* 213 of the *Trilokasāra*.¹ They carry in one hand the

¹ *Chūḷāmani-phani-garuḷam gaṇa-mayaram vajjamānagam vajjam |*
Horibalasasam chinham maṇi chettadumaha dhya || 213 ||
Chūḷāmani-phani-garuḷam gaṇa-makaram vardhamānakam vajram |
Itari-kalala-vaṇi chinham mukha chaitryadrumā aṭha dhvajā || 213 ||

The marks of the *Bhavanavāsi* or residential *devas* as indicated in this verse are summarized in the following table:—

<i>Bhavanavāsi-devas.</i>					<i>Marks on head-dress (maṇi-chinḥa).</i>
1. Asurakumāra	...	...	...	...	Crest-jewel (<i>chūḷāmani</i>).
2. Nāgakumāra	...	...	...	...	Serpent's hood.
3. Suparṇakumāra	...	...	...	...	Garuda.
4. Dēpakumāra	...	...	...	...	Elephant.
5. Uḷadhikūmāra	...	...	...	...	<i>Makara</i> .
6. Vālyurakumāra	...	...	...	...	Powder-flask (<i>vardhamānaka</i>).
7. Stanitakumāra or Meghakumāra	...	...	...	...	Thunderbolt (<i>vajra</i>).
8. Dikkumāra	...	...	...	...	Lion (<i>hari</i>).
9. Agnikumāra	...	...	...	...	Fire or <i>kalala</i> (vessel) with fire in it.
10. Vātakumāra	...	...	...	...	Horse.

chāmara and in the other flower-garlands for worshipping the Tirthāṅkara as prescribed for all *devas*. The ends of the garlands show two big lotus flowers in each. A serpent-hood rising above the crown of each marks them out as the *Nāga-kumāras*. Two *devas*, one at either end, are without the serpent-hoods over their heads and cannot be identified.

Painting No. 56 (pl. xxii).—The first figure from the right is not included in the photograph. It is badly defaced and differs from all the others in having only two arms. The next figure (the first from the right) in the photograph has the characteristics of the *Agni-kumāras*, viz., fire (*agni*) and *kalasa*, but the others are all alike, their respective marks not being shown. He carries in his lower hands an incense-burner from the mouth of which the smoke of burnt incense is issuing. This type of incense-burner is used even to-day in some of the temples in South India during worship. Flames of fire can be seen issuing from the sides of the *kirita* on his head. The seven other *devas* to the left of *Agni-kumāra* are also four handed, the lower hands joined in worship (*añjali*) and the upper hands lifted up in attitudes indicative of singing the praises of the Jina, which they are said to do. It is not possible to decide what particular *Kumāras* these seven represent as the particular marks referred to in *Trilokasāra* are not found except the crest-jewel (*chūdāmaṇi*) distinctive of the *Asura-kumāras*, which is present on the *kirita* of all seven. As the *Nāga-kumāras*, *Agni-kumāras* and *Asura-kumāras* are *Bhavanavāsi-devas*, of which there are seven other classes, the remaining seven figures are presumably intended to represent them, though they all resemble *Asura-kumāras* in wearing the crest-jewel.¹

Painting No. 57 (pl. xxii).—Here divine damsels are performing with sticks a kind of dance called in Tamil *kōlāttam*. Three trees separate these dancers into four pairs, each pair being engaged in the *kōlāttam* dance and beating each other's sticks in time to the music.

Painting No. 58 (pl. xxii).—Another group of dancing girls of the heavens are engaged in individual dancing, the one on the extreme left doing an axe-dance (resembling a sword-dance but with an axe taking the place of a sword). The axe is double-edged and is held in the middle by both her hands, while she whirls round keeping the axe always so close to her limbs that to the spectator it almost appears as if the weapon would hurt her. Her dexterous handling of the weapon produces an artistic effect in the performance and a sense of approbation in the spectator.

Painting No. 59 (pl. xxii).—In this row celestial ladies are carrying in their hands materials of honour like trays with flowers and lights, vessels with lights in them (*kudavilakku*) and other kinds of vessels (*kalasas*). These materials are supposed to do honour to the Jina. The lights in the vessels and trays show flames which suggest that wicks are kept burning in them. In the centre of the painting two of the ladies are clearly seen with flower trays in their hands.

¹ See above, p. 128, fn. 1.

Painting No. 60 (pl. xxiii).—This shows some of the *devas* that followed the *Kalpavāsi-devas* with the eight auspicious marks of honour (*aṣṭamaṅgalas*). These are a golden vase or pitcher used during the coronation ceremony of a king (*bhṛīṅgāra*), a vessel (*kalāṣa*) indicating plenty and prosperity, a mirror or any polished metal designed artistically (*darpaṇa*), an ornamental fan (*vijana*), a flag (*dhvaja*), a *chāmara*, a parasol, and a banner called *supratishtha*.¹ In the painting not all the eight *maṅgalas* are present, but only the most important of them. Two of the *devas* carry flags, two *supratishthas*, one the fan, one a half-spread parasol and those at the two ends a fully spread parasol each.

The fourth from the left holds in his left hand a flower, probably a lotus, the significance of which is that they are all going to the *samavasaraṇa* to worship the Lord with flowers, etc.²

Painting No. 61 (pl. xxiii).—This row appears to be intended for the nine *nidhis* (treasure-gods). Though six figures only are shown their identification as *nidhis* becomes clear on looking at the two figures on the extreme right and extreme left of the painting respectively. The one on the left is one of the *nidhis* called *Śaṅkha* or Conch who can be distinguished by four conches, two above his left hand and two below it. He is represented as a fat man,³ performing the dance shared by the others. The dancing figure on the right represents another *nidhi* called *Padma* or Lotus as is evident from a number of lotuses scattered round him. The other four that dance between these two represent four of the remaining *nidhis* whose identity is not however clear as there are no distinguishing marks by their sides.⁴ There is another reason for indicating the marks in the case of *Śaṅkha* and *Padma* alone and not in the case of the others, for they are considered by both the Jainas and the Hindus (the Hindus also have these nine *nidhis*) as the most important of all the *nidhis*. In Tamil literature there is reference to *Śaṅkha* and *Padma* alone in places where all the *nidhis* were intended.⁵ Three of the *nidhis* including *Padma* hold lotuses which signify the purpose which they all have in view, viz., to worship the Jina.⁶

Paintings Nos. 62-64 (pls. xxiii and xxiv).—This (No. 62) and the other two paintings (Nos. 63 and 64) illustrate the *samavasaraṇa* of Vardhamāna, the heavenly structure to which all the people mentioned in the previous paintings are going.

Unlike the *samavasaraṇa* of Rishabhadeva (No. 36), this is done very elaborately, on a wider space, the treatment being quite different. Except the *Lakṣmīvara-mandapa* with its inner circle (No. 64) wherein the Tirthaṅkara is seated, the rest of the structure is done flatly and in rectangular, not circular, rows one above the other. Thus, while in No. 36 all the seven regions and the Grand Assembly and *Gandhakuṭi* with the Tirthaṅkara

¹ *Trilokaśāstra*, gāthā No. 989.

² *Trilokaśāstra*, gāthā No. 975.

³ Cf. Kubera and Jambhala.

⁴ The nine *nidhis* are, according to the *Trilokaśāstra*, Kāla, Mahākāla, Māṇavaka, Piṅgala, Naisarpa, Padma, Pāṇḍu, Śaṅkha, and Nānārātana, of which Śaṅkha and Padma are apparent. For their description and functions see *Trilokaśāstra*, *Naratoriyak-lokādāhikāra*, gāthās Nos. 821, 822.

⁵ *Dīpāraṇ* (*talavarilai*), edited by Swaminatha Pandita, Madras, 1911, p. 1230, v. 10—*Śaṅka nidi paduma nidi iṇṇaṇḍuṁ taṇḍu dharaṇḍiyōṇḍuṁ iṇḍu toruvorēnum* . . .

seated in the centre on a throne are all indicated in circular spaces formed by concentric circles, here the Grand Assembly and *Gandhakuti* with the Tirthankara in it are alone shown in spaces formed by concentric circles while the rest of the structure is done in rectangular spaces formed by straight lines. As the ceiling of the veranda where these paintings are shown is narrower than that of the *Saṅgita-mandapa*, where the majority of the temple paintings is shown, and as the scenes preceding the erection of the *samavasaraṇa* in this case have been done on a larger scale it was convenient to show the details of the *samavasaraṇa* also on a larger scale. Though only a circular representation was meant it could be shown only within a limited space. The idea of a circular representation is not materially affected by the rectangular representation of the outer seven regions, of each of which a section including one of the roads from the four cardinal points is shown. Only the *Lakshmivara-mandapa* and the central *Gandhakuti* immediately within it are treated in circular fashion.

Painting No. 62 (pl. xxiii).—Proceeding from the outside which forms the bottom of the picture, the *mānastambha* is the first structure illustrated. It is shown in elevation much in the same way as in No. 36. The image of the Jina is installed in the pavilion on the top of the pillar. The first band, starting from below, represents the wall *Dhūlisala* which encloses the first region called *Chaityaprasāda-bhūmi* shown (again as in No. 36) in plan. This contains a row of the pavilions and *Jina-bhavanas* with which the region is filled. The second band represents the first *vedikā*. This encloses the second region, the *Khatika-bhūmi* or the region of water in which fishes and lotus leaves can be distinguished. The third band represents the second wall which encloses the third region, the *Vallī-bhūmi*. In the latter can be seen some flowers and plants representing the plant-creation with which this region is said to have been filled. Up the centre of the picture through each of these regions runs the road from one of the cardinal points with an entrance-tower (*gepura*) leading from one region to the next. Smaller entrances or gateways opening into these roads are marked one on each side of them in each region.

Painting No. 63 (pl. xxiv).—The road from one of the four cardinal points, with its entrance towers, continues up the centre of this picture through the next four regions, of which the first is the *Upavana-bhūmi* or the garden-region in which can be seen a row of trees, which represent the four wooded avenues of *aśoka*, *chāmpaka*, *chūta* and *saptachchhada* referred to in the text. The band above the trees represents the third *vedikā* beyond which the *Dhvaja-bhūmi* is indicated by a number of flags fluttering. On only one flag, the third from the left, are any distinctive marks now visible, these being stars. Though according to the text the mark should be that of the moon, and though the moon cannot be made out in the painting, which is badly damaged, the presence of the moon in the midst of the stars can be inferred for it is said that the moon is the "lord of the stars" (*Uḍupatī*). Above these flags can be seen another band which represents the third wall beyond which is the sixth region, called *Kalpakaṇṭhika-bhūmi*. In this region the ten kinds of "wish-trees" are indicated, five being shown on each side of the central road. Though these different trees are all shown in the same way we may infer that the ten kinds of trees mentioned are intended. A band above these trees represents the fourth

vedikā enclosing the *Bhavana-bhūmi* which is indicated here by a row of houses resembling pavilions or *gopuras*. The band which runs above these houses represents the wall called *Ākāśa-sphatika-sāla* and divides the *Bhavana-bhūmi* region from the next region of the *samavasāraṇa*, the part illustrated in No. 64.

Painting No. 64 (pl. xxiv).—Here are two concentric circles. The outer one encloses the clean, open space, one *yojana* × one *yojana* in size, known as the *Lakshminivara-maṇḍapa* and divided into twelve halls or compartments in four groups of three each, separated by the four roads from the four cardinal points. The treatment of this resembles that already seen in No. 36, with the difference that the halls run counter-clockwise.

Starting from below, the rectangle evidently represents the road from the east, as the Tirthaṅkara in the central circle sits facing it. A *gopura* indicates the gateway. The first compartment to the right shows two apostles (*Gaṇadhara*s), the second the *Kalpavāsi-devīs*, and the third *Āryakās* and the *Śrāvakīs*, i.e., nuns and other faithful women dressed with the cowl on their heads as in No. 36.

Next comes the second rectangle representing the entrance from the north, and then the fourth compartment with the *Jyotishka* ladies, the fifth with the *Vyantara* ladies, and the sixth with the *Bhavanuvāsi* ladies. The rectangle that comes next is the entrance from the west; it is followed by the seventh compartment with the *Bhavanuvāsi-devas*, the eighth with the *Vyantara-devas* and the ninth with the *Jyotishka-devas*. After the rectangle representing the entrance from the south, are the tenth compartment with the *Kalpavāsi-devas*, the eleventh with kings, common folk and other beings, and the twelfth with animals, of which we can make out in the painting a lion couchant and a spotted deer. In each compartment only two representatives of the respective occupants are shown as is also the case in No. 36, and the figures are all in much the same attitude as in that picture.

The inner circular band represents the fifth *vedikā* within which was the *Gandhakūṭi*, and in it the *siṃhāsana* or lion-throne for the Tirthaṅkara. The details are shown as in No. 36. The Tirthaṅkara as in that picture is shown sitting on a lotus-throne (*padmāsana* not *siṃhāsana*) rising in three tiers, in the *sampanyāka* attitude with hands placed in meditation on his lap. Some of the *pratihāryas* attending him, as for instance, *chāmara*s waved by two *devas* standing on either side of him, the nimbus, the parasol (*mukkoḍai*), the *aśoka* tree (leaves of it alone), and the throne can be made out in the painting while the rest, such as the celestial music, the shower of heavenly flowers and the drum can only be inferred. On either side of the throne, projecting inwards from the *vedikā* is a *yajñi*'s head from the mouth of which issues a lion's tail.

The circular structure including both the *Gandhakūṭi* and the *Lakshminivara-maṇḍapa* is surmounted by a *vimāna* with a spiral finial surmounted by a three-tiered parasol (*mukkoḍai*), and over this, poised in the air are some of the celestial beings presumably *Gandharvas*, scattering flowers on the *vimāna* below them. Some of them stand on either side of the *vimāna* too. Unfortunately this part of the painting could not be photographed; so it does not appear in the plate.

III

SCENES FROM THE LIVES OF KRISHNA AND NEMINĀTHA.

Krishna, the most popular of the Hindu gods, finds a prominent niche in Jaina mythology. He is said to be the cousin of the twenty-second Tirthaṅkara Neminātha. The popularity of the Krishna-incarnation even among the Jains is proved by the fact that a larger number of paintings is devoted to Krishna's life and that the Śrī Purāṇa (Vol. IV) devotes a larger number of pages for the life of Krishna than for Neminātha himself.

The life of Krishna as given in the Jaina Purāṇas is much the same as is found in the Mahābhārata and the Bhāgavata of the Hindu. It is, however, necessary to give here in brief outline the account given in the Śrī Purāṇa, as this differs in many respects from the better known version of the Śatruñjaya Māhātmya (Sarga x) which has been critically discussed in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xxx. pp. 297-302. And it will be convenient to follow it with a similar brief account of the life of Neminātha, as the remaining series of pictures illustrate both.

Some years before the birth of Krishna, a non-Jaina ascetic Vasishṭha by name, was performing a rigorous penance in the midst of *pañchāgni*, i.e., surrounded by fire on the four cardinal points and with the sun above, when two Jaina sages (*chāraṇas*) pointed out to him that such a penance should not be performed as insects in his hair or *jaḷās* and serpents and other small living beings in the fuel were getting burnt in his fire. Vasishṭha was made a convert to the Jaina peaceful methods of performing penance and proceeded to do penance near Mathurāpura. Ugrasena, the king of Mathurāpura, who knew the custom among the Jaina ascetics of going out for food periodically, wanted to be the first to feed Vasishṭha. Accordingly he issued a proclamation that when Vasishṭha should come there for food no one should feed him as he himself wanted to receive the merit of feeding him. Three times the ascetic came to the city but got no food, as on his visits Ugrasena was otherwise busy. On the first occasion the palace was ablaze. On the second occasion an infuriated elephant was doing havoc in the city and on the third occasion Ugrasena himself did not receive the ascetic when he came, as he had heard bad news from Jarāsandha, the king of another country. As the ascetic was returning to the forest without food a passer-by remarked that Ugrasena was bent upon starving him, as he had proclaimed that none else should offer him food. The hungry ascetic got incensed at this news and vowed that he would become the son of Ugrasena and bring ruin on him.

Accordingly he was conceived in the womb of Padmāvatī, the wife of Ugrasena. When the child was born it was so ill-looking, with red looks, that the parents wanted to get rid of it as soon as possible. They placed it in a *kāṁsa-mañjūshā* or bed of bell-metal, with a cudgion leaf explaining its parentage and set it afloat on the river Jumna.

The bed reached the city of Kausāmbī, where a woman who was a sweet-meat seller, Maṇḍōdarī by name took the child and reared him up calling him Kamsa as he was found in a *kāṁsa-mañjūshā*. But he grew into such a rebellious youth and a bully to the neighbouring youths that eventually Maṇḍōdarī had to send him away.

Kamsa reached a city called Śaurya-pura, whose king Vasudeva took him in his service. King Jarāsandha, a powerful neighbouring monarch, issued a proclamation that whoever could capture king Simharatha of Paudanapura, a rebellious vassal of his, could claim half of his kingdom and also the hand of a lady called Jivadyaśā, daughter of Kaṇḍisēna, a relation of his. Vasudeva captured Simharatha alive but when he went to claim the reward from Jarāsandha he found Jivadyaśā so bad-looking that he threw the credit of having captured Simharatha on Kamsa. But Jarāsandha hesitated to give his consent for the marriage as he was not sure if Kamsa was of the warrior-caste or of some lower one. Maṇḍodari, who was sent for, produced the bell-metal bed and the cudgeon leaf before Jarāsandha, who now learnt that Kamsa was king Ugrasena's son. And Kamsa was given one half of the kingdom and the hand of Jivadyaśā.

Incensed at what his parents had done with him, he imprisoned both Ugrasena and Padmavati and kept them in chains at the gate-way of Mathurāpura, which he made the capital of his kingdom. He was, however, grateful to Vasudeva, to whom he gave in marriage his cousin, Devaki, daughter of Devasena, his paternal uncle, and arranged for them to live with him.

One day, Devaki's brother, Ratimukta by name, who was an ascetic, came to the palace for "charya", i.e., periodical food. Kamsa's wife, Jivadyaśā showed him the nuptial-cloth of Devaki and made fun of her. Ratimukta prophesied that a son would be born to Devaki, who would kill Kamsa. On hearing this, Jivadyaśā tore the cloth in wrath and Ratimukta said that her action meant that Devaki's son would kill her father too. Jivadyaśā then crushed the cloth under her feet when the ascetic prophesied that this action indicated that Devaki's son would become the lord of the world.

Jivadyaśā imparted this news to Kamsa who got so nervous that he decided on killing the children that were to be born to Devaki. To carry out his resolve he feigned deep affection for Vasudeva and Devaki and requested them to stay with him in his own palace during Devaki's pregnancy. To this they agreed, suspecting nothing. Devaki gave birth to twins three times which were stealthily removed from the palace by one of the *devas* called Naigamarshaṇa and were entrusted to the care of a lady, Ālakā of the *Vaiśya* caste, who had also simultaneously given birth to twins three times. The *deva* removed Ālakā's children to Kamsa's palace, where Kamsa dashed them against rocks and killed them, under the belief that they were born to Devaki.

Seven months later Devaki gave birth to her seventh son, Kṛishṇa who was similarly removed from the palace stealthily, this time not by the *deva* Naigamarshaṇa but by Vasudeva himself and his step-son, Baladeva¹ to a village of cowherds nearby. There a cowherd, Nanda, who had a daughter born to his wife, as a result of her repeated prayers, was carrying the child to the temple to offer it to the god to whom she had prayed. Vasudeva and Baladeva gave him Kṛishṇa and took in return his daughter which they carried back to Kamsa's palace. On hearing that Devaki had given birth to

¹ For Baladeva of Jaina hagiology, see *Appendix III*, pp. 222-223.

a daughter Kamsa took the child from Devakī and crushed it under his feet. He then heaved a sigh of relief, little suspecting that Kṛishṇa, his foe, was growing up in the village of the cowherds.

But bad omens and evil portents such as earthquakes at Mathurāpura made him nervous again, for a soothsayer, Varuṇa, told him that they all indicated that his foe, who was to kill him, was still alive. He commissioned evil spirits to kill his foe but they all failed and out of shame never returned to him. In course of time he learnt that Kṛishṇa was his foe. He attempted to kill him in many ways but in vain, till finally he wrestled with Kṛishṇa and was killed.

Kṛishṇa now became the lord of the land. Ugrasena and his wife were set free and were installed at Mathurāpura as king and queen once again. Kṛishṇa stayed with his father, Vasudeva at Śauryapura.

King Jarāsandha learnt from Jivadyaśa, the widow of Kamsa, about Kamsa's death at the hands of Kṛishṇa and sent his three sons, one after another to attack Kṛishṇa, who proved more than a match for the first two sons but could not withstand the attacks of the third, Kālayava. Feeling that he and his followers would be pursued by Kālayava and his forces, Kṛishṇa led his followers to an unknown island in the sea which he named Dvārāvati.

All were happy at Dvārāvati and Kṛishṇa ruled the island with the help of his father Vasudeva and step-brother Baladeva. About this time Neminātha, the twenty-second Tirthaṅkara was born in the island to an uncle of Kṛishṇa, called Samudravijaya and his wife Śivadevi, and grew into a handsome youth. By his prowess and valour he overshadowed even Kṛishṇa. There grew up a mighty friendship between Kṛishṇa and Neminātha, as is common among cousins.

It so happened that Jarāsandha learnt of the whereabouts of Kṛishṇa and his men from some ship-wrecked merchants who had seen Dvārāvati and its lord, Kṛishṇa. He sent a challenge to Kṛishṇa to come out of his hiding place and fight with him like a warrior, and Kṛishṇa accepted the challenge. Entrusting Dvārāvati to Neminātha he started with Vasudeva and Baladeva and a big force for Kurukshetra, where in a pitched battle with Jarāsandha and his forces he killed Jarāsandha and routed his forces. When he returned victorious to Dvārāvati the people anointed him a universal monarch (*chakravartin*), and Neminātha conferred on him his blessings.

The life of Neminātha is as follows:—

King Samudravijaya of the Hari dynasty, who was an uncle of Kṛishṇa, was staying with the Yādavas in Dvārāvati. His wife, Śivadevi, while sleeping, saw the sixteen dreams that every mother of a Tirthaṅkara sees and like Vardhamāna's mother, Priyakāriṇī, saw the elephant entering her face. In due course she gave birth to Neminātha. The *devas* headed by Saudharmendra took him to mount Maha-Meru for *Jaumābhisheka* and after anointing him with celestial waters brought him back to Dvārāvati. Neminātha grew into a handsome youth. A close friendship arose between him and Kṛishṇa, who always consulted him in affairs dealing with the administration of the kingdom, etc.

When King Jarāsandha challenged Kṛishṇa to come out of his hiding place and fight with him, Kṛishṇa invited Neminātha to look after the kingdom while he was away, which he did.

One day while Neminātha was sporting in a tank with Satyabhāmā, one of the wives of Kṛishṇa, he made a wager with her that whosoever got tired first in a water-fight (*jala-kriḍā*), i.e., splashing water against each other, should wear the dress of the other. Satyabhāmā got tired earlier and when asked to wear the dress of Neminātha refused to do so on the ground that he had not done *trivikrama* (i.e., getting on the *Naga-śayana*, blowing a conch and bending a bow) like her husband Kṛishṇa. Thereupon Neminātha did *trivikrama* before her and the blast that he produced from the conch was heard by all including Kṛishṇa, who learnt from his men whence the sound came. Feeling that Neminātha desired to enjoy the pleasures of life Kṛishṇa arranged for his marriage with Rātrimati, the daughter of Ugrasena.

When the day fixed for the marriage came Kṛishṇa reflected in his mind that the step he had taken was dangerous to himself as Neminātha, when married, by tasting the pleasures of worldly life, would be tempted to make himself a *chakravartin*, in which case he (Kṛishṇa) would be overshadowed by his superior might and intellect. He therefore wanted to prevent the marriage from taking place. When Neminātha was coming along the streets in procession towards the palace where the marriage was to take place Kṛishṇa got herds of sickly cattle, sheep and other animals to stand in his way so that, on seeing them, he might get disgusted with life, and put off his marriage for ever. True to his expectations Neminātha was so moved by the pitiable condition of these animals that he resolved to renounce the world.

Immediately after, the *Laukātīkas* came and reminded him of *dīkshā*. He got into a palanquin like the other Tīrthaṅkaras and left for a forest where he did penance under trees for a number of years, periodically going to various countries for *charyā*. After a time he became a *kevalī* when the *devas* raised the "samavasaraṇa" over him, seated in the centre of which he taught the world the supreme Law.¹

Painting No. 65 (pl. xxv)—

65-a. கௌரவாசனத்தில் கம்சனும் ஜீவத்யாஸையும் அரண்மனையில் யிருக்குறது பிவ
டம் உ ||

Mathurāpurattil Kamsanum Jivadyasaiyum aramāṇai (nai) yil yirukkuṛadu yivadam ||

"Here [are shown] Kamsa and his wife Jivadyaśā being (sitting) in the palace in Mathurāpura."

Both Kamsa and Jivadyaśā are shown as sitting and being fanned by an attendant while two other men with staffs held under their arms, perhaps his court-officials, are awaiting his commands with their hands placed together in respect (*añjali*).

¹ One of the links in Jaina tradition is the historicity of Neminātha, who was a prince in Kathiawar and flourished about 5,000 years before Pārśvanātha who is said to have died in 776 B.C. Indian history before 327 B.C. being so uncertain we can reject this period that intervened between these Tīrthaṅkaras as fabulous. But the authenticity of his life need not be brushed aside in like manner. He was a prince of the Vācava clan at Dvārakā and a cousin of Kṛishṇa. For a discussion on this subject see Jaini, *Outlines of Jainism*, pp. xxxiv-v.

65-b. Illustrates the marriage between Vasudeva and Devaki.

கம்ஸது சுதர்மஜெயாசிய டேவகியை வஸுதேவனுக்கு கடுரணம்பண்ணி
குடுக்குறது பிவடம் உ ||

Kamsan annjaiyagiya Devakiyai Vasudevanukku kalyāṇam paṇṇi kuḍukkuradu yivadam உ ||

"Here is shown Devaki, the younger sister of Kamsa, being given in marriage to Vasudeva by Kamsa."

Vasudeva and Devaki are shown on the left sitting side by side on a raised seat. A fire is kindled in front of them by a *purohita* or priest who is pouring some oblations into the flames and performing the necessary marriage rites. The lighting of the fire is an important item in a marriage or in any religious function in India for it is believed that no function will be sanctified and legalized unless it is done in the presence of the fire-god, who is supposed to be a never-failing witness.

The fire is placed on a pyramidal pedestal. In the foreground are two *kalasas* with mango leaves inserted in them and a tray with what look like flowers upon it.

65-c. This illustrates the birth of Krishna.

டேவகிக்கு சூழ்ந்து பிறந்தது பிவடம்,

Devakikku Krishnan pirandadu yivadam.

"Here [is shown] the birth of Krishna to Devaki."

The birth of the child is indicated here as in similar birth scenes (pl. xvii) by Devaki standing or sitting behind a small screen which half hides her. She has her right hand extended suggesting that she is in pain. An attendant is anxiously watching her, standing on her left, and is massaging her in the region of her hips.

Painting No. 66 (pl. xxv).—This illustrates the removal of the child stealthily to Godavana, the locality of the cowherds, where it was entrusted to the care of a cowherd, Nanda.

66-a. வஸுதேவனு சூழ்ந்து வாங்குறது பிவடம் உ ||

Baladevan Krishnanai vāṅguradu yivadam உ ||

"Here (is shown) Baladeva receiving Krishna."

Vasudeva and Baladeva, who wished that Kamsa should not come to know about the birth of Krishna, removed him from the palace with the intention of giving him to someone who would rear him up without revealing his identity. Baladeva took the child from the hands of a nurse in the birth-room and reached the palace gates, accompanied by Vasudeva, who spread a white umbrella over the child, and led by the guardian-deity of the city which came in the form of a bull and removed darkness on his way by the lustre issuing from the gems (*ratnas*) with which its horns were inlaid. The city gates, which were then locked, opened of their own accord to let the party out. Baladeva and Vasudeva reached the river *Yamunā* (Jumna) which they could not cross for there was no ferry then, it being midnight. But the goddess *Yamunā*, the presiding deity of the river, stopped the flow of her waters for some time and gave them a passage. On arriving at the other shore they met a cowherd, Nanda, who was carrying a female child in his arms. On learning

from him that the child was born to his wife who had prayed to a deity near by for a child and that he was carrying the child, as his wife desired, to the temple of that deity to make of it an offering there, Vasudeva gave him Kṛishṇa and took his daughter in return, narrating to him the birth of Kṛishṇa and asking him to bring up the child in complete concealment. Nanda took Kṛishṇa home and fearing that his wife might not believe him if he told her the real account of the child told her that the deity to whom he offered the female child born to her gave him in return a boy. His innocent wife believed him and brought up the child as her own.

Baladeva, who can be distinguished by a plough¹ (which was his weapon) that leans against his shoulder is seen spreading his hands to receive child Kṛishṇa whom an attendant woman is holding in her hands. This attendant woman is shown again on the right, where presumably she is taking the child from the room before giving it to Baladeva.

66-6. வஸுதேவது யவஹததும் செக்குறது சிவடம் உ.

Vasudevan dhavaḥa-chhatram yedukkuradu yivadam உ.

"Here [is shown] Vasudeva spreading a white umbrella."

Baladeva who is again distinguished by a plough resting on his shoulder is carrying the child while Vasudeva goes before him with the umbrella spread over it. In all these paintings Vasudeva is painted yellow and Baladeva white.

66-6. கதாபுரவாசல் கதவு தானே திறந்தது சிவடம் உ ||
செல்லுக்குறது சிவடம் உ ||

Nagaradēvatāi vṛishabhāhāramāy koṇbula rattinaṅgaḷ alitti muḷsellukuruadu yivadam உ ||

"Here [is shown] the guardian-deity of the city, in the form of a bull going before them with its horns inlaid with gems."

The bull, which is shown as trotting before them towards the gate, is said to have illumined the way by the gems with which its horns were inlaid.

66-6. கோபுரவாசல் கதவு தானே திறந்தது சிவடம் உ ||

Gōpura-vāśāl-kaduvu tāṇē tīrandadu yivadam உ ||

"Here did the tower-gate open of its own accord."

A rectangular lattice-work surmounted by a *gopura*-tower represents the tower-gate. It is said the gate opened when the child's feet were made to touch it. Ugrasena, the father of Kamsa, who was in chains there asked them who they were and was told that the child was to become his rescuer. On hearing this Ugrasena felt glad at heart.

66-6. அப்பால் சிமநதி தானே விலங்குறது சிவடம் உ ||

Appāl Yimā-nadi tāṇē vilanṅguradu yivadam உ ||

"Then the river Yamunā moved and gave way of its own accord."

The river is indicated by two wavy lines with fishes between, while the passage that the river is said to have allowed to the party is indicated by a small red band in the middle of the river.

¹ The plough is his distinguishing mark in Hindu mythology also.

66-f. ஸாதுஷெவபு பிள்ளை உ-குதுவொத்திரமெல்லாம் செல்லி தந்மொபுபு கைகிலெ
புள்ளையை குடுக்குறது கிவடம் உ ||

*Baladevan pillai pūruvottiram-ellām solli Nanda-gōpan kaiyile puḷḷayai kuḍukkuradu
yivadam உ ||*

"Here [is shown] Baladeva placing the boy (Kṛishṇa) in the hands of the cowherd Nanda, after narrating to him the parentage, etc., of the child."

Baladeva, with his plough leaning against his shoulder, is shown here holding the child in a position suggesting that he is about to deliver it into the hands of the cowherd who, with outspread hands is eager to receive it. The cowherd is shown in the typical dress of cowherds even to-day, *viz.*, a shawl covering the head and the back and a small loin-cloth suspended from a string tied to the waist and has the *nāmam* (Vaishṇava caste-mark) on his forehead. At his feet lies the female child, painted deep-red like Nanda, which he has deposited on the ground probably in his eagerness to receive child Kṛishṇa. Baladeva, as usual, is painted white.

Nanda is shown again, on the left, with the child in his arms, departing from the place and going to his wife. His wife stands on the extreme left of the painting, in front of Nanda, with the child in her arms having presumably just received it from him.

Though the Śrī Purāṇa (Vol. IV) speaks of Vasudeva taking the child and entrusting it to the care of Nanda, this is ascribed in the painting to Baladeva. This is a clear deviation from the text.

Painting No. 67 (pl. xxv).—Here are shown the various evil spirits commissioned by Kamsa, attempting to kill Kṛishṇa.

Seven evil spirits were sent. They reached Godāvana, the locality where Kṛishṇa was growing up, one after the other. The first, a female spirit took the form of Nanda's wife and with her breasts smeared with poison, approached Kṛishṇa and took him up in her arms tempting him to suckle her breasts. Before Kṛishṇa could do so, one of the guardian-deities of Kṛishṇa caught hold of her breasts and pressed them with such force that she dropped Kṛishṇa down and fled away.

The second spirit came in the form of a wheel with the intention of running over Kṛishṇa but when it came near him he gave it a kick with such force that it was shattered into countless pieces.

On another occasion, when Nanda's wife wanted to go out to fetch water, Kṛishṇa insisted on following her wherever she went. To prevent him she tied him to a big stone mortar. But Kṛishṇa followed her even now, dragging the mortar along after him. Two of the evil spirits came and stood in his way in the form of two trees with the intention of doing him harm when he came near them. Kṛishṇa came along with the mortar behind him but when he reached the trees he pulled them up by their roots and dashed them one against the other.

Another spirit took the form of a palmyra tree with the intention of dropping its fruits on Kṛishṇa when he should pass beneath. Yet another took the form of an ass and approached Kṛishṇa intending to bite him. Kṛishṇa pulled up the palmyra tree and

beat the ass with it with such force that both the tree-spirit and the ass-spirit ran for their lives.

The seventh and last of the spirits sent by Kamsa approached him in the form of a horse intending to bite him. When the horse was sufficiently near him he caught hold of its mouth firmly and tore its jaws.

Unable to harm Krishṇa in any way all these spirits ran away to their worlds. Out of shame they did not go to Kamsa who was therefore still in the dark regarding the whereabouts of his foe.

In the painting all these details are represented in a crowded manner, the labels in two cases being in the painting itself and not in the bands below. They are dealt with here in five sections (a, b, c, d and e).

67-a. காவலு விடாட டெவதை ஏழு ரு. ஒரு டெவதை சகடம்பொடெ வந்தது யிவடம் உ.

Kāmsan viḍapatta devatai ēṇu 7. Oru devatai śakataṁpole vandadu yivadam உ.

"The spirits commissioned by Kamsa are seven, 7. One spirit comes here in the form of a wheel."

Krishṇa is here seen above kicking the wheel.

எடச்சி க்ருஷ்ணை [உர*] டெடெ க(ட)டி(ப)பொட்டு தண்ணிக்கு பொற பொது உரலை யிழுத்து(க்)கொன்(ண்)டு பொறது யிவடம்.

சென்(இரண்)டு டெவதை வுக்ஷாஹா(கா)ரமாயி வந்தது யிவடம் உ.

Edachchi Krishṇanai [ura] ḍeḍe kaṭṭi(ṭi)pōṭṭu tannikku pōraṇḍu uralai yiluttu(k) koṇ(n)ḍupōradu yivadam.*

Reṇ (Iraṇ)ḍu devatai vrikshāhā(kā) ramāyi vandadu yivadam உ.

"When the cowherdess tied Krishṇa to a mortar and left to fetch water Krishṇa dragging the mortar [is shown] here."

"Here [are shown] two spirits that came in the form of trees."

The cowherdess is shown with a pitcher in her right hand going away from the child Krishṇa who is following her dragging the mortar behind him. He is pulling up the trees that stand in his way. The bodies of the two evil spirits, shown as women, hang from the trees head downwards. The evil spirits (themselves in their real forms) are here curiously associated with their assumed forms.

67-b. ஒரு டெவதை பகமாமாயி வந்தது யிவடம் உ |

ஒரு டெவதை குழிசை வடிவாய் வந்தது யிவடம் உ ||

ஒரு டெவதை கழுதை வடிவாய் வந்தது யிவடம் உ.

Oru devatai paṇamaramāyi vandadu yivadam உ |

Oru devatai kuḍirai vaḍivāy vandadu yivadam உ ||

Oru devatai kaḷudai vaḍivāy vandadu yivadam உ.

"A spirit [that] came in the form of a palmya tree [is shown] here."

"A spirit coming in the form of a horse [is shown] here."

"A spirit coming in the form of an ass [is shown] here."

Krishṇa is shown here twice. While above he is pulling up the palmyra tree evidently with the intention of beating the ass that stands in front of him, he is shown below tearing the jaws of the horse that is attacking him.

67-c. ஒரு தெவதை பொண்ணா(ணா)வாய் முலை குடுக்க வந்தது சிவடம் உ

சிவ யெழு தெவதைகளையுட குணன் தாசிரிவிட்டது சிவடம்.

Oru devatai poṇṇu (ṇuṇ) vāy mulai kuḍukka vandadu yivadam உ

Yinda eḷu devataigalaiyūṇ Krishṇan taṛattiviṭṭadu yivadam.

"One spirit came here in the form of a female [to feed Krishṇa] with [the milk in] her breasts."

"Here did Krishṇa drive all these seven spirits."

The female spirit is here shown in the form of a giantess (with Krishṇa in her arm). Though according to the Śrī Purāṇa she is said to have assumed the form of Nanda's wife she is represented as of immense form, more in keeping with her evil nature. Moreover she was called *Bhūtā* or the demoness.

Three of these labels (67-a and 67-c) are in the painting itself contrary to the practice of writing them in the band below. The first records the commencement of the attacks on Krishṇa by the seven spirits, beginning, however, with the one that came as a wheel. The second records the coming of the ass-spirit, and the third the defeat of all the spirits.

67-d. அரிஸ்தென்பாடு ஒரு தெவது துணை வுஷவாநகா(கா)ரமாய் பரிசுஷிக்குதது சிவடம் |

*Arishtan-eyṇḍāṇoru devan Krishṇanai vṛishabhāhā(kā)ramāy parikshikkutadu yivadam.*¹ |

"A *deva* called Arishtaṇ coming in the form of a bull and putting the strength of Krishṇa to the test."

Arishta¹, who admired Krishṇa's doings, chased him one day in the form of a bull with the intention of testing his strength. Krishṇa caught the bull's neck and twisted it with such force that the *deva* regretted the step he had taken and begged his pardon for his foolishness. Nanda's wife who happened to arrive on the scene when Krishṇa was twisting the bull's neck, reprimanded him for his bold and rash actions. Just then the parents of Krishṇa, Vasudeva and Devakī, accompanied by Baladeva came there to see him.

67-e. வசு-பதெவது. பாடுதெவது தெவது இவர்கள் பிள்ளையை பாடி(ர்க)க வந்தது சி(வடம்).

Vasudevan Baladevan Devakī ivargaḷ piḷḷaiyai pāḍi(rk)ka vandadu yi(vadam).

"Here [are shown] Vasudeva, Baladeva and Devakī (and others) who came to see the boy."

Vasudeva, Devakī and Baladeva who were duly kept informed of the doings of Krishṇa were all longing to see him but could not do so openly lest Kamsa should get suspicious and do harm to Krishṇa. It so happened that a festival called *Gomukhī*, when

¹ See above, p. 94.

cows were decorated and worshipped, fell on the particular day when Kṛishṇa subdued the *deva*, Arishṭa. And on the pretext of seeing the cows at Godāvana they all went to the place where Kṛishṇa was growing up and saw him subduing the bull to the dismay of Nanda's wife. Devakī was lost in admiration of her son and her motherly affection which was latent revived with such force that milk dripped from her breasts. Baladeva, who saw this, suddenly took milk in his hands from a pot near by and sprinkled it on her saying that she was about to faint from fatigue consequent on her observing the fast on that day. After decorating Kṛishṇa with ornaments and rich dress his parents took leave of him along with Baladeva and left for the city.

In the painting Devakī is shown standing erect suggesting that she is lost in her admiration of her son who is standing in front of her. He has his right hand raised and the first finger lifted up as if he is mockingly threatening Nanda's wife who is standing on the right of Devakī, threatening him with her right first finger. She is shown here as a lady of comparatively small size. In the background, on the extreme right, Vasudeva and Baladeva can be seen though the painting has been much obliterated. Vasudeva who, as usual, is coloured yellow (which shows as black in the photograph) points at Kṛishṇa with his right hand. Baladeva is white and carries his weapon, the plough, shown in black.

Painting No. 68 (pl. xxv).—This illustrates some more events of valour relating to the life of Kṛishṇa.

68-a. கிருஷ்ணன் . . . னானை எழுந்த மொகலங்களை . . . து யிவ(டம்).

Kṛishṇan . . . nātal eduttu gokulaṅgalai . . . tu yiva(ḍam).

"Kṛishṇa lifting up (here) the (mountain Govardha)ṇa, . . . and protecting the cow-world."

During a heavy rain when all the cows and the cowherds and their wives were rendered homeless and were consequently suffering for want of a shelter Kṛishṇa lifted up over them as a protection a mountain called *Govardhana*.

He is shown standing in the middle of the painting lifting up the mountain with the little finger of his left hand and the cattle stand below.

68-b. This illustrates another deed of valour and strength of Kṛishṇa, one of those by which Kamsa came to know who and where his foe was.

மதுரா . . . பரவ்நாமில் . . . |

கிருஷ்ணன் த்ரிவிக்ரமம் பன்ன(ண்ணு) குரது யிவ(டம்) உ ||

Mathurā . . . parvvanamil . . . |

Kṛishṇan trivikramam panna(ṇṇu) kuradu yiva(ḍam) உ ||

"Mathurā . . . in . . . Parvvanam"

"Here Kṛishṇa does *trivikrama* or three conquests".

One day Kamsa learnt from his men that in a part of his palace called Indra-Bhavana three curious things had appeared which were a conch, a bow and a vehicle designed like a *nāga* or serpent (*nāga-sayana*). They were, it was said, created for Kṛishṇa whose greatness was to become known to the world through them. Varuṇa, Kamsa's soothsayer,

who was sent for said that he who could ascend the *nāga-śayana*, bend the bow and blow the conch could become the Lord of the three worlds. And Kamsa, curious to know if he could become one, tried to ascend the *nāga-śayana*, bend the bow and blow the conch but in vain. Thereupon he issued a proclamation that whosoever can do *trivikrama*, i.e., these three deeds, can claim the hand of his daughter in marriage.

Many kings started for the city of Mathurāpura with the intention of doing *trivikrama*. One of them was Bhānu, the son of Subhānu, a brother-in-law of Kamsa. On his way to Mathurāpura Bhānu camped in Godāvana on the banks of a lotus-tank in which dwelt a big serpent¹. The cowherds refused to allow him to camp there as they said that the serpent would do harm to all that came near the tank save Kṛishṇa who alone was powerful enough to subdue it. Kṛishṇa was sent for and he permitted him to camp, remaining with him to protect him from the serpent. A friendship sprung up between Bhānu and Kṛishṇa, and Bhānu told the latter that he was bound for Mathurāpura to do *trivikrama*. Kṛishṇa offering to accompany him on the condition that Bhānu would not reveal his identity they started for the city.

Arrived at the city they found that all the kings that came to do *trivikrama* had been unsuccessful in their attempts and were departing for their respective kingdoms. This greatly disheartened Bhānu who was however encouraged to make the attempt by Kṛishṇa offering to help him. The latter accompanied Bhānu, unobserved by Kamsa and his men, to Indra-Bhavana, and did the three deeds successively in the name of Bhānu. Soon after he left for Godāvana unperceived.

True to his promise Kamsa requested Bhānu to marry his daughter which the latter was very glad and eager to do for he knew well that he did not merit the offer. Unfortunately for him some deities that guarded the *nāga-śayana* told Kamsa that *trivikrama* was not done by him but by Kṛishṇa. Thereupon Kamsa sent for his trusted messengers and ordered them on pain of death to find out Kṛishṇa.

The painting which is obliterated shows a tree under which Kṛishṇa is standing on a five headed cobra, bending the bow and blowing a conch with its end designed like a hamsa's tail.

68-உ. ஊழ்வொலுது மொருவர்களை ஓடிக்கொண்டு ஓடி(ப்)பொ(கி)தது விவடம் உ.

Nandagopan Gokulaṅgaḷai Ottikkonḍu ḍḍi(p)ṇḍi(ki) raḍu viṇḍam உ.

"Here (is shown) the cowherd, Nanda, driving the cow-world and running away."

Nanda, the foster-father of Kṛishṇa, on hearing that Kṛishṇa had done *trivikrama* at Mathurāpura, and that Kamsa had learnt that he had been duped and had sent his men to find him, became afraid of meeting Kamsa's wrath and set out for a distant land with the cowherds, their families and the cows.

In the painting Nanda is shown with his cow-world on the move. First come the cows and the calves, then the cowherds with their wives and children and lastly Nanda himself with a staff in his right hand and a bag in his left.

¹ This serpent is known in Hindu mythology as *Kāliya* by subduing which Kṛishṇa got the name *Kāliya-Kṛishṇa*.

68-d. சிலாஸ்தம்பத்தை எடுத்து நின்று (சிறு)நது விவடம் உ ||

. *silāstambhattai eduttu niruttu(tti)nadu yivadam u* ||.

"Here [is shown Krishṇa] taking a stone pillar and making it stand."

While Nanda and his men were on their way, Krishṇa, who was accompanying them, wanted to give Nanda confidence so that he could be persuaded to return. When, therefore, they came across a huge stone pillar on the way Krishṇa lifted it up and held it aloft. The cowherds praised Krishṇa and worshipped him with flowers and ornaments while Nanda realized that with Krishṇa near them no harm could happen to himself or the cowherds. He now determined to return to Godāvana and face the wrath of Kamsa.

In the painting Krishṇa is shown holding the pillar.

Painting No. 69 (pl. xxvi)—

69-a. பொங்கை(வி)ஊ தாமரபூவும் பறிக்க பொன பொது மதராநாமம் சிறி வா
தன வலு, சிறுவன் அடித்து புலுக்கு பறிக்து வந்தது விவடம் உ ||

. *Poygai(yi)ḷ tamarapushpam parikka ponu-podu mahā-nāgam-ṣiri vāra taṇ
vastrattiṇai adittu pushpattai parittu vandadu yivadam u* ||

"Here (is shown Krishṇa) who subdued with his cloth the big serpent that came to bite him with a hissing noise when he wanted to pluck a lotus flower from the tank, and who brought the flower."

Suspicious of the existence of his foe in Godāvana, Kamsa tried to discover him by an artifice. He ordered Nanda to send him a lotus flower with 1,000 petals that was growing in the tank of their village, a tank which was guarded by a big serpent, for he thought that if he could know who took it from the tank he would thereby know who his foe was. Nanda was at his wit's end when he received this order but Krishṇa reassured him and offered to get the flower without revealing his identity to Kamsa. Nanda agreeing, Krishṇa dived into the tank when the serpent rushed at him with a hissing noise and with its hood outspread. Krishṇa threw his cloth on it and the serpent got so frightened that it ran away. The flower was taken and was sent to Kamsa by messengers.

In the painting, Krishṇa is seen in the middle of the tank which is indicated by lotuses in the middle and steps on all sides. He is throwing his cloth on the serpent which is jumping up.

69-b. கம்ஸனு மடியாணையை விட சூலு கொம்பை புடித்து முறிய அடித்து
விவடம் உ

Kamsan madayāṇaiyā viḍa Kṛṣṇan koṁbai pudittu muṟiya adittadu yivadam u

"Kamsa setting up an infuriated elephant and Krishṇa subduing it by twisting its tusks."

On receiving the lotus from Nanda's messengers Kamsa learnt that his foe was living in Godāvana. With the intention of getting Krishṇa to the city so that he could kill him he announced to Nanda and the cowherds that he had organized a world-wrestling match in which all wrestlers could take part. He sent special requests to the cowherds to send their wrestlers, if they had any, to the match so that it should not be said of them that

there was no wrestler in their midst. Kṛishṇa, who was eager to take part in the match, prevailed on Nanda to send him along with some other wrestlers from among the cowherds to the city. Kamsa, who was awaiting them at the city gates, put an infuriated mad elephant in their way in the hope that it would kill Kṛishṇa. But Kṛishṇa caught hold of its tusks and brought it down easily.

In the painting he is shown as wrenching out its tusks.

69-c. கிருஷ்ணரும் பாலாடேவனும் மல்லயுத்திப்பண்ணை கல்லாடுதெ கொல்லுகுறங்குக்கு யித
சமயமின்று காதலெ சொல்லி ஒடிப்பாடுது யிவடம் ||

*Kṛishṇanum Baladevanum malla-yuddham paṇṇa Kaṇṣanaṁ kollukuraṭṭukku yidu
samayam-inru kāḍuḷē sollī ōḍi ponadu yivadam ||*

"Baladeva and Kṛishṇa wrestling, and Baladeva whispering into the ears of Kṛishṇa that the time was ripe for Kṛishṇa to kill Kamsa, and then running away."

Vasudeva, who had learnt the designs of Kamsa, collected all his forces and was ready to assist Kṛishṇa should Kamsa carry out his plans. Baladeva, who wanted to inform Kṛishṇa of this, was wondering how he could contrive to convey the news to him without arousing Kamsa's suspicions till a thought struck him. To the utter surprise of all, including Kṛishṇa himself he came out in the arena and challenged Kṛishṇa to wrestle with him. Kṛishṇa accepting the challenge, both wrestled for some time. In the course of the wrestling Baladeva whispered into the ears of Kṛishṇa the reasons for his adopting such a course and that the time had come for him to kill Kamsa and that he had nothing to apprehend from Kamsa's men as Vasudeva had collected his forces and was ready to come to his rescue should need be. In a short time he feigned defeat and left the arena.

In the painting they are shown as wrestling. Kṛishṇa is the shorter of the two. As is usual Baladeva is done in white. The plough, his distinguishing mark, rests on his shoulder.

69-d. கிருஷ்ண மல்லகொடு யுத்திப்பண்ணி செ(ஜ)யிச்ச(த்த)து யிவடம் வ.

Kṛishṇan mallagode yuddham paṇṇi śe(ja)yichcha(tta)du yivadam வ.

"Kṛishṇa wrestling with (Kamsa's) wrestler and coming out victorious."

A trained wrestler of Kamsa, Chāṇūra by name, was then sent to the arena. In a short time Kṛishṇa sent him to the other world and cried if there were any more wrestlers who desired to be sent to the other world too.

Kṛishṇa is here shown wrestling with Chāṇūra who is done in yellow and who is naked except for a small loin-cloth (*laṅghoḥ*).

69-e. கிரகு காமசு . . . காலேபுறத்து தலைநீழாய் அடித்துப்பாட்ட . . .

Piragu Kaṁsan . . . kalai pudittu talaiṇiḷay adittu poṭṭa . . .

"Then Kamsa . . . holding the leg and head downwards dashing . . ."

Driven by fate Kamsa accepted the challenge thrown by Kṛishṇa and descended the arena. It was easy work for Kṛishṇa to kill him. He took him by his legs and whirling him round like a wheel dashed him down so that he died forthwith.

In the painting Kṛishṇa is shown holding Kamsa by his legs so that his head is down.

69-f. வசுதேவன் வசுதேவன் . . . யதினால் மொக . . . லகஜகன்
கரு . . .

Vasudeva-Baladevar . . . yattiṇḍi Gopa . . . sakala janaṅgaḷu . . .

"Vasudeva, Baladeva (and the other relations of Kṛishṇa announcing) to all (that had come there that Kṛishṇa was Vasudeva's son and that he was growing up in the midst of) the cowherds for fear (of Kamsa)".

The people of Mathurāpura and the followers of Kamsa became tumultuous on hearing that Kṛishṇa, a cowherd after all, had killed their king. To allay their tumult Vasudeva and Baladeva told them that Kṛishṇa was the son of Vasudeva and hence a *kshatriya* and that he had necessarily to be brought up in the village of the cowherds to escape the murderous intentions of Kamsa. Thus assured, the people became quiet and were glad to hail Kṛishṇa as their king.

In the painting Vasudeva and Baladeva are standing on the left. The latter has the plough leaning on his right shoulder. Vasudeva is announcing to the three kings with crowns (*kiritaṣ*) on their heads, on the extreme right, the parentage of Kṛishṇa. They are listening with their hands placed in worship (*añjali*). Kṛishṇa stands between Vasudeva and the kings and can be distinguished by the *koṇḍai* ornament on his head which is also seen in No. 69, c, d, and e.

Painting No. 70 (pl. xxvi).—This illustrates the events that followed the death of Kamsa. The painting runs from right to left and can be divided into four panels.

70-a. கிருஷ்ணன் . . . கையில் யிருக்கு . . .

Kṛishṇa . . . naiyil yirukku . . .

" . . . being in the palace . . . Kṛishṇa."

Though the label is mostly obliterated the scene can be made out with the aid of Śrī Purāṇa, Vol. IV.

As soon as Kamsa was killed, Kṛishṇa released Ugrasena and Padmāvatī, whom their son Kamsa had imprisoned and installed them as king and queen of Mathurāpura again. They are shown in the painting as sitting while two figures perhaps representing vassals are standing in front of them. Thus it is possible to supply the blanks in the label in the light of the information given above, which would then read as:—"Ugrasena and his wife, Padmāvatī, being in the palace after the former had received the kingdom from Kṛishṇa."

70-b. . . . டேவகியும் அராமகையில் யிருக்குறது யிவடம . . .

. . . *Devakiyum aramānaiyil yirukkuradu yivadam . . .*

" . . . and Devaki seated in the palace."

After installing Ugrasena at Mathurāpura Kṛishṇa left with his father Vasudeva and step-brother Baladeva for Śāuryapura, the capital of his father's kingdom, where he enjoyed pleasures and ease.

In the painting Vasudeva and Devaki are shown as seated in the palace.

70-c. சீவதேவியாரும் அரமணையில் யிருக்குறது
சிவடம் உ.

. *mudravijaya* *Śivadeviyārum aramaṇaiyil yirukkuradu yivadam*.

" (Sa)mudravijaya and Śivadevi here in the palace."

King Samudravijaya, an uncle of Kṛishṇa, was also staying with Kṛishṇa's father. It was to him, through his wife Śivadevi, that Neminātha, the twenty-second Tīrthaṅkara was born as will be seen under painting No. 73 (p. 150.)

In the painting Samudravijaya and his wife are shown seated on a throne in the palace in the same way in which similar pairs (70-b) are represented in others of these paintings.

70-d. ஜரஸாந்தரது சினை துண்டொடு சண்டை

Jarāsandhan pillai Kṛishṇanodu sandai

"Jarāsandha's son fighting with Kṛishṇa"

Jivadyaśa, Kamsa's widow, fled to the Magadha kingdom where she narrated to Jarāsandha, its king, all that had happened at Mathurāpura and how she was made a widow by Kṛishṇa. Jarāsandha promised her that he would kill Kṛishṇa in a very short time. Feeling that Kṛishṇa might not be so strong as to necessitate his starting for battle himself against him he sent a big force under one of his sons called Mahābala who came to Śauryapura and fought with Kṛishṇa by whom he was defeated and his forces routed.

In the painting the two forces are shown as engaged in battle. A flag-bearer stands between them. Kṛishṇa's forces are on the right and Mahābala's on the left. Kṛishṇa can be distinguished by his whitish colour and the circular ornament (*koṇḍai*) on his head. One of Mahābala's men has fallen down evidently killed.

Painting No. 71 (pl. xxvi).—This illustrates the attacks on Kṛishṇa by two other sons of Jarāsandha, called Aparājita and Kālayava. Aparājita fought with Kṛishṇa for 346 days and was finally killed. The other son, Kālayava was a more formidable opponent and he proved in battle to be more than a match for Kṛishṇa who felt that he should retreat and avoid fighting if he could, to escape ignominy.

71-a. து அபராஜிதது உரசு பண்ணி விழுந்து
பொகது சிவடம்.

. *Aparājitan* 346 *panni viḷundu ponadu yivadam*.

" Aparājitan after fighting [with Kṛishṇa for] 346 [days] falling down [in the battle field]."

In the painting the horse-forces of both Kṛishṇa and Aparājita are shown as engaged in battle. Kṛishṇa and his men are on the right and Aparājita's on the left. A camel is also shown with a rider on its back who is beating a drum, while a man walks in front of it holding a trumpet to his mouth. Evidently these two men form the military band of Kṛishṇa's army. Kṛishṇa is seen in the front rank and Baladeva in the rear and both

are shooting arrows from their bows, along with other archers, at the enemy's cavalry. Both show the usual *konḍai* ornament on their heads. Some one who has fallen after being hit by an arrow is said in the label to be Aparājita who was killed in battle.

71-b. . . . யாதுவரர் . . . யென்று சொல்லி . . .

. . . . Yādevār . . . yēṇṇu solli . . .

" . . . (all) the Yādavas . . . so saying . . ."

The descendants of the Yādu dynasty including Kṛishṇa, his father and Baladeva were unable to stand the attacks of Kālayava. Nor did they like shedding much blood. So they left Śauryapura, Hastināpura and Mathurāpura, the three cities where they were living and set out for some distant land. Kṛishṇa led them on in the hope of finding for them a place unknown to Kālayava and his men. Kālayava, who came to the Yādava city in search of Kṛishṇa, saw that it was deserted and wondered where the Yādavas and Kṛishṇa could have hidden themselves. A female spirit living in the city, took the form of an old lady and after lighting a huge fire began loudly wailing. Kālayava, asked her why she was crying like that. The spirit replied that all the Yādavas including Kṛishṇa fell into the fire that was burning before her, out of fear for Kālayava, and that her sons who were living in the city also fell into it. On hearing this Kālayava became puffed up with pride and without even waiting to verify if what the spirit said was true left for his father's kingdom to narrate to his father how he had annihilated Kṛishṇa and his men.

In the painting, which is nearly obliterated, the fire is indicated in the centre by flames while the old lady is standing on the right of it with her finger pointing up as in addressing. Kālayava and his men, who are on horse-back, are shown on the left of the fire. They lift up their hands in joy on hearing what the old lady narrates and are on the point of departing.

Painting No. 72 (pl. xxvi).—Kṛishṇa took the Yādavas to the sea-shore and stopped for a while there. He was, however, at his wit's end as to how he could find an unknown land for them. He observed fasts and sitting on *kūśa* grass did penance for some time repeating *mantra* after *mantra* in the hope that some unknown land would become visible to him by divine agency. True to his expectations the divine agent came. Kṛishṇa dreamt that he saw a *deva* called Gautama who told him in his dream that he would return in the morning in the form of a horse and that Kṛishṇa should get on its back and go through the ocean some twelve *yojanas* when an unknown land would be revealed to him. On waking up the following morning he found the horse waiting for him. No sooner did he get on its back than it flew over the sea and landed him on an island. And Kṛishṇa by slow degrees got all his men to the island which was named by him *Dvārāvātī*. All the Yādavas lived happily there without fear of any trouble from Jarāsandha and his sons.

72-a. . . . யாதுவரர்களெல்லாரும் ஓடிப்போனது சிவம்.

. . . . Yādavarellorum ḍḍipōṇadu yivadam.

" . . . all the Yādavas . . . running away . . . here."

In the painting the Yādavas are shown as being led by Kṛishṇa to apparently the sea-shore. The second and the fourth figures from the left represent Kṛishṇa and Baladeva, both of whom have *konḍais*. Arrived at the sea-shore Kṛishṇa is wondering how he can find an abode for them.

72-b. கிருஷ்ணன் அஷ்டபாவவாசம் வாய்விதநாகி யே வளநதிநீல மிஷ ஸ்வப்னக் காணு
(னு)குறது யிலடம்.

*Kṛishṇan ashtopavāsa-sahitanāgi ma . . . : sanattil nisha . . . : svapnaṁ-
kāṇu(nu)kuṛadu yivadam.*

" . . . Kṛishṇa equipping himself with the eight kinds of fasts and other austerities is here dreaming . . . "

Kṛishṇa is shown here sitting under a tree and telling his beads with his right hand, the usual accompaniment of chanting *mantras* and counting them, while his left hand is placed on his lap in an attitude of meditation.

72-c. Kṛishṇa is here shown lying down. He is evidently dreaming about the *deva* Gautama who offered to take him on his back as a horse and find for him a land.

A long label overlapping into the space allotted to the other paintings (*d* and *e*) commences with the word "Gautamadeva", but the rest is all irrevocably lost. Gautama being the name of the *deva* who came in the form of a horse to take Kṛishṇa to the new land it is clear that the label refers either to the dream itself or to the actual journey of Kṛishṇa on the back of the horse to Dvārāvati. If it refers to the former the label must be that of the panel now under consideration. If, however, it refers to the latter it must belong to the next scene(*d*).

72-d. குதிரை அ குற யிலடம் உ.

. *kudirai ru kuṛa yivadam உ.*

" horse getting up here."

Kṛishṇa is here shown on horse-back. The horse is evidently flying over the sea. It is black in colour.

72-e. மெனக்கேடுவது ன் டு மென்னும் பட்டணத்தை கட்டிவை

Gautamadevan D mennum pattanattai nirmāpa

"Gautamadeva to build city called D(vārāvati)".

The city of Dvārāvati was built on the island shown to Kṛishṇa by Gautama and all the Yādavas reached it and lived there happily.

This is a scene to indicate that the people at Dvārāvati enjoyed peace and happiness. The figures shown here represent from right to left, Devakī, Vasudeva, Baladeva and Kṛishṇa. Devakī being the wife of Vasudeva is shown by his side as is the case with most of the couples in the temple paintings. Vasudeva, Baladeva and Kṛishṇa are all shown with crowns on their heads as they were the undisputed rulers of the island of Dvārāvati. Vasudeva is painted as usual in yellow, which appears as black in the photograph, and Baladeva in white. The latter's plough leans against his left shoulder.

Krishna, who can be seen on the extreme left is as usual of smaller size than either Baladeva or Vasudeva. All the three are smelling flowers held in their right hands.

Painting No. 73 (pl. xxvii).—The life of Neminātha, the twenty-second Tirthaṅkara, is treated here in the middle of Krishna's life for it is said that he was born in the island of Dvārāvātī when Krishna was ruling over it aided by his father Vasudeva and step-brother Baladeva.

73-a. Much damaged.

73-b. ஸர்வஜயமஹாராஜனுக்கு சிவதேவியார் ஸுபநான்காந்து சோலகூருநது சிவடம் உ.

Samudravijayamahārājānukku Śivadeviyār svapnāṅkaṇḍu śollukuruḍu yivadam உ.

"Śivadevi narrating here to Samudravijaya Mahārāja her dreams."

In the painting which is much damaged King Samudravijaya, Krishna's uncle, who has a crown on his head is seated on the left and is listening to his wife, Śivadevi, who is sitting by his side facing him. An attendant woman is standing in front of them fanning them.

73-c. Śivadevi is here giving birth to Neminātha. She is half-concealed behind a screen as in similar birth scenes (Nos. 17 and 39) while an attendant on the left is supporting her. Śachi (with a crown on her head) can be seen on the right. She is shown here twice, first as receiving the child from either Śivadevi herself or the attendant (this is not clear in the painting) and next as turning back and delivering it to Saudharmendra who is followed by Īśānendra with an umbrella in his hand.

73-d. . . . ஸர்வதத்தின் மெல் வைத்து இந்நா கம்பண்ணப்பாறது சிவடம் உ.
. . . . *Airāvataṭṭin mel vaittu Janmā kaṇṇ paṇṇa poraḍu yivadam உ.*

" . . . here going for doing janmābhisheka, placing him on Airāvata "

The scene is familiar from paintings already described above (Nos. 39-43). The child is here shown as placed within a howdah on the back of the white elephant with Saudharmendra and Īśānendra seated in the howdah behind him. Two devas go in front, one holding a flag in his right hand and the other a parasol. A third follows behind with a half-spread parasol in his right hand. They all go to mount Mahā-Meru to perform the *janmābhisheka* of the Tirthaṅkara to be.

Painting No. 74 (pl. xxvii).—This illustrates the *janmābhisheka* and the return of the child to the city.

74-a. . . . பாண்டு வெ எழுந்தருளி கெ-கேசராதேவர் கன் இந்நாமி
தெ.க. . . .

. . . . *Pāṇḍu le eḷundaruḷi emmeśānendrargaḷ janmābhi-*
shekaṁ . . .

" . . . placing on Pāṇḍu (Saudha)rma and Īśānendra *janmābhi-*
sheka "

Here again the scene is familiar. The child is seated cross-legged on a throne or pedestal placed on a white moon-stone slab in a pavilion and two devas, one on each

side of it, are pouring the celestial waters on it. Two other *devas* with water-vessels in their hands are standing outside the pavilion, one on either side of it.

74-b.
me

The party is here shown returning to the city. The child can be seen seated in the howdah on the back of the white elephant with Saudharmendra behind. This time the child has got a crown on its head and is dressed. Īśānendra who in painting No. 73-d was shown sitting behind Saudharmendra in the howdah on the back of the elephant is here seen walking behind holding up a *chāmara* in his right hand. The two other *devas* that went before the elephant in painting No. 73-d are here too going before the elephant and have the same things in their hands, one a parasol and the other a flag.

74-c. The child is here installed on a throne in the palace and the *devas* are making a celebration. Two of them wave *chāmaras* before him, one on either side while a third standing on the left is spreading the royal *chhatra* or the umbrella over him. And Devendra is dancing with joy on the right. He has four hands, the front two in *añjali* and the other two raised up in ecstasy or in singing attitudes. The label and much of the painting itself are obliterated.

Painting No. 75 (pl. xxvii).—Merchants from the city of Rājagriha, the capital of the Magadha kingdom, over which Jarāsandha was ruling, set out on a sea-voyage for purposes of trade. They lost their way in the vast ocean and were stranded on the shores of Dvārāvati. Kṛishṇa and his men received them cordially and sent them back to their own land with rich presents including precious stones. The merchants, on reaching Rājagriha, reported to Jarāsandha what they saw in the midst of the ocean and how Kṛishṇa and the Yādavas were still alive and as proof thereof presented him with the precious stones they had received at Dvārāvati. On sight of such precious stones which he had not seen before Jarāsandha could not disbelieve them. He immediately collected a big army and sent a challenge to Kṛishṇa to come out of his hiding place and meet him in open battle. This challenge was communicated to Kṛishṇa by the tell-tale Adhomukha-Nārada*.

Kṛishṇa approached Neminātha, who was then in the prime of his youth, and informing him of Jarāsandha's challenge requested him to look after Dvārāvati during his absence. He also desired to know from Neminātha if he would be victorious in battle. Neminātha, who had by then acquired *avadhi-jñāna* or the knowledge of foreseeing things, indicated to Kṛishṇa by a smile and pleasant looks that he was bound to be the victor.

Thus assured, Kṛishṇa collected all his forces and, assisted by Vasudeva, Baladeva and others, set out for Jarāsandha's land. Jarāsandha was also marching against him with a big army and met him at Kurukshetra, the place famous in Hindu mythology as the battle-field of the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas where the bible of the Hindus, the "Bhagavad-Gītā" was expounded by Kṛishṇa. In the fight that ensued Jarāsandha's forces were routed and Jarāsandha, indignant at the fate that had befallen his men,

* See Appendix III, pp. 225-226.

reached Kṛishṇa and threw on him his discus (*chakra*). But the *chakra* did Kṛishṇa no harm and Kṛishṇa taking it in his hand threw it on Jarāsandha with such force that he was killed on the spot. Thus with victory on his side Kṛishṇa returned to Dvārāvati where he was crowned once again as the *chakravartin* or undisputed lord of the three worlds by the *devas*, Vidyādhara and other mortal kings.

75-a. கிருஷ்ண . . .

Krishna . . .

"Kṛishṇa . . ."

Kṛishṇa is here addressing Neminātha who is seated on a throne and is evidently asking him to look after Dvārāvati during his absence. The crown on the head of Neminātha suggests that he has already assumed temporary charge of the kingship of Dvārāvati.

75-b. கிருஷ்ண ஜராளாந்திரனை . . . பண்ண(னு)குறது யிவடம் உ. ||

Krishnan Jarāsandhanodu . . . paṇṇu(ku)ṇadu yivadam u. ||

"Kṛishṇa . . . (fighting) . . . with Jarāsandha . . . here".

The words, "Kṛishṇa" and "Jarāsandha" indicate that the two are here shown fighting. Kṛishṇa's forces are on the left and Jarāsandha's on the right. While Kṛishṇa is kneeling in a chariot and is drawing a bow Jarāsandha is sitting in a howdah on the back of an elephant and is similarly engaged. Neither is throwing the discus referred to in the Śrī Purāṇa. Baladeva, who is painted white, is on horseback behind the chariot and is shooting an arrow from his bow. In these paintings when a fight is painted it is always the bow and the arrow that are shown.

Painting No. 76 (pl. xxvii).—The painting which is inverted is obliterated and has no label below as its space has been utilized for that of painting No. 75. But the scene is familiar. Kṛishṇa is here crowned a *chakravartin* by the *devas*, the Vidyādhara and the other kings of the world. He is shown seated on a throne with some one seated by his side, probably Neminātha to whom he owed his victory and coronation. Various figures are standing on either side of the throne witnessing the coronation. A dancing girl can be seen dancing on the extreme right to the accompaniment of time beaten by two men behind her, one probably holding cymbals and the other beating a drum (*mṛdanga*). It should be noted that generally in Indian sculptures and paintings when any celebration is to be shown the most common method of showing it is to introduce a dance performed by dancing-girls to the accompaniment of music and time produced by men called *nattuvans*.

Painting No. 77 (pl. xxviii).—Before coming to this painting we should describe a few scenes found on the wall of the store-room (pl. ii, 15) which have suffered terribly and consequently could not be successfully photographed. A label, however, indicates the scenes, and runs as follows:—

நெமிஸ்வாமி திருவிசுடம் பண்ணுகுறது.

Nemiśvāmi trivikramam paṇṇukuraḍu.

"Nemiśvāmi performing trivikrama."

One day while Neminātha was sporting in the waters with Satyabhāmā, the favourite wife of Krishna, he entered into a wager with her described on page 136 and when challenged by Satyabhāmā to perform *trivikrama*,¹ he did so and blew a blast with the conch that was heard everywhere. In the painting Nemi can be seen ascending the *nāga-sayana* which is in the form of a cobra with raised hood, holding a bent bow in his right hand and drawing a conch with his left to his mouth.

Coming to painting No. 77 we can make out a few letters of its label which are:—

... சந்திரன் ...
... chche Krishnan ...
" ... when Krishna ... "

The blast that Nemi blew on the conch, which it was hitherto believed Krishna alone could blow, was heard by Krishna who was then sitting in court. He got alarmed and began to enquire from his people who it was that could blow upon his *śankha*. On learning from them that it was his cousin he became jealous of him as a rival, and directed his girls to excite amorous thoughts in him and shame him into marriage, thinking company with women was the only way to sap his strength. The *gopīs* teased him and challenged him to prove to the world that he was a man by marrying. After a while Nemi consented and Krishna selected for him Rātrīmati (Rājīmati), the daughter of Ugrasena² and Jayavati.

In the painting Krishna sits on a long throne accompanied by his brother Baladeva on his right. On the left stand six kings who have come probably to pay obeisance to Krishna who was then a *chakravartin* or universal monarch. While he was thus engaged he heard the blast. Though one may be tempted to see in the six figures standing in front of Krishna the people that told him who blew the blast their dress and the crowns on their heads preclude this possibility. They all have swords resting on their shoulders.

Painting No. 78 (pl. xxviii).—Between Nos. 77 and 78, in a narrow band, the design of a creeper can be seen. This serves merely a decorative purpose as it finds no place in the story relating to the scenes between which it is shown.

The label of No. 78 is obliterated while the painting itself is badly damaged but the scene is obvious.

Krishna had arranged the wedding which was to take place shortly. Then another idea crossed his mind. If Neminātha should enter into the pleasures of married life he might come to love life and position so dearly that he would next begin to covet the position of the *chakravartin* which he himself was. And if he did covet it, no force on earth could prevent the achievement of his purpose. Thus fear and jealousy filled his mind and he now determined to make Nemi feel disgust for worldly life and pleasure so that the marriage should not take place. This he achieved by placing a pack of animals like cattle, etc., on the way of Nemi who was going in a procession through the streets—a

¹ To get on a *nāga-sayana*, blow a conch drawing it to the mouth with one hand and with the other bend a bow.

² This Ugrasena was of the *Ugrasania* and was the ruler of Girnar.

preliminary ceremony attending marriages in high life. According to the Śrī Purāṇa these animals were sickly and were yelling piteously, while, according to the *Ādi Purāṇa* and the *Śatruñjaya-māhātmya*¹, flocks of sheep and cattle were collected to be sacrificed for the people that had come to attend Nemi's marriage. On seeing these animals, particularly the sheep that were bleating piteously, he asked his followers why they were there, and being told that they were brought for him he resolved to become an ascetic² and came back to the palace with his mind filled with the idea known as *vairāgya* or "world-flight."

In the painting the procession is shown marching towards the left. An elephant can be made out which according to the text carried the bridegroom. The persons that precede and follow the elephant form the party that accompanied Nemi. On the extreme left four animals, deer, ram, tiger and a lion are looking at the procession and are receding from the latter affrighted.

Painting No. 79 (pl. xxviii).—Though nothing remains of its label the scene portrayed here is clear. The prince is sitting in a pavilion inside the palace, with the idea of world-flight foremost in his mind, when the *Laukātika-devas* announce themselves before him and goad him on to renounce the world and obtain *dīkṣā* or initiation. Some five of these *Laukātikas* can be seen standing on the right while Nemi in the pavilion is attended by three attendants (palace menials), two of whom wave *chāmaras* before him while the third, the one on the extreme left of the painting, holds a parasol over him.

Painting No. 80 (pl. xxviii).— . . . பொருது யிவாடம் உ.

. . . poradu yivadam u.

" . . . going here."

Nemi determined to renounce the world and immediately the *devas* brought him a palanquin called *Devaguru* in which he was carried to a garden called *Sahasrāmraṇa* (so called because there were thousand mango trees in it) where he entered *dīkṣā*.

In the painting the palanquin is shown twice to indicate perhaps the slow march of the procession. It is said that all pomp attended it as this was the last worldly pleasure that Nemi could taste now that he had set his mind on a pleasure not clear to the eye of the world. So this was his last pompous procession; hence the flags and attendants, besides the palanquin bearers.

Painting No. 81 (pl. xxix).—The label is obliterated, as also the right half of the painting. But sufficient details remain for identification. The procession is shown on the left, the prince being still in the palanquin which rests on the shoulders of its

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II, p. 139.

² When by the show of the bleating and moaning of the dumb creatures the mockery of life, of human civilization and its heartless selfishness was revealed to him he is said to have flung away his kingly ornaments much as Buddha did and repaired at once to the forest. The Śrī-Purāṇa is silent about the fate of the bride. But other texts such as the *Śatruñjaya-māhātmya* say that the lady Rājīmātī dedicated her life to serving him even as Yaśodharā did in Buddhism. She followed him to the forest and adopted the life of a nun; she followed him to Girnar and was with him at the time of his death. To-day Jains at Mount Girnar, in Junagadh in Kathiawar, point at two foot-prints there as those of Neminātha and not far from them they show a grotto where Rājīmātī is said to have also died. See also *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II, p. 139.

bearers. In front of the palanquin goes an attendant carrying a flag, while another carrying a parasol follows behind. Two persons of pygmy stature are found beneath the palanquin carrying the *chāmara* and fan, insignia of royalty.

On the right, Nemi is sitting on a slab under a tree in the garden referred to where he is doing *lōch*, i.e., plucking out the hair from his head and the face in five handfuls (*pañchamushṭi*). While his left hand rests on the lap in meditation his right hand is placed on his head suggesting that he is plucking out his hair. In the next panel he is shown standing under another tree, this time engaged in the performance of various austerities and fasts, in the intervals of which he repaired to villages and towns for food (*charyā*). It is said that nearly a thousand kings followed him to the garden and were engaged in similar austerities and fasts. Probably the blurred half of the painting showed some of these kings, one of whom can, however, be made out as standing to the right of Nemi.

Painting No. 82 (pl. xxix)—

No. 82-a. காராவதியில் வரதத்தினையும் தர்ப்பதி . . . பாராயண பண்ணுகுறது சிலபம்.

Dvārāvatiyil Varadattaneṇṇum narapati . . . pārayai paṇṇukaradu yivadam.

"In Dvārāvati a king called Varadatta . . . offering him food (is shown) here."

Nemi did penance for the space of six months and then waking up from his meditation set out to seek some kind of nourishment for his frail frame. As prescribed he approached a city, which happened to be Dvārāvati, without uttering a word and without asking for food from any one. Varadatta, a king, met him at the outskirts of the city and with affectionate devotion invited the Tirthaṅkara to his mansion and taking him to a high place in his palace which was clean swept he offered him the refreshing juice of the sugarcane in the approved way.¹ The gods hovered in the air above and rained down a shower of flowers and gems on the party below, uttering cries of "victory (*jaya*)" to the accompaniment of the beating of heavenly drums.

In the painting Nemi is standing under a tree while Varadatta is shown twice before him, first as kneeling at his feet offering him obeisance and next as getting up and requesting him with folded hands (*añjali*) to grace his mansion and to partake of the food that he would give him. Nemi indicating his assent by following him silently, Varadatta took him to his palace.

82-b. The label has fallen. But the scene is obvious. As in the case of Rishabhadeva (see No. 35, p. 104) the king offers Nemi food taken from a tray resting on a stand. The food given is white. Nemi is standing on the right of the stand with extended hands while Varadatta stands on the left of the tray and is putting into his hands the food that he had taken from the tray. Small patches of black on the white background

¹ C. R. Jain, *Rishabhadeva*, pp. 117-118. "There are many kinds of gifts which people make to one another, but of all of them the gift of food to a true saint is the most meritorious, and as the Tirthaṅkara is the greatest of all saints, the giving of food to him with a pure heart that is illumined with the light of *jñāna* (knowledge divine) and filled with reverence and devotion for the Ideal is the most meritorious of all."

probably represent the shower of heavenly flowers and gems. The idea that Nemi was taken to a high place in the palace is indicated by a raised base painted yellow on which he is standing.

82-6. . . . தப

. . . . tapa
" penance"

Here Nemi is departing for the forest. After he had received the food offered by Varadatta he left the place as silently as he had approached it.

82-7. . . . பண்ணாடு

. . . . pannadu
" done (the fact that he had done)"

He reached the mount called Ūrjayanta,¹ where he stood under a bamboo grove and after deep meditation for several years obtained *kevala-jñāna* or perfect and all-embracing knowledge, by destroying the forces that keep it from blazing forth.²

The standing figure of Nemi can be seen under a tree on a higher level suggesting the Ūrjayanta peak. He is standing erect in the *kāyotsarga* pose which suggests his determination.

82-8. . . . ஸ்வாமிக் கு கெவலஜ்ஞம்

. . . . Svāmikkū kevala-jñānam
" to the Svāmi kevala-jñāna"

Here Nemi is seated in the *saṃparyāṅka* attitude (sitting cross-legged) on a throne placed in a pavilion. After he had become a *kevali* the *devas* came and created for him the *saṃavasāraya* in the centre of which the Tirthaṅkara took his seat on a throne placed in a pavilion or *maṇḍapa* called *Gandhakuṭi*. The pavilion here represents the *Gandhakuṭi*. The white colour in which he is painted indicates the change in his condition, viz., that he had become a Tirthaṅkara or World-Teacher endowed with perfect knowledge. The eight *pratīharyas* with which every Jina is associated³ are present here. The *chāmara* is waved by two Indras standing on either side of the pavilion. The *siṃhāsana* (lion-throne) is the throne on which the Tirthaṅkara is seated, though the lions' feet are not found. In all these paintings a *padmāsana* or *bhadrāsana* is shown in place of *siṃhāsanas* (see painting Nos. 36, 48 and 64). The nimbus, parasol rising in three tiers (*mukkoḍai*) and the *aśoka* tree can be seen above the head of the Tirthaṅkara, one above the other. The shower of flowers was probably shown but in the present faded condition of the

¹ The place on the Ujjinta peak where he is said to have died is considered sacred, and has a *chhatra* erected over it where his footprints (*paṅja*) are shown—*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II, p. 139.

² There are four kinds of *kaṃma* called *ghāṭi* (obstructive), i.e., knowledge-obstructing, perception-obstructing, serenity-obstructing and power-obstructing energies which hide *kevala-jñāna* in every case and are responsible for the loss of this "great and divine attribute in our case." These obstructive energies come into play as a result of the contact of the spirit with matter which is the case with every unemancipated soul.

³ See *above*, pp. 114-5.

painting it cannot be made out. The celestial music and the drum can only be inferred for they cannot be shown easily. The rest or cushion on which the Tirthankara was reclining is painted white behind the Tirthankara.

IV

SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF AGNILĀ (ĀMBIKĀ) OR DHARMADEVĪ.

Two rows, Nos. 83 and 84, illustrate scenes from the life of Agnilā, who becomes in her next birth the Yakshī of Neminātha by name Āmbikā or Dharmadevī, and are found on the beams of the veranda facing the *Saṅgita-maṇḍapa*.

Painting No. 83 (pl. xxix).—This row has been much affected as a result of water leaking down from the ceiling during heavy rains and dripping all over the paintings thereby washing out the colour little by little so that to-day only some patches here and there remain. These patches are figured in plates xxix and xxx.

At first the scenes portrayed in them were not clear to me as they did not conform to any description found in the *Śrī Purāṇa*; luckily however a palm-leaf manuscript in the possession of the temple priest entitled "*Puṇyāśrava-kathā*"¹ which contains a number of stories from Jaina mythology including one entitled "*Yakshī-kathā*" supplies the materials necessary for their identification. The story is briefly narrated below:—

In a city called Girinagara, the king of which was Bhūpāla, there lived a Brahman family consisting of Somaśarman, his wife Agnilā and their sons Śubhāṅkara and Prabhāṅkara of seven and five years of age respectively. One day Somaśarman was performing the *śrāddha* ceremony of his ancestors (*pitris*) for which he had invited Brahmans of the locality. When the time for offering ablutions (*piṇḍa-pradāna*) came the party left for a tank nearby on the banks of which the offerings were expected to be laid to be picked up later by crows. In the meanwhile a Jaina ascetic, Varadatta who was a resident of the Ūrjayanta hill, came to Somaśarman's house to have his *parāṇa*, i.e. to break a fast that lasted for a month. In the absence of her husband Agnilā invited the ascetic into the house where she fed him freely from the things cooked for the Brahmans invited for the *śrāddha* ceremony, little thinking that her act of feeding a Jaina ascetic will be much resented by her husband and the Brahmans.

Just as the ascetic was departing from the house after having been sumptuously fed, Somaśarman came accompanied by the other Brahmans from the tank. On seeing the ascetic of alien faith coming out of his house he got angry, and the Brahmans refused to partake of his offerings as they considered what he would offer to them as polluted (*uchchhishtha*). Somaśarman then drove his wife out of his house. Agnilā left the house with her two boys and an attendant woman and repaired to the Ūrjayanta hill where the ascetic Varadatta was doing penance. Arrived at the hill she found the ascetic in a cave and falling at his feet she craved him to give her *dīkṣā* or initiation. This the ascetic

¹ There is a copy of this in the Madras Government Oriental Mus. Library bearing No. I-5-51.

refused on the grounds that she had come there from her husband's protection with feelings of anger and resentment at his conduct and that she was the mother of the two boys whom also she had taken with her. He counselled her to leave the place and leave him alone as otherwise the world would begin to spread scandals about her. The disappointed lady took his advice and took her abode on an elevated place on the hill under the welcome shade of a tree which became by virtue of her spiritual greatness a *kalpaka-vriksha* or the "wish-tree" catering to her needs and those of her sons and the attendant woman that had accompanied her. And a dry tank near by began to overflow when she went to it for water.

In the meanwhile the city of Girinagara witnessed the wrath of the gods in the shape of a great conflagration which consumed all the houses except that of Somaśarman. All the citizens assembled outside the city and proclaimed with one voice that the virtue of Agnilā alone saved Somaśarman's house from being consumed by the flames. The Brahmans that had refused to partake of Somaśarman's offerings on the ground that they were polluted by the Jaina ascetic's presence went to Somaśarman and requested him to give them the intended food which they said was purified and blessed by the touch of the ascetic who was none other than a god in disguise. There was universal gratification on that day and all the citizens were made to feel by the virtue accruing from the good deed of feeding the ascetic by Agnilā that they had all partaken of divine food.

Somaśarman was struck with remorse for his wicked act in driving his virtuous wife away and ran in search of her to the Ūrjayanta hill. Agnilā saw him coming at a distance and not knowing his reformed attitude towards her and feeling sure that he was only coming to torment her, left her sons in the charge of the attendant woman and killed herself by falling from a precipice into a cave below. The next moment she was born in the family of the *Vyantaras*¹ as a *Yakshī* called *Āmbikā*. As she was able to remember her past birth, compassion for her dear sons drove her to them. As however her changed appearance into that of a *Yakshī* would frighten her sons she assumed her original form, *viz.*, that of Agnilā and lived beside them. Somaśarman came there and taking her for Agnilā besought her pardon for his vile and rash acts. Agnilā showed him her *Yakshī* form on seeing which Somaśarman fainted with fright and recovering realized that his wife Agnilā no longer lived. Unable to bear the grief he fell into the same cave and killed himself. According to his deserts he was born in the next birth as a lion, and so deep was his attachment for Agnilā in her changed form that he sat at her feet licking them and became eventually her *vāhana*. Thus he became the *lānchchhana* or the device with which this *Yakshī* is associated in Jaina iconography². The sons, Subhāmkara and Prabhāmkara led for a long time the lives of Jaina householders (*grihasthas*); and during the *saṃavasaraṇa* of Neminātha, the twenty-second Tirthānkara they got initiation or *dīkṣā* and obtained salvation. As for their mother who had become a *Yakshī* she obtained the unique honour of becoming the *Yakshī* or the attendant spirit of

¹ See Appendix III, pp. 229-230.

² See Appendix III, p. 209.

Neminatha, ever standing on one side of the Tirthaṅkara while on the other side stood the *Yaksha* Gomedha or Saryāhṇa.

Various incidents from this story are present in the paintings under description. In No. 83 (pl. xxix) the following scenes run from left to right:—

In the first panel can be seen a pair seated, probably representing the Brahman Somaśarman and his virtuous wife Agnilā; an attendant woman is standing on their right gently fanning them.

In the second panel Agnilā is sitting between her sons while the attendant woman stands on the left and is fanning the party. The children are shown like child Krishṇa (cf. pls. xxv, xxvi) and are smelling flowers held in their right hands.

In the third panel the naked form of the ascetic Varadatta is discernible while Agnilā is shown before him in two attitudes; at first she is kneeling before him, thereby expressing her extreme regard and respect for the ascetic and then she gets up and with hands folded in *añjali* requests him to partake of her offering. The right hand of the sage indicates that he is in the act of addressing her while in his left he is holding a water vessel with a spout (*kamaṇḍalu*).

In the fourth panel she is offering him food taking convenient morsels from a tray placed on a stand.¹ The food that she is offering is heaped on the tray. Both the food and Agnilā are painted white while the sage who stands on the left is painted black as is also in the previous panel.

The next panel reveals the sage in the act of departing from the house. He is walking. The colouring is as usual in black on a white background.

What the succeeding panels contained is difficult to say as nothing remains on the beams, except a few patches figured in plate xxx as No. 84.

Painting No. 84 (pl. xxx).—These, however, appear to represent, from left to right, the following scenes from Agnilā's story:—

Agnilā is walking with her sons, one of whom walks in front of her, and is accompanied by the attendant woman referred to in the story. Evidently the whole relates to the departure of Agnilā with her sons and the attendant woman from her husband's house in Girinagara under the circumstances that have been narrated above. The attendant woman holds in her left hand something which may perhaps be a cloth or the apparel necessary for Agnilā. It looks, however, more like a garland, in which case the scene can be explained thus:—

The attendant woman is shown twice, first on the left with the garland in her hand ready to honour Agnilā who by then had become the *Yakshī* Āmbikā, and next as standing on the left of the *Yakshī* herself and stretching her hands with the garland held between them to put it on her. The *Yakshī* is seated cross-legged and has a conical *makuta* on her head which is suggestive of her divine nature. She is, however, shown with two hands like any human being, the significance of which becomes clear when it is seen that by her sides stand her sons, one on her left and the other on her right. The latter stands between the *Yakshī* and the attendant-woman with the garland in

¹ Cf. painting Nos. 35, 47 and 82.

her hands. Though she had by then become a *Yakshī*, Agniṭā was drawn towards her tender sons and comes to them not as the *Yakshī* lest they should get frightened but as their mother Agniṭā. Hence she is shown with two hands, the *makuta* and the particular *yogic* attitude serving to indicate that she was in reality the *Yakshī* Ambikā. This is confirmed by the next panel where she is shown in her *Yakshī* form, sitting cross-legged, with a conical crown on her head and with four hands befitting her divine nature. While her lower hands are held in the *abhaya* (protective) and the *varada* (boon-conferring) poses her upper hands hold her usual emblems, *vis.*, goad and noose¹. On her left stands a party of women, two of whom can alone be made out in the painting, the rest being completely washed out. One of them, the one standing nearest to the *Yakshī* holds in her hands a vessel from the mouth of which flames are issuing, suggesting that a light was burning in it. The other has a tray in her hands from out of which three flames can be seen issuing. Both the vessel and the tray are intended for particular lights which are considered as auspicious and the waving of these lights before gods and saintly persons is considered as a mark of respect and devotion shown towards the particular gods or saints.

The beams of the *mukha-maṇḍapa* of both the *Vardhamāna* and *Trikūṭa-Bastī* shrines show on their narrow sides designs of lotus petals (see Nos. 83-4) and on their broader sides rosettes and other floral motifs, in which the creeper figures most.

V

MISCELLANEOUS PAINTINGS.

Mention may also be made of stray paintings found on the eastern wall of the *Trikūṭa-Bastī-ardhamaṇḍapa*, which faces the *Saṅgita-maṇḍapa* and the *Vardhamāna* veranda wall. The temple priest explained to me that they were done some forty years ago and are hence very recent. The paintings found on the *Trikūṭa-Bastī-ardhamaṇḍapa* eastern wall may be described below:—

Studying them from south to north, the first panel shows Brahma Yaksha, the *Yaksha* attendant of Śitalanātha, riding his *vāhana*, the elephant. He has two hands, the right hand holding a goad and the left something that is not clear. In the next panel is the figure of Neminātha sitting cross-legged and in meditation. Two *devas* stand behind waving *chamaras* while two women, each with a vessel from out of which a flame issues (*kushtha-hārati*)—an auspicious mark denoting devotion—stand on either side of the Tirthaṅkara. In another panel can be made out faintly three figures; two of them represent Sarvāṅga and Ambikā or Kūshmaṇḍini or Dharmadevi, the *Yaksha* and the *Yakshī* respectively of Neminātha. Both are sitting cross-legged and have four hands, the contents of which are blurred. The third figure is so faint that its details can hardly be made out.

¹ See Appendix III, p. 209.

On the *Vardhamāna* veranda wall can be made out in bright colours two *dvārapālas*, one on either side of the entrance to the *Vardhamāna-ardhamandapa*. They have as usual four hands, the upper hands carrying noose and goad, the lower showing the *tarjini* or the pose of threat and carrying *gadā* or mace.

VI

FRAGMENTS OF EARLIER PAINTINGS.

The *Saṅgita-mandapa* contains on that part of its ceiling which is near the *balipīṭha* another row of paintings which is unfortunately much faded, the colour having fallen in many places. Very little of these scenes now remains, though there are here and there a few patches of colour displaying some figures. For this reason visitors to this temple are apt to overlook them. Indeed I had almost neglected them when my attention was luckily drawn to them by Prof. Norman Brown of the Philadelphia University whom I had the pleasure of conducting to this temple in 1927. It was not easy to take photographs of them as the colour employed is of the following composition—deep red, yellow, pink and black with occasional grey—colours which appear black in print. As, however these paintings are probably earlier than the other rows by at least a 100 years, and as the treatment of the subjects is different, in that the figures are larger and less conventional, and floral designs and ornamental patterns are differently rendered, a few patches that could be successfully photographed have been photographed and are figured in plates vi and vii.

Besides various designs (pl. vi, figs. 1 and 3), both floral and ornamental in which the lotus flower figures most, there are also scenes from the life of Vardhamāna, the twenty-fourth Tirthaṅkara (pl. vii) to whom the temple is mainly dedicated. These are without labels. As already pointed out on page 18 all the early inscriptions in the temple are agreed in calling the temple after Vardhamāna to whom it was mainly dedicated. For this reason there was presumably no need to label them as the scenes painted would even otherwise be intelligible. From this we may argue indirectly that these paintings were put up at a time when the other Tirthaṅkaras such as Rishabhadeva and Neminātha, whose lives are portrayed in the later paintings, had not been introduced into the temple or, if they were there already, had not acquired popularity sufficient to warrant their lives being painted. Another indication with regard to their early date is the location of scenes already described above (pp. 124-132) relating to Vardhamāna's *samavasaraṇa* (Nos. 49-64) in the veranda, i.e., the *mukha-mandapas* of the *Trikūṭa-basti* and the Vardhamāna shrines and not in the next row of the ceiling of the *Saṅgita-mandapa* where they might be expected if they were to run continuously with the others (Nos. 38-48) of the same series. This must have been done from regard for earlier paintings that then existed on the row in question. Even if many of these earlier paintings had fallen by then they might be left untouched by later painters, and the entire wing of the ceiling that once contained them would be likely to remain uninterfered with out of regard for them, especially as they would be considered in some special degree sacred being scenes from

the life of Vardhamāna, to whom the temple is dedicated. A further indication of the earlier date of these paintings is the employment of such colours as black, yellow and red in preference to others. In the later paintings (Nos. 1-84) colours such as white, black, red, yellow, blue, grey and a mixture of black and red predominate though green is absent. It appears that the colour-scheme found in the earlier paintings here is similar to that found in the case of very early paintings such as those at Sittannavāsai, datable from seventh century A.D.¹ The later paintings in the temple (Nos. 1-84) exhibit a tendency, which is certainly modern, towards white and black and towards a representation in the form of miniatures of the subjects in a purely conventional manner. The labels appended to the later paintings, that must have been done about the same time as the paintings, are in modern Grantha-Tamil script. The date of the later paintings cannot be earlier than the latter part of the eighteenth century. We may tentatively suggest that this earlier series probably dates from at least about a century before the others, i.e., probably from about the seventeenth century.

The scenes in this earlier series may now be described* :—

Pl. vii-5.—Shows Priyakāriṇī, the mother of Vardhamāna, in labour. She is sitting on a seat (defaced), with the left leg hanging down and the right raised and resting on the seat vertically (*utkuṭika*), between her attendant women of whom, the one on the left of her is holding what looks like a mirror with both her hands and is looking at Priyakāriṇī's face with evident sympathy. The head of the *devī* is slightly lowered with down-cast looks suggesting labour. Her right hand is extended towards the attendant woman on the left as if seeking support and help, while her left hand rests on the seat by her side suggesting helplessness or ease. Her waist cloth has been drawn down revealing a swollen abdomen and the navel. The purpose of such a rendering is clear. The painter has brought out the idea that Priyakāriṇī is in labour, the swollen abdomen suggesting that she was not yet delivered of the divine child. A banner appears over the head of the attendant woman on the left. This was no doubt intended as a mark of royalty or divinity and was probably held by another attendant woman whose form cannot be made out in the painting which has crumbled badly here. On the right of the *devī* can be made out two women, probably attendants, engaged in conversation probably concerning the condition of their mistress. Or have we here Śacī (the figure on the extreme right) come to receive the child from an attendant (the figure on the left) for *janmābhisheka*?

Pl. vii-4.—Shows the *janmābhisheka* of the child, the ceremony of anointing him with celestial waters.

In the centre of the painting is a figure seated on a pedestal with legs crossed. The head and the body are defaced, the only distinguishable fragment being the left hand laid

¹ Cf. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. LII, pp. 45-7, Jouvean Dubreuil, *Pallava Painting*, p. 2.

* I am indebted to Mr. D. P. Roy Chowdhary, Principal, Government School of Arts and Crafts, Madras, for rendering technical aid by touching up here and there the paintings figured in plate vii from photographs supplied to him.

on the left thigh. This evidently represents Vardhamāna as the child engaged in the ceremony of *janmābhisheka*. There is a *deva* on the right pouring water on him from a vessel held over his head with both his hands. This *deva* wears a *kirita* on his head, *patra-kundalas* in his ears, armlets, necklaces and the waist-girdle round his waist. He must be Saudharmendra, the Indra of the first heaven. This identification is confirmed by the presence of a female figure similarly adorned, who is Śacti, his wife, on the right of Saudharmendra. Some other *devas* stood on either side of the child, of whom five can be made out in the painting. Two of these five stand on the right, behind Śacti. One of them is of short stature and has his right hand extended with the palm open suggesting wonder (*vismaya*). Nothing remains of the other except the crowned head. In the foreground an elephant is standing. This is Airāvata, the vehicle of Saudharmendra. The other three *devas* stand in a row, one behind the other on the left of the child. The one farthest from the child is bringing a vessel probably with the celestial water in it, the second takes it from him and carries it in both his hands to the third who after receiving it pours the water over the divine child's head. In the foreground, and in front of the second figure of these three, can be seen the fallen figure of another *deva*, similarly ornamented and dressed but with his back turned towards the child. He is evidently one of the many doubting *devas* that fell down when the child sneezed.

Pl. vii-2 is in two panels. The one on the left shows the figure of Vardhamāna (defaced) seated on a pedestal and decorated with ornaments such as armlets, wristlets, *kundalas* and *kirita* and garlands. A cushion is placed behind him on which he is leaning. His left hand rests on his thigh suggesting ease, the idea being that he was thus installed by Saudharmendra and the other *devas* in order to give audience to them so that they could look at him all the time and delight themselves to their hearts' content by dancing, singing, etc. Indra is shown dancing in the next panel. Only the lower part of his body is visible, the rest having fallen. The legs are crossed as in painting No. 45 (pl. xix) suggesting that the figure is engaged in dancing.

Pl. vii-1 represents the scene portrayed in painting No. 45 (b) and described on p. 123. Saṅgama is here shown in the form of a snake, twisting himself round a tree with the tail laid on the ground and the hood spread on top of the tree. Vardhamāna is standing on the ground very near the tail evidently with the intention of climbing up and crushing the snake under his feet. He has his right hand raised as if speaking. Probably he is advising the *deva* Saṅgama to withdraw from the foolish wager into which he had entered before he was made to realize the consequences of his folly. The right hand and the right half of the body of a figure can be made out to the right of Vardhamāna.

Pl. vii-3 illustrates the *samavasaraṇa* of Vardhamāna. Though much of it has fallen what remains shows parts of the *Lakṣmīvara-maṇḍapa* which consisted of the twelve *koṣṭas* and the *Gandhakūṭi* in which the Tirthaṅkara was installed. Only three compartments of the *Lakṣmīvara-maṇḍapa* remain, each containing two figures. Proceeding clockwise, the first of these contains two representatives of the *Bhavanavāsi-devas*, both with their hands folded in worship (*añjali*) against their breasts. The next shows two winged men,

seated cross-legged and with hands folded in worship (*añjali*). They represent the *Gandharvas* that form a division of the *Vyantara* or peripatetic *devas*. The next contains two figures which are those of the sun and the moon, the two important divisions of the *Jyotishkas*. They each have a halo round their heads which distinguishes them easily and have their hands folded in worship (*añjali*) against their breasts. As in the other paintings in this temple illustrating the *samavasarana* only two figures are shown in each hall to represent the class of *devas* that should occupy it. In the centre bounded by two concentric circles is the *Gandhakuti*. Part of a throne is visible with its canopy and a cushion on it. But the portion showing the Tirthaṅkara has fallen. What now remains of this part of the structure shows the standing figure of a *deva* who waves a *chāmara* on the right side of the Tirthaṅkara.

Between the *samavasarana* scene (3) and the Saṅgama scene (1) can be made out faintly a patch of colour, that could not be successfully photographed, in which two heads and small circular and irregular discs looking like flowers can alone be made out. Probably the heads are those of the *Gandharvas* who scattered flowers over the *samavasarana* structure.

Pl. vi—2 shows women riding on horses in a circle (defaced) around a circular and embossed medallion in the centre. Originally there must have been eight such women each on her horse. But now most of the painting having fallen only two women can be made out, one of them clearly on the horse. The medallion contains a well-finished carving showing Saudharmendra, head westwards, riding his elephant, Airāvata with his wife, Śachi seated also on the back of the elephant behind him. Both have *kirita*s on their heads. Saudharmendra holds a flower in his right hand and carries a flower-garland in his left. Śachi's right hand holds a flower, while her left is hidden by Indra's right hand. The whole carving has been painted over but most of the paint has fallen.

Some other patches of colour (not photographed) reveal parts of scenes in which common folk, *devas* with parasols in their hands, men on horse-back and ornamental floral designs figure. These are so hopelessly fragmentary that the scenes portrayed cannot be identified.

APPENDIX I.¹

JAINA UNITS OF MEASUREMENT AND TIME.

UNITS OF MEASUREMENT.

The following tables of measurement are necessary to understand the pages devoted to Jaina cosmology, classification of souls, etc., where measurements of the universe and its various parts, of the respective heights, ages, etc., of the various souls, living in the universe, *vis.*, human, sub-human, hellish, celestial and perfect are discussed :—

I

Samaya is the smallest unit of time. Innumerable *samayas* pass while one winks an eye or tears an old piece of cloth or snaps the finger or drives the sharp end of a pin into a lotus leaf or petal.

Innumerable <i>samayas</i>	= 1 <i>nimisha</i> (time taken in raising the eye-lid).	30 <i>muhūrtas</i>	= 1 <i>ahorātra</i> (a day and a night).
15 <i>nimishas</i>	= 1 <i>kāshthā</i> .	30 days	= 1 <i>māsa</i> .
20 <i>kāshthās</i>	= 1 <i>kalā</i> .	2 <i>māsas</i>	= 1 <i>ritu</i> .
20 <i>kalās</i> and a little over	= 1 <i>nālī</i> or <i>ghaṭī</i> .	3 <i>ritus</i>	= 1 <i>ayana</i> .
2 <i>ghaṭīs</i>	= 1 <i>muhūrta</i> .	2 <i>ayanas</i>	= 1 <i>samvatsara</i> .
		70,560,000,000,000 <i>samvatsaras</i> .	= 1 <i>pūrva</i> .

Another classification of time starting from *samaya* as the smallest unit is as follows:—

Countless *samayas*=1 *āvalikā* which is the next smallest division of time.

16,777,216 *āvalikās*=1 *muhūrta*; also called *antarmuhūrta*. A *muhūrta* is equivalent to 48 minutes of English time.

30 *muhūrtas* = 1 *ahorātra* (i.e., a night and a day).

After *ahorātra* the Jains count like the Hindus the fortnight, months and years till they come to what is called a *palya* or *palyopama*, which is an inestimably long period of time. It is calculated thus:—

A vessel or circular pit with a diameter of one *yojana*, i.e., 2,000 *krośas* or 4,000 miles, and of an equal depth is filled with "the ends of the downy-hair of a lamb of seven days born in the highest *bhoga-bhūmi* (*utkrishṭa-bhoga-bhūmi*). " If one such hair is taken out every 100 years, the time required to empty the pit or the vessel is a *palya* or *palyopama* or as it is also called *vyavahārapalya*. Innumerable *vyavahārapalyas* make one *uddhārapalya* and innumerable *uddhārapalyas* make one *addhāpalya*.

¹ Concerning authorities consulted see *preface*.

Ten crores of crores of *addhāpāya* = 1 *sāgara*, i.e., one hundred millions of *pāya* multiplied by one hundred millions make one *sāgara* or *sāgaropama*.

II

Infinite × Infinite atoms	=	1 <i>utsanjñāsanjñā</i> .
8 <i>utsanjñāsanjñās</i>	=	1 <i>sanjñāsanjñā</i> .
8 <i>sanjñāsanjñās</i>	=	1 <i>truṭi-reṇu</i> .
8 <i>truṭi-reṇus</i>	=	1 <i>trasa-reṇu</i> .
8 <i>trasa-reṇus</i>	=	1 <i>ratha-reṇu</i> .
8 <i>ratha-reṇus</i>	=	1 hair-point of a hairbin in the highest enjoyment-land (<i>utkrishṭa-bhoga-bhūmi</i>).
8 such hair-points	=	1 hair-point in the middle (<i>madhyama</i>) enjoyment-land.
8 do.	=	1 hair-point in the lowest (<i>jaghanya</i>) enjoyment-land.
8 do.	=	1 hair-point in the action-land (<i>karma-bhūmi</i>).
8 do.	=	1 <i>liṣa nit</i> (young louse or egg of a louse).
8 <i>nits</i>	=	1 <i>yūka</i> louse.
8 lice	=	1 <i>yava-madhya</i> barley-seed (in its diameter).
8 barley-seeds	=	1 <i>utsedha aṅgula</i> (small finger in its breadth).
[500 <i>utsedha aṅgulas</i>	=	1 <i>pramāṇa aṅgula</i> (big finger).]
6 <i>aṅgulas</i>	=	1 <i>pāda</i> .
2 <i>pādas</i>	=	1 <i>vitastī</i> (span).
2 <i>vitastīs</i>	=	1 <i>hātha</i> or <i>hasta</i> (cubit).
2 <i>hāthas</i> (cubits)	=	1 <i>kiku</i> .
2 <i>kikus</i> (or 4 cubits)	=	1 <i>dhanushya</i> or <i>dhanusha</i> or <i>dhanus</i> (bow).
2,000 <i>dhanushyas</i>	=	1 <i>kośa</i> .
4 <i>kośas</i>	=	1 <i>yojana</i> .
500 <i>yojanas</i> or 2,000 <i>kośas</i>	=	1 <i>pramāṇa yojana</i> or big <i>yojana</i> .

By the *Pramāṇa Aṅgula* and *Pramāṇa Yojana* (500 times of the ordinary measure) continents, oceans, etc., are measured.

A *raju* is a certain inconceivably great measure of length.

Sāgara or *sāgaropama*, *pāya*, and *pūrva* are names of high numbers.

DIVISIONS OF TIME.

In common with other oriental faiths Jainism speaks of time as an infinite series of aeons (*kalpas*) which are likened to a wheel rotating, now down and now up. Its downward course forms one era of an aeon, and its upward course the other era, each aeon having only two eras. The former era is known as *avasarpinī*, or the descending era, and the latter as *utsarpinī* or the ascending era. Both are under the influence of serpents, the former under that of a bad serpent and the latter under that of a good one. The wheel of time is said to have twelve spokes, six for each era.

AVASARPINI.—The era in which we are now living, and in which piety and truth go on decreasing until chaos prevails, has the following six divisions¹:—

(1) *Sushama Sushama* (pure bliss) was an age of great happiness, lasting for four crores of crores of *sāgara* or *sāgaropamas*. In this age human beings lived for three *palyas*, had 256 ribs each, were six miles high and ate every fourth day. They had symmetrical bodies, with joints firmly knit and were always healthy. They were free from anger, conceit, greed, etc., and by nature shunned vice. The ten "wish-trees" (*kalpa-vrikshas*) supplied all their needs.² The children born in this age were always twins, a boy and a girl. In many Jaina temples one can see carvings representing these happy twins standing under the *kalpa*-trees that catered to their needs. The parents of the children died as soon as they were 49 days old, and the children could eat on and from the fourth day after they were born food equal to a grain of corn in size. They never increased the amount of their food, which they ate, as already said, every fourth day. The human beings of this period passed after death straight to *devaloka*, without ever having heard of religion. As this spoke of the wheel passed, the powers of the *kalpa*-trees slowly deteriorated.

(2) *Sushama* (bliss) was, as the name indicates, an age of happiness only a little reduced. It lasted for three crores of crores of *sāgaras*. This age was only half as happy as the first. Human beings were four miles high, had only 128 ribs, lived for two *palyas* and ate every third day. The ten *kalpa*-trees still continued their kind offices, though their powers were somewhat diminished. Abundance gradually decreased "like the size of an elephant's trunk." The parents of the children (twins again) lived longer now after they were born and died only when the latter were sixty-four days old. Food equal in size to a jujube fruit was now consumed every third day.

(3) *Sushama Dushama* (bliss-sorrow) was the next age when happiness had become mixed with sorrow. It lasted for two crores of crores of *sāgaras*. In this period human beings lived for one *palya*, were only two miles in height, had only sixty-four ribs and ate every second day. The power of the *kalpa*-trees became still further diminished. After death human beings still went to *devaloka*. It was during this period that Rishabhadeva was born, who taught the twins of this age seventy-two useful arts such as cooking, sewing, etc., "for he knew that the desire-fulfilling trees would disappear, and that human beings would have only themselves to depend upon." While he established a kingdom and introduced politics, etc., it was given to his illustrious daughter Brāhmī, the Jaina patron of learning, to invent during this period eighteen different alphabets

¹ *Trilokaśāstra*, v. 780.

² The manner in which they supplied their needs is as follows:—

One tree gave them sweet fruits, another bore leaves that formed pots and pans, another murmured enchanting music with its rustling leaves and boughs, a fourth shed bright light, a fifth shone with radiance like little lamps, the flowers of a sixth gave forth scent and form (*rūpa*), a seventh bore food, both nice to behold and good to taste, the eighth had its leaves looking like jewels, the ninth was like a palace rising with many storeys to live in, while the tenth and the last supplied clothes with its bark.

"including Turkish, Nāgarī, all the Dravidian dialects, Canarese, Persian, and the character used in Orissa."

(4) *Dushama Sushama* (sorrow-bliss), the next age, was a period of misery with some happiness. It lasted for one crore of crores of *sāgaras* or *sāgaropamas* minus 42,000 years. Human beings lacked their former power and lived for one crore of *pūrvas*.¹ They were only five-hundred bows or spans tall and had thirty-two ribs. Women of this period ate twenty-eight morsels of food, the men thirty-two, and they both ate only once in the day. It was during this period that the Jaina religion was fully developed, and the remaining twenty-three Tirthaṅkaras, eleven Chakravartins, nine Baladevas, nine Vāsudevas and nine Prati-Vāsudevas belong to it. People of this period did not all go to *deva-loka*, but might be reborn in any of the four *gati*, indicated by the *svastika* (hell, heaven, man or beast) or might become *siddhas*.

(5) *Dushama* (sorrow), is the age in which we are now living and is entirely evil as the name indicates. It began in about 523 B.C., i.e., 3 years and 8½ months after Vardhamāna obtained liberation and will last for 21,000 years, of which some 2,418 years have now passed. Life is limited to 125 years²; people do not have more than 16 ribs nor are they more than seven cubits or 10½ feet high.

No Tirthaṅkara can be born in this period. Ascetics and laymen cannot reach *moksha* without passing through at least one more birth, "so that there would not seem to be much use in becoming an ascetic nowadays!". The present age will witness worse things than it has yet seen and Jainism itself will slowly disappear, a belief so firmly implanted in the minds of the Jaina that it paralyses all effort at the present time, "for the younger Jaina feel that anything they may do to spread their faith, for instance, is only building castles in the sand that must be swept away by the incoming tide of destruction."

(6) *Dushama Dushama* (sorrow-sorrow or pure sorrow), is the age of greatest misery which follows our present era and lasts for 21,000 years. Evil alone will prevail and mortals can live only for sixteen years or, according to some sects, twenty years at the most and cannot have more than eight ribs, nor will their height exceed one cubit or 1½ feet. Days will be hot and nights extremely cold; all kinds of diseases will spread, and chastity even between brothers and sisters will become non-existent. At the end of this period tempests will rend the earth when humanity will seek refuge in the Ganges, in caves and in the ocean.³

At the end of this age the *utsarpiṇī* era will begin and the wheel of time will start its upward revolution, when it will rain for seven days seven kinds of rain which will "so nourish the ground that the seeds will grow".

¹ One crore *pūrvas* = $7,056 \times 10^{17}$ years.

² According to Hemachandra life was limited to 100 years only. See *Trishuṣṭipātāhōpamhathavivṛta*, Vol. I, edited by Helen M. Johnson, 1931, p. 95.

³ The last Jaina monk will be called Duppasahasārī, the last nun Phalguśrī, the last layman Nāgila and the last laywoman Satyaśrī.

⁴ As the Jainas, unlike the Hindus, believe that their world was never created and as such can never be destroyed, they have no reason to apprehend that the earth is doomed to perish in these tempests.

UTSARPINI.—The six ages of the *utsarpinī* era have the same names as those of the *avasarpinī* but they occur in the reverse order, *Dushama Dushama* being the first. The first three ages of the *avasarpinī* and therefore the last three ages of the *utsarpinī* are the ages of *bhoga-bhūmi* or enjoyment.¹

In these men get what they want from the *kalpa*-trees, which means "that in the earliest periods of their existence men knew neither the arts and industries, nor the pastoral pursuits, nor agriculture, and that they kept body and soul together by a diet of fruits, roots, etc., wearing leaves and the bark of trees".²

The remaining three ages are those of *karma-bhūmi* or work.³ In these men have to sweat for their livelihood and also for their comforts and blessings in the life to come. The duration of the two eras combined is twenty crores of crores of *sāgaras* or *sāgarapamas*.

Dushama, the second age in this era will bring slight improvement.

Dushama Sushama, the third age will be important for the reason that the first of the future twenty-four Tirthaṅkaras will appear. He will bear the name Padmanābha and will resemble Vardhamāna in accomplishing as much as the latter did in spreading the Jaina faith. During Vardhamāna's time he was a king in Magadha and he is now expiating his bad *karma* in the first hell. When the upward revolution of the wheel brings us to the age of *Sushama*, twenty-three other future Tirthaṅkaras will appear who will carry on the work of Padmanābha "and the world will grow steadily happier, passing through every stage till the happiest of all is reached, when the decline of the wheel must once more begin that leads at last to the destruction of Jainism, and so on in endless succession".⁴

¹ *Bhoga-bhūmi* means enjoyment-land. This is a condition of life where there is all enjoyment and no labour such as agriculture or manufacture. Life runs its full span and can never be cut short.

² Jaini, *Outlines of Jainism*, pp. xxvi-xxvii.

³ *Karma-bhūmi*, work-land, i.e., a condition of life where work, like agriculture, etc., is necessary for sustenance, and in which the span of life can be cut short by external causes such as disease, accident, suicide and the like.

⁴ Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, p. 278.

APPENDIX II.¹

JAINA COSMOLOGY.

The universe (*loka*) is believed to have the shape of a man standing with arms akimbo* (pl. xxxvii) resembling at its top a cane-stand, in the middle a cymbal (*thal-lari*) and at its bottom a drum (*muraja*). It is composed of three worlds, the lower, the middle and the upper. Its breadth at its lowest point (*jagat-śreṇi*) is 7 *rajjus*, its area at its base (*jagat-pratara*) is 7 *rajjus* × 7 *rajjus* = 49 square *rajjus*, and its total volume (*jagat-ghana* or *loka*) is 343 cubic *rajjus* (7³ *rajjus*).

It tapers up from the base till at the height of 7 *rajjus*, where we arrive at the navel or centre of the universe, it is only 1 *rajju* wide. This part resembles the man's waist. From here it again bulges out till at half the remaining height it reaches the breadth of 5 *rajjus*. From here it narrows down gradually till at the top it is one *rajju* wide only. The whole universe is enveloped in three atmospheres called *vāta-valayas* or wind-sheaths:—

- (1) the thick wind or very dense atmosphere (*ghanodadhi-vāta-valaya*),
- (2) the less thick or dense atmosphere (*ghana-vāta-valaya*),
- (3) the fine wind or rare atmosphere (*tannu-vāta-valaya*).

This threefold sheath of the universe is compared to the bark of a tree². Through the centre of the universe runs a region figuratively referred to as a nerve (*trasa-nāḍī*) in which alone all mobile souls live. It is 14 *rajjus* high, one *rajju* thick and one *rajju* broad. It is generally called *trasa-nāḍī* because mobile (*trasa*) souls cannot live outside it. The special name given to this *trasa-nāḍī* or "the nerve of the mobile souls" is *gūṇa*, which means "chord"³. It means to the universe what sap means to the tree³. All living beings, i.e., men, animals, *devas*, devils and gods and also many immobile souls live here.

THE LOWER WORLD (*Adho-loka*).

The lower part of the figure of the man, i.e., the legs, represent the lower world (*adho-loka*). It is made up of seven earths which lie one below the other with an intervening space of one *rajju* separating one from the other. Each of these is surrounded and supported by three atmospheres, a gross air atmosphere (*ghanavāta*), a vapour atmosphere (*ambuvāta*), and a thin air atmosphere (*tannuvāta*), which are each 20,000 *yojanas* thick at the

¹ Concerning authorities consulted, see *preface*.

² It is an allegory, "of the human form divine, a macrocosm of the universe roughly evolved from the human microcosm" (Jaini, *Bright Ones in Jainism*, p. 15). But the comparison cannot be stretched far, for it is quite superficial and is only intended to make the complications of Jain cosmology easy to comprehend.

³ *Trilokasūtra*, v. 123 " . . . ghanāmbuḥghanatanūnām bhavet 1 Vātānām valayatrayam vṛkṣikāya tvaḥina lohasya || "

⁴ *Trilokasūtra*, v. 143.

⁵ *Trilokasūtra*, v. 143, " . . . vṛkṣike tārāṇa . . . "

bottom of the universe. In these seven earths are located the abodes of the hell-inhabitants (*Narakas*). Counting from above downwards these earths are—

(1) *Ratnaprabhā*—also called *Gharmā*. It is in hue like gems or jewels (*ratnas*), whence its name. Sixteen kinds of precious stones such as diamond, ruby, etc., are found there¹.

(2) *Śarkarāprabhā*—also called *Vaiśā*. It is like sugar in hue.

(3) *Vālukaprabhā*—also called *Meghā*. It is like sand in hue.

(4) *Pañkaprabhā*—also called *Añjanā*. It is like mire in hue.

(5) *Dhūmaprabhā*—also called *Arishtā*. It is like smoke in hue.

(6) *Tannah-prabhā*—also called *Maghavi*. It is like darkness in hue.

(7) *Mahātamaḥ-prabhā*—also called *Māghavi*. It is like pitch darkness in hue.

The first earth is 180,000 *yojanas* thick or high and has three parts. The uppermost part is called *Khara-bhāga*. It is 16,000 *yojanas* thick and contains all the 16 kinds of jewels. In its middle 14,000 *yojanas* live all the ten classes of *Bhavanāvāsī* or residential celestial beings except the *Asura-kumāras*², and all the eight classes of the *Vyantarās* or the peripatetic celestial beings except the *Rākshasas*³. The middle part of the first earth is called *Pāṇkabhāga*. It is 84,000 *yojanas* thick and the *Asura-kumāras* among the *Bhavanāvāsī*s and the *Rākshasas* among the *Vyantarās* live there⁴. The lowest part of the first earth contains the first group of hells (*i.e.*, in its *trasa-nādi* or mobile channel) and is called *Abhahula-bhāga*. It is 80,000 *yojanas* thick.

The second earth is 32,000 *yojanas* thick⁵ and contains the second group of hells.

The third earth is 28,000 *yojanas* thick⁶ and contains the third group of hells.

The fourth earth is 24,000 *yojanas* thick⁷ and contains the fourth group of hells.

The fifth earth is 20,000 *yojanas* thick⁸ and contains the fifth group of hells.

The sixth earth is 16,000 *yojanas* thick⁹ and contains the sixth group of hells.

The seventh earth is 8,000 *yojanas* thick¹⁰ and contains the seventh group of hells.

The number of hells in these earths is as follows:—

30 lakhs in the first earth.	99,995 in the sixth earth.
25 " second earth.	5 in the seventh earth.
15 " third earth.	
10 " fourth earth.	Total ... 84 lakhs of hells.
3 " fifth earth.	

These hells are huge holes in which hellish beings live. They are in 49 different layers (*pāṭalas*), 13 for the first earth, 11 for the second, 9 for the third, 7 for the fourth, 5 for the fifth, 3 for the sixth and 1 for the seventh. In each layer there is a central hole called *Indraka-bila*, and lines of holes (*śreṇī-baddhas*) in the four cardinal and four intermediate

¹ For their names see *Trilokaśāra*, vv. 147-8.

⁴ See below, p. 229.

² Another version is 132,000 *yojanas*. See *Trishaktiśilālākāpurushacharitra*, p. 380.

³ *Trishaktiśilālākāpurushacharitra*, p. 380-128,000 *yojanas*.

⁵ *Ibid.*—120,000 *yojanas*.

⁸ *Ibid.*—118,000 *yojanas*.

⁶ *Ibid.*—116,000 *yojanas*.

⁹ *Ibid.*—108,000 *yojanas*.

directions. In the first layer there are 49 in each of the cardinal directions, and 48 in each of the intermediate ones. In the second layer the numbers are 48 and 47; in the third 47 and 46 and so on, till in the forty-ninth layer there is a central hole and 4 holes in the cardinal points, thus making 5. The total number of these holes or hells may be arrived at thus:—

49	central holes (<i>Indrakas</i>).
9,604	in the eight directions (<i>Śreṇi-buddhas</i>).
8,390,347	sporadic holes (<i>Prakīrṇakas</i>).
<hr/>	
8,400,000	Total number of hells.

Hellish beings (*nārakas*) have very bad "thought-colours" or *leśyas*¹. They have the lowest kinds of sense-perceptions and have ugly and grotesque bodies. Their "thought-colours" are always of the lower type; black, indigo and grey. Grey (*kapota*) is associated with those of the hells in the first and second earths, indigo (*nīla*) in the fourth, a mixture of indigo and black in the fifth, a mixture of grey and indigo in the third, black in the sixth and the seventh. The sound of these hellish beings is harsh, their touch rough and their person and environments are terrible to behold. Their bodies are grotesque and disproportionate; their heights vary with the different earths in which they live. Thus the height in the hells of the first earth is 7 bows, 3 cubits, and 6 fingers. It doubles at each successive earth till in the hells of the seventh earth it is 500 bows. These beings torture one another. They change their bodies at will, but the change is always for the worse, such as that of the raven, wolf, etc. The *Asura-kumāras* who live in the *Pañka-bhāga* of the *Ratnaprabhā* earth, though they are celestial beings, give torture to these beings (in the first, second, and third earths) or incite them to torture one another.

There are also other celestial beings (*devas*) engaged in this torturing. They are divided into fifteen classes according to their functions—(1) The *Amūḍa*, who destroy the nerves of their victims; (as a mango is crushed in a man's hand to soften it, so do they wreck the nerves of the *jīva* they torture); (2) the *Ambarasa*, who separate flesh and bones; (3) the *Śāma* who beat men; (4) the *Śabala* who tear the flesh; (5) the *Rudra* who spear men; (6) the *Mahārudra* who cut flesh into mince-meat; (7) the *Kāla* who roast the flesh of the victims; (8) the *Mahākāla* who tear flesh with pincers; (9) the *Asipaṇṇa* who cut with swords; (10) the *Dhanu* who shoot their victims with arrows; (11) the *Kumbha* who torture with chillies; (12) the *Vālu* who steep men in hot sand; (13) the *Vetarunt* who duck the victims in boiling water and dash them against stones like a dhobi; (14) the *Kharasvara* who throw men on thorny trees; (15) the *Mahāghosha* who shut men up in black holes.

The maximum age of the hellish beings of the different earths are 1, 3, 7, 10, 17, 22 and 33 *sāgaropamas* of years respectively. All the hells in the first, second, third and

¹ *Leśya* is said to be that by means of which the soul is tinted with merit or demerit. It is translated as "tint" or "paint of body and thought."

fourth earths and the upper two lakhs¹ of the fifth earth are all very hot. The rest are very cold. It is said that the group of hells in the seventh earth is so horrid, and the pain there so acute, that our "degenerated race of the fifth age of the *avasarpini* era is not strong and capable enough to sin so as to deserve being sent to this blackest spot in the universe!". While all these hells are situated in the region of the legs of the standing figure symbolising the universe there is a still worse place called *Nigoda* situated below its feet² in which are thrown evil *jīvas* who have committed sins like murder and who have no hope of ever coming out of it.

Next above these hells is the waist of the figure, which stands for the middle world (*madhya-loka*) where we live.

THE MIDDLE WORLD (*Madhya-loka*).

The middle world is 100,040 *yojanas*³ high, and is a circular body consisting of a number of concentric rings called *dvīpas* or island-continent, separated from each other by ring-shaped oceans, each of these rings having twice the breadth of the one immediately preceding it. In the centre of this world, like the navel of the body, is Mount Meru, surrounded by the first continent *Jambū-dvīpa*. The names of the first sixteen and the last sixteen island-continent are—

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. <i>Jambū-dvīpa</i> , one lakh of <i>yojanas</i> across, which is surrounded by the <i>Lavana-samudra</i> or the salt-ocean, of two lakhs of <i>yojanas</i> of breadth. | 6. <i>Ghṛitavara-dvīpa</i> ; <i>Ghṛitavara-samudra</i> . |
| 2. <i>Dhātaki-khaṇḍa-dvīpa</i> , of twice the breadth of its preceding ring, viz., <i>Lavana-samudra</i> . This island is surrounded by <i>Kālodaka-jaladhī</i> or <i>Kālodadhī-samudra</i> or ocean, of twice the breadth of the island it encircles. | 7. <i>Kṣaudravara</i> or <i>Ikṣuvāra-dvīpa</i> ; <i>Kṣaudravara</i> or <i>Ikṣuvāra-samudra</i> . |
| 3. <i>Pushkaravara-dvīpa</i> , which is surrounded by an ocean called <i>Pushkaravara-samudra</i> which takes its name from the island it encircles. From here onwards the oceans take their names after the <i>dvīpas</i> that they surround. | 8. <i>Nandiśvaravara-dvīpa</i> ; <i>Nandiśvaravara-samudra</i> . |
| 4. <i>Vāruṇivara-dvīpa</i> or island; <i>Vāruṇivara-samudra</i> or ocean. | 9. <i>Arunavara-dvīpa</i> ; <i>Arunavara-samudra</i> . |
| 5. <i>Kṣīravara-dvīpa</i> ; <i>Kṣīravara-samudra</i> . | 10. <i>Arunābhāsavara-dvīpa</i> ; <i>Arunābhāsavara-samudra</i> . |
| | 11. <i>Kuṇḍala-vara-dvīpa</i> ; <i>Kuṇḍalavara-samudra</i> . |
| | 12. <i>Śaṁkhavara-dvīpa</i> ; <i>Śaṁkhavara-samudra</i> . |
| | 13. <i>Ruchakavara-dvīpa</i> ; <i>Ruchakavara-samudra</i> . |
| | 14. <i>Bhujagavara-dvīpa</i> ; <i>Bhujagavara-samudra</i> . |
| | 15. <i>Kuśagavara-dvīpa</i> ; <i>Kuśagavara-samudra</i> . |
| | 16. <i>Krauñchavara-dvīpa</i> ; <i>Krauñchavara-samudra</i> . |

¹ $\frac{1}{2}$ part according to *Trilokaśāstra*, sec v. 153.

² 1 *yojana* = about 4,000 miles.

³ Pl. xxxvii.

From here onwards, after leaving countless *dvīpas* and *samudras* come the last sixteen *dvīpas* and their corresponding encircling oceans, which are—

- | | | | |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|---|
| 1. <i>Manah-sīlā-dvīpa</i> ; | <i>Manah-sīlā-samudra.</i> | 9. <i>Vajravara-dvīpa</i> ; | <i>Vajravara-samudra.</i> |
| 2. <i>Haritāla-dvīpa</i> ; | <i>Haritāla-samudra.</i> | 10. <i>Vaidūryavara-dvīpa</i> ; | <i>Vaidūryavara-samudra.</i> |
| 3. <i>Sindūravara-dvīpa</i> ; | <i>Sindūravara-samudra.</i> | 11. <i>Nāgavara-dvīpa</i> ; | <i>Nāgavara-samudra.</i> |
| 4. <i>Śyāmavara-dvīpa</i> ; | <i>Śyāmavara-samudra.</i> | 12. <i>Bhūtavara-dvīpa</i> ; | <i>Bhūtavara-samudra.</i> |
| 5. <i>Añjanakavara-dvīpa</i> ; | <i>Añjanakavara-samudra.</i> | 13. <i>Yakshavara-dvīpa</i> ; | <i>Yakshavara-samudra.</i> |
| 6. <i>Hingulikavara-dvīpa</i> ; | <i>Hingulikavara-samudra.</i> | 14. <i>Devavara-dvīpa</i> ; | <i>Devavara-samudra.</i> |
| 7. <i>Rūpyavara-dvīpa</i> ; | <i>Rūpyavara-samudra.</i> | 15. <i>Ahīndravara-dvīpa</i> ; | <i>Ahīndravara-samudra.</i> |
| 8. <i>Suvarṇavara-dvīpa</i> ; | <i>Suvarṇavara-samudra.</i> | 16. <i>Svayambhūramāṇa-dvīpa</i> ; | <i>Svayambhūramāṇa-samudra</i> , which is the last ocean. |

The first three islands and the eighth island (*Nandīśvaravara-dvīpa*) must now be described, the former three for the reason that men can be found only in the first two islands and in the first half of the third island, and the latter for the reason that it is "a land of delights of the gods" who make in them with all splendour "eight-day festivals in the shrines on the holy days of the holy Arhats." The fact that the works I rely on for my study on this point speak of these particular islands specially and of the other islands in a general manner speaks for their relative importance.¹

Jambū-dvīpa.—In the centre of *Jambū-dvīpa* Mount *Meru*, golden and in the shape of a truncated cone, is buried 1,000 *yojanas* in the ground. Its diameter at the surface of the earth is 10,000 *yojanas* and 1,000 *yojanas* at its top, while its height is 99,000 *yojanas*. It is in three parts, being so divided by the three worlds. Its first part which is the 1,000 *yojanas* of it that are buried in the ground is taken to be in the *adho-loka*. This part consists of pure earth, stone, diamond and gravel. The second part which is 63,000 *yojanas* high is composed of gold, crystal, and *aṅka*². The third part, which is 36,000 *yojanas* high, consists of slabs of gold, and is surmounted by a glittering peak made of *vaidūrya* (cat's eye), whose diameter at its base is 12 *yojanas* and height 40 *yojanas*. At the base of Mount *Meru*, on the level of the earth, there is a dense encircling grove called *Bhadraśāla*. At 500 *yojanas* height from *Bhadraśāla*, on a terrace³ of the mountain is situated another grove called *Nandana*⁴. 6,250 *yojanas*⁵ above *Nandana* is the third grove

¹ It is interesting to note that one of the inscriptions in the big temple, dealt with above on pages 56-7 speaks of one of the festivals conducted in the *Nandīśvara-tara* island.

² It is not clear what *aṅka* means here. But from among the numerous meanings available for the word the following three need to be mentioned:—an ornament, a mountain and water.

³ The word used is *śāṇa*, which literally means a peak. As this meaning is clearly impossible here I follow Hemachandra in translating it as "terrace."

⁴ This is the Hindu garden said to be in the world of *Imra*.

⁵ 62,500 according to Hemachandra.

called *Saumanasa*, also on a terrace. And 36,000 *yojanas* above *Saumanasa* is the fourth grove called *Pāṇḍuka* or *Pāṇḍaka* in the shape of a circle, also on a terrace. As mentioned on pp. 83-84 the *Janmābhishekas* of the Tirthaṅkaras are performed in this *Pāṇḍuka* grove (*vana*).

Jambū-dvīpa is divided into seven *kshetras* or zones by six ranges of mountains running through it from east to west. These ranges are, from south to north:—(1) *Himavān*, (2) *Mahāhimavān*, (3) *Nishadha*, (4) *Nīla*, (5) *Rukmin* and (6) *Śikharin*. These ranges which are of equal dimensions, abound in various kinds of precious stones (*manī*) on their slopes, and touch the *Lavana-samudra* or the salt ocean. The first mountain is of snow colour¹, the second of white, the third of burning or red-hot gold, the fourth of blue like the neck of the peacock, the fifth of silvery white and the sixth of golden colours. On the tops of these six mountains there are six lakes, *Padma*, *Mahāpadma*, *Tigīñchha*, *Kesari*, *Mahāpuṇḍarika*, and *Puṇḍarika*, respectively. The first lake has a length of 1,000 *yojanas*, a breadth of 500 *yojanas*, and a depth of 10 *yojanas*, and contains in its centre a lotus-like island, one *yojana* broad. Each of the three lakes up to *Tigīñchha* is twice as great in length, breadth and depth as the preceding lake and each of the three islands in them is also twice the length, breadth and depth of the island immediately preceding it. Thus *Mahāpadma* is twice the dimensions of the first lake *Padma*, and *Tigīñchha* is twice the size of *Mahāpadma*. *Kesari* is, however, equal to *Tigīñchha*, *Mahāpuṇḍarika* to *Mahāpadma* and *Puṇḍarika* to *Padma*. The same is the case with the islands in them. In these islands live six *Devīs* with life-periods of a *palya* attended by celestial beings of equal status called *Sāmānikas*, and with celestial beings who are members of their courts called *Pārishadas*. The *Devīs* (goddesses) are called *Śrī*, *Hrī*, *Dhṛitī*, *Kīrti*, *Buddhi* and *Lakshmi*, respectively.

The six mountains divide *Jambū-dvīpa* into seven zones or *kshetras* which are, from south to north:—(1) *Bharata-kshetra*; (2) *Haimavata-kshetra*; (3) *Hari-kshetra*; (4) *Videha-kshetra*; (5) *Ramyaka-kshetra*; (6) *Hairanyavata-kshetra*; and (7) *Airāvata-kshetra*. In each *kshetra* is a pair of important rivers, one flowing eastwards and the other westwards, both falling into the salt ocean. They are as follows:—*Gangā* and *Sindhu* in the *Bharata-kshetra*, the former flowing eastwards and the latter westwards, *Rohit* and *Rohitāsyā* in the second *kshetra*, *Harit* and *Harikāntā* in the third *kshetra*, *Sītā* and *Sītodā* in the *Videha-kshetra*, *Nārī* and *Narakāntā* in the *Ramyaka-kshetra*, *Suvarṇakūlā* and *Rūpyakūlā* in the *Hairanyavata-kshetra*, and *Raktā* and *Raktodā* in the *Airāvata-kshetra*. These rivers arise from the six lakes mentioned above in the following manner:—

Gangā, *Sindhu* and *Rohitāsyā* spring from the lake *Padma*;

Rohit and *Harikāntā* spring from the lake *Mahāpadma*;

Harit and *Sītodā* spring from the lake *Tigīñchha*;

Sītā and *Narakāntā* spring from the lake *Kesari*;

Nārī and *Rūpyakūlā* spring from the lake *Mahāpuṇḍarika*.

Suvarṇakūlā, *Raktā* and *Raktodā* spring from the lake *Puṇḍarika*.

¹ Golden colour according to *Umāsvāmi*.

Gaṅgā and *Sindhu* have 14,000 tributaries each. Each pair of the others receives twice as many tributaries as the preceding pair up to *Sitā* and *Sitodā*, i.e., *Rohit* and *Rohitāsya* have 28,000 each, *Harit* and *Harikāntā* have 56,000 each, and *Sitā* and *Sitodā* have 112,000 each¹. The northern rivers (north of *Videha*) are equal to the southern. Thus *Nārī* and *Narakāntā* have 56,000, *Suvarṇakūlā* and *Rūpyakūlā* 28,000, and *Raktā* and *Raktodā* 14,000 each.

Bharata-kshetra is the zone to which we belong and is 190th part of the breadth of *Jambū-dvīpa* ($\frac{1}{190}$ of the breadth), i.e., 526 $\frac{1}{2}$ *yojanas* wide, while its bounding mountain *Himavān* is twice its width, viz., 1,052 $\frac{1}{2}$ *yojanas*, according to the general rule noted above that every mountain and *kshetra* has double the breadth of the mountain or *kshetra* preceding it. This rule extends up to *Videha-kshetra*. To the north of *Videha-kshetra* the arrangement and extent of *kshetras*, mountains, rivers, lakes, etc., exactly correspond to those south of it. In the *Bharata* and *Airāvata-kshetras*, in the extreme south and north of *Jambū-dvīpa*, there is increase and decrease of age, height, bliss, etc., of their inhabitants in the two eras of time, *Utsarpiṇī* and *Avasarpinī*, while in the other five *kshetras* they are constant, there being neither increase nor decrease in bliss, age, height, etc.

While the mountain *Himavān* bounds it there is another mountain called *Vijayārḍha*, parallel to *Himavān*, which divides *Bharata-kshetra* into a northern and a southern region. The northern region is peopled by *Mlechchhas* or barbarians that do not care for religion. Human beings that live in *Jambū-dvīpa*, *Dhātaki-dvīpa* and one half of *Pushkaravara-dvīpa*, which together are referred to as *Adhūyi-dvīpa* or the 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ regions, are of two kinds, *Ārya* and *Mlechchha*. *Ārya* is translated as "noble, worthy and respectable" and *Mlechchha* as "barbarian, non-Āryan, low and savage." But the real import of these two terms is as follows:—The *Āryas* are divided into *Riddhiprāpta-Ārya*, i.e., with supernatural powers, and *Anriddhiprāpta-Ārya*, without supernatural powers. The supernatural powers (*ṛiddhi*) referred to are: enlightenment (*buddhi*), changing the body at will (*vikriyā*), austerities (*tapas*), giant-strength (*bala*), healing power (*aushadha*), capacity of an evil eye and its opposite and the like (*rasa*), and capacity of making wealth, stores, places, etc., inexhaustible (*akṣhīṇa*). There are 64 sub-classes of these seven kinds of supernatural powers. *Anriddhiprāpta-Āryas* are divided into five classes:—(1) *Kshetra-Āryas*, those born in *Ārya-khaṇḍa*, one of the six divisions of *Bharata-kshetra*, to be described below. (2) *Jāti-Āryas*, born in illustrious families, such as *Ikshvāku*, *Sūrya-vamśa*, etc. (3) *Karma-Āryas*, *Āryas* by their vocations, military, literary, trade, arts, science, agriculture, etc. (4) *Chāritra-Āryas*, *Āryas* by right conduct or sterling character. (5) *Darśana-Āryas*, *Āryas* by right belief.

The *Mlechchhas* are of two kinds:—(1) *Karmabhūmija*, born in work-land and (2) *Antardvīpaja*, "inter-continental" *Mlechchhas*. *Karmabhūmija-Mlechchhas* are born in 850 divisions of the *Jambū-dvīpa*, 800 in *Videha-kshetra*, 25 in *Bharata-kshetra* and 25 in *Airāvata-kshetra*. *Antardvīpaja-Mlechchhas* or intercontinental *Mlechchhas* live in 24 islands which are arranged in a circle in *Lavanodadhī* or the salt ocean, the first eight, 500 *yojanas*

¹ According to Hemachandra 532,000 rivers each.

from the circumference of *Jambū-dvīpa* and the remaining sixteen, 550 *yojanas* from the circumference of *Jambū-dvīpa*. Four of these in the cardinal points are 100 *yojanas* broad, four more in the intermediate corners are 55 *yojanas* and the remaining sixteen are 50 *yojanas* broad. The inhabitants of these islands are described to be grotesque creatures with heads of boars, horses, elephants, lions, etc., on human bodies, or with long ears, one leg, etc., from which features the islands derive their names as *Ekoru*, *Hayakarna*, *Gajakarna*, *Gokarna*, *Śashkulikarna*, *Ādarśanukha*, *Meshamukha*, *Hayamukha*, etc.¹ These *Mlechchhas* live on fruits and other tree-produce and their age-limit is one *palya*.

The *Karmabhūmija-Mlechchhas* are Śākas, Yavanas (Greeks, Romans), Śābaras, Barbaras, Kāyas, Murundas, Udras, Godras, Arapakas, Hūnas (Huns), Romakas, Pārasas, Khasas, Khāsikas, Patkanakas, Dombilikas, Lakusās, Bhillas (Bhils?), Anghras, Bukkasas, Pulindas, Krauñchakas, Bhramararutas, Kuñchas, Chinas (Chinese), Vañchukas, Mālavas, Dravidas, Kulakshas, Kirātas, Kaikayas, and others who do not know even the word "dharma". It will be seen that the above list includes foreigners like Greeks and other invaders of India like the Huns and the Dravidas or the early South Indians as *Mlechchhas*.

It was noted above that the *Vijayārdha* mountain divides *Bharata-kshetra* into a northern and southern regions. The northern region is peopled by *Mlechchhas*. The southern region is divided into three sections, western, middle and eastern, by the rivers *Sindhu* flowing in the west and *Gaṅgā* flowing in the east. The *Mlechchhas* again live in the extreme eastern and western sections while the middle section is peopled by *Āryas* and is therefore called *Ārya-khaṇḍa* where we (as *Āryas*) live. It will thus be seen that this *Ārya-khaṇḍa* is bounded by the *Gaṅgā* on the east, by the *Vijayārdha* mountain on the north, by the *Sindhu* on the west and the salt ocean on the south, and *Bharata-kshetra* is divided by the two rivers and the *Vijayārdha* mountain into six sections, five for the *Mlechchhas* and one (*Ārya-khaṇḍa*) for the *Āryas*. According to Jaini "our whole world, with its Asia, Europe, America, Africa, Australia, etc., are included in *Ārya-khaṇḍa*."²

To the north of the *Nishadha* mountain and to the south of *Meru* are the *Vidyutprabha* mountains and the *Saumanasa* mountains in the west and east respectively, in the shape of an elephant's tusk, almost touching *Meru*. Between them is the *bhogabhūmi* or enjoyment-land known as the *Devakurus*, 11,842 *yojanas* wide. The salient features of the *bhogabhūmis* have been set forth above on p. 72. In the *Devakurus*, on the east and west banks of the river *Sitodā* are two important mountains, *Chitrakūta* and *Vichitrakūta*, on which temples of the Jinas (*Jinālaya*) are worshipped. To the north of *Meru* and to the south of the *Nila* mountain are the *Gandhamādana* and *Mālyavat* mountains, also in the shape of an elephant's tusk. Between them is the second *bhogabhūmi* called the *Uttarakurus*, where on the banks of the river *Sitā* are two mountains named *Yamaka* corresponding to the *Chitrakūta* and *Vichitrakūta* of the *Devakurus*. The *Devakurus* and *Uttarakurus* are said to be *bhogabhūmis* of the first or highest order; *Hari* and *Rumyaka-kshetras* are

¹ According to Hemachandra the *Antardvīpas* are 56 in number; but the surplus 32 can however be treated as just subdivisions of some among the 24 we have detailed here.

² See *Outline of Jainism*, p. 124.

said to be *bhogabhūmis* of the second order, and *Haimavata* and *Hairanyavata-kshetras* are *bhogabhūmis* of the lowest order. The remaining *kshetras* are *karmabhūmis*, where people have to work for their livelihood; these are also regions of piety whence liberation can easily be attained.

East of the *Devakurus* and *Uttarakurus* the region is called East *Videhas* and to the west, West *Videhas*. In each there are 16 provinces. *Kachchā*, *Sukachchhā*, *Mahākachchā*, *Kachchakāvati*, *Avartā*, *Lāṅgalāvartā*, *Pushkalā*, *Pushkalāvati*, *Vatsā*, *Suvatsā*, *Mahāvatsā*, *Vatsakāvati*, *Ramyā*, *Suramyakā*, *Ramanīyā* and *Maṅgalāvati* are the 16 provinces of the East *Videhas*. The ones in West *Videhas* are *Padmā*, *Supadmā*, *Mahāpadmā*, *Padmakāvati*, *Śāṁkhā*, *Nalinī*, *Kumudā*, *Sarīt*, *Vapra*, *Suvaprā*, *Mahāvaprā*, *Vaprakāvati*, *Gandhā*, *Sugandhā*, *Gandhilā* and *Gandhamālinī*.¹ In *Bharata-kshetra*, on the southern and northern slopes of the *Vijayārdha* mountain there are the cities of *Vidyādhara*, 50 in the south and 60 in the north. There are also a similar number of *Vidyādhara* cities in the *Airāvata-kshetra*, while in the *Videha-kshetra* they are 55 for each slope of the mountain.² Life in the *Haimavata*, *Hari* and *Devakurus* are respectively of one, two and three *palyas*. The same is the case with *Uttarakuru*, *Ramyakā*, and *Hairanyavata*. But in *Videha* the maximum is one crore *pūrvas* and the least is *antar-muhūrta* (48 minutes). The age of human beings in the other regions ranges from a maximum of three *palyas* to a minimum of one *antarmuhūrta*.³

The countries (*desas*) in the *Ārya-khaṇḍa* are *Magadha*, *Anga*, *Vaṅga*, *Kāśī*, *Kaliṅga*, *Kosala*, *Kuru*, *Kuśārtaka*, *Pāṇchāla*, *Jāṅgala*, *Videha*, *Surāshṭraka*, *Vatsa*, *Malaya*, *Sandarbhā*, *Varuṇa*, *Matsya*, *Chedi*, *Daśārṇa*, *Sindhu*, *Sauvīra*, *Śūrasena*, *Māsapurivarta*, *Kuṇālaka*, *Lāṭa*, and *Ketaka*. The cities of *Ārya-khaṇḍa* are *Kshemā*, *Kshemapurī*, *Ariṣṭā*, *Ariṣṭapurī*, *Khaḍgā*, *Mañjūshā*, *Aushadhī*, *Puṇḍarīkīṇī*, *Susīmā*, *Kuṇḍalā*, *Aparājītā*, *Prabhāṅkarā*, *Aṅkā*, *Padmāvati*, *Śubhā*, *Ratnasañchayā*, *Aśvapurī*, *Simhapurī*, *Mahāpurī*, *Vijayapurī*, *Arajā*, *Virajā*, *Aśoka*, *Vitasoka*, *Vijayā*, *Vaijayanti*, *Jayantā*, *Aparājītā*, *Chakrapurī*, *Khaḍgapurī*, *Ayodhyā* and *Avadhya*.⁴

¹ *Trilekātārā*, vv. 687-690.

² For the names of the cities see *Trilekātārā*, vv. 697-707.

³ *Tattvārthahigamāsūtra*, ch. III, sūtra 39:—

The sub-human beings (*tiryakchak*) also have the same range of age—

	Maximum age.	Minimum age.
Earth-bodied (<i>prithvībhūyika</i>)	22,000 years	...
Vegetable-bodied (<i>Vanaspātībhūyika</i>)	10,000 "	...
Water-bodied (<i>apbhūyika</i>)	7,000 "	...
Air-bodied (<i>vāyubhūyika</i>)	3,000 "	...
Fire-bodied (<i>agnibhūyika</i>)	3 days	...
2 sensed (<i>dvī-indriya</i>)	12 years	...
3 do. (<i>tri-indriya</i>)	49 days	...
4 do. (<i>chatur-indriya</i>)	6 months	...
5 do. (<i>pañcābhūyika</i>), like fish	1 crore <i>pūrvas</i> of years	...
Mongoose	9 <i>pūrvāṅgas</i> of years	...
Serpent	42,000 years	...
Birds	72,000 "	...
Quadrupeds	3 <i>palyas</i>	...

⁴ *Trilekātārā*, vv. 711-715.

The continent Jambū-dvīpa has a fortification consisting of a diamond wall, 8 *yojanas* high and 12 *yojanas* wide at its base. This wall contains four gates in the four cardinal points, which are called Vijaya, Vaijayanta, Jayanta and Aparājita respectively. The lord of Jambū-dvīpa is a Vyantara *deva* called Anādara.

Lavaṇa-samudra, the salt ocean.—Surrounding *Jambū-dvīpa*, and twice as wide, is the *Lavaṇa-samudra* with its water saltish in taste. It may be noted that the names of this ocean and the succeeding oceans indicate the taste of their waters. Thus, for instance, saltish for the salt ocean, the natural taste of water with slight variety in each case for *Vārunivara*, *Kālodaka*, *Pushkaravara* and *Svayambhūramana-samudras*, taste of milk for *Kṣhīravara-samudra*, of clarified butter for *Ghrītavara-samudra* and of sugarcane juice for *Ikṣhuvāra-samudra* and the remaining *samudras*.¹ Aquatic souls (*jalachara-jīva*) live only in *Lavaṇa-samudra*, *Kālodaka-samudra* and the last *samudra*, *Svayambhūramana-samudra* and nowhere else. The salt ocean is sunk 1,000 *yojanas* in the ground; in its centre is a crest 16,000 *yojanas* high and 10,000 *yojanas* wide. At the time of tides there is a decrease and increase of its water up to two *gavyūtas* or four miles. There are four *Pātāla* vessels in it which control the quantity of its water. They are called *Vaḍavā-mukha*, *Keyūpa*, *Yūpaka* and *Īśvara* respectively, beginning with the east. In them four *devas*, *Kāla*, *Mahākāla*, *Velaṁba*, and *Prabhañjana* live respectively in pleasure-mansions. *Nāga-kumāras*, one of the ten classes of the *Bhavanavāsi-devas*, to the number of 42,000 are engaged in controlling the inner waves, while 72,000 more control the outer waves and 60,000 others keep guard over the crest waves. Island-mountains are found in this ocean among which mention may be made of the following which serve as the abodes of some of the *devas*: *Gostūpa*, *Udakabhāsa*, *Śaṅkha*, *Udakaśmaka*,² *Kārkotaka*, *Kārdamaka*, *Kailāsa*, *Aruṇaprabha*.³

Twelve thousand *yojanas* from *Jambū-dvīpa*, in the east are two islands for the moon, both 12,000 *yojanas* wide. At the same distance in the west are two islands for the sun. These islands contain in them palaces wherein live the inner and outer suns and moons. Removed from *Jambū-dvīpa* by the same distance is another island, *Gantama-dvīpa*, which is the abode of *Susthita*, the lord of the salt-ocean.

Dhātākikhaṇḍa-dvīpa.—In the *Dhātākikhaṇḍa*, the next region after the salt-ocean, the number of *kshetras*, rivers, mountains, lakes, etc., is double that found in *Jambū-dvīpa*, and their names are as in *Jambū-dvīpa*. It is divided by the *Ishvākāra* mountains which run from north to south. There are also other mountains dividing this region into zones as in *Jambū-dvīpa*. The *Ishvākāra* and other mountains are like the spokes of a wheel, high as the *Nishadha* mountains of *Jambū-dvīpa*, and touching the *Lavaṇa* and *Kālodaka*-oceans. The zones are between the spoke-like mountains. Two *devas* are the lords of this region, *Prabhāsa* and *Priyadarśana* by name. There are four small Merus, smaller than the Meru of *Jambū-dvīpa* by 15,000 *yojanas*.

¹ Cf. *Trilokaśāstra*, v. 319.

² According to Hemachandra the abodes of the *Judeas* of the *Velādhārins*.

³ The latter four are according to Hemachandra the abodes of the *Judeas* of *Anuvēlādhārins*.

Kālodadhi-samudra.—The ocean surrounding Dhātaki-khaṇḍa, 800,000 *yojanas* wide is *Kālodadhi* or *Kāloda*. Aquatic souls live here as in *Lavaṇa-samudra*. Its lords are two, Kāla and Mahakāla by name.

Pushkaravara-dvīpa or the "lotus-island."—This is the next region or island-continent. It is divided by Mount *Mānushottara* running all round it, which is called *Mānushottara* because man is not born except on this side of it. This mountain is the ultimate limit of the region inhabited by human beings. Thus it will be seen that human beings live in $2\frac{1}{2}$ continents, *Jambū-dvīpa*, *Dhātaki-dvīpa* and the first half of *Pushkaravara-dvīpa*. This mountain is round like a city-wall, surrounding the whole human world. It is golden, 1,721 *yojanas* high, deep in the ground by $430\frac{1}{4}$ *yojanas*, 1,022 *yojanas* in diameter at the base, 723 at the middle and 424 at the top. On the other side of it, mortals are neither born nor die. Even animals, etc., do not die if they have gone to the other side of it. Beyond it there are no rivers, clouds, lightning, fire, time, etc. The number of *kshetras*, rivers, mountains, etc., in the first half is twice that of *Jambū-dvīpa*.

There are four small *Merus* in this half, smaller than *Meru* of *Jambū-dvīpa* by 15,000 *yojanas*. Their diameter at the base is less than *Meru's* by 600 *yojanas*. They have also the four groves, *Bhadraśāla*, *Saumanasa*, *Nandana* and *Pāṇḍuka*.

Thus it will be seen that the human world according to the Jains consists of $2\frac{1}{2}$ continents (*adhyā-dvīpa*), 2 oceans, 35 zones, 5 *Merus*, 35 zone-mountains, 5 *Devakurus*, 5 *Uttarakurus*, and 160 provinces. Of these the *Bharata*, *Airāvata* and *Mahāvīdeha* zones, except the *Devakurus* and *Uttarakurus* are *Karmabhūmis*. The lords of the first half of *Pushkaravara-dvīpa* are Padma and Puṇḍarika, while the lords of the half on the other side of Mount *Mānushottara* are Chakshushmān and Suchakshushmān.

Pushkaravara-samudra.—Twice as large as the continent of that name, with water that can be drunk. Its lords are Śrīprabha and Śrīdhara.

Vārūṇivara-dvīpa.—Twice as large as the previous *samudra*, with two lords of the names of Varuṇa and Varuṇaprabha.

Vārūṇivara-samudra.—Twice as large as the continent of the same name, with water sweet and pleasing with "varied beverages." Its lords are Madhya and Madhyamadeva.

Kṣīravara-dvīpa.—Twice as large as the previous *samudra*, with two lords, Pāṇḍura and Pushpadanta.

Kṣīravara-samudra.—Twice as large as the previous continent, with its water resembling "milk with one-fourth part of ghee mixed with candied sugar." Its lords are Vimala and Vimalaprabha.

Ghṛitavara-dvīpa.—Twice as large as the previous ocean, with two lords, Suprabha and Mahāprabha.

Ghṛitavara-samudra.—Twice as large as the previous continent, with water "of freshly boiled cow's ghee." Its lords are Kanaka and Kanakaprabha.

* According to Hemachandra it is twice the number of those of *Dhātakikhaṇḍa*.

Ikshvāra-dvīpa.—Twice as large as the previous ocean, with two lords, *Punya* and *Punya-prabha*.

Ikshvāra-samudra.—Twice as large as the previous continent, with its water resembling the juice of sugar-cane. Its lords are *Devagandha* and *Mahāgandha*. Then comes the eighth continent which is compared to heaven.

Nandiśvaravara-dvīpa.—Twice as large as the previous ocean. The diameter of its outer circle is 1,638,400,000 *yojanas*. It is a land of delight to the *devas* who go there to worship the *Jinas* installed in temples in "gardens of manifold designs." In it there are several mountains of which the most important are three mountain ranges called *Añjana*, *Dadhimukha* and *Ratikara*, with shrines of the *Jinas* on their tops. The whole continent is filled with "temples, theatre-pavilions, arenas, jewelled platforms, beautiful *stūpas* and statues, fair *chaitya*-trees, *indra-dhvajas*, and divine lotus-lakes in succession."

In the various temples and palaces here the *devas* in all their splendour, together with their retinues, celebrate "eight-day festivals" on the holy days of the *Arhats* or the *Jinas*.

The religious importance of these festivals in the *Nandiśvaravara-dvīpa* can be realized if it is pointed out that in one of the inscriptions in the *Vardhamāna* temple¹ a gift is made for the performance of one of these festivals (*ārambha-Nandi*) in the temple. This is further augmented by symbolical representations both in stone and metal, of this land where the *Jinas* are worshipped in temples by the *devas* and other highly spiritual souls. One is in metal (pl. xxxi, fig. 3) and is pyramidal in shape rising in six tiers with a finial top. Several *siddha* figures can be made out sitting on the sides of the pyramid in meditation. The other (pl. xxxi, fig. 4) which is in stone is bigger, being shaped like a *vimāna* superimposed on a square base, the sides of which reveal several seated *siddhas* in meditation. The *vimāna* has for each side a niche surmounted by an arch with the figure of a seated *Tīrthaṅkara* below it (arch). A finial surmounts the whole giving it the dignified appearance of a shrine (*Jina-bhavana*).

The lords of this continent are *Nandi* and *Nandi-prabha*.

Nandiśvaravara-samudra.—Twice as large as the previous continent with its water resembling sugar-cane juice. Its lords are *Bhadra* and *Subhadra*.

The continent *Aruṇa-dvīpa* surrounds *Nandiśvaravara-samudra*. Its lords are *Aruṇa* and *Aruṇa-prabha*. *Aruṇa-samudra* comes next and its lords are *Sasugandha* and *Sarvagandha*. Then come *Aruṇābhāsa-dvīpa* and *Aruṇābhāsa-samudra* and so on with two lords for each, the former ruling over the southern part and the latter over the northern part. The remaining continents and oceans are like those discussed above, each twice as large as the preceding one. The last continent is *Svayambhūramāṇa-dvīpa* which has a mountain called *Svayamprabha* running through it like the *Mūnushattara* mountain of

¹ For details regarding the names of the lakes, the number of palaces and the dimensions of the mountains and for the worship of the *Jinas* by the *devas* see *Tiruparuttikūṭam*, iv, 966-990.

² See above, pp. 56-57.

Pushkaravara-dvīpa. The last ocean which surrounds *Svayambhūramāya-dvīpa* is *Svayambhūramāya-samudra*, with its water drinkable like that of *Kālodadhi* and *Pushkaravara-samudra*. And like *Lavana-samudra* and *Kālodadhi* it is filled with aquatic souls like fish, tortoise, etc.

The five classes of *Jyotishka Devas* or *Stellars*¹—1. Suns (*Ādityas*), 2. Moons (*Chandras*), 3. Planets (*Grahas*), 4. Constellations (*nakshatras*), and 5. Scattered stars (*prakīrnakalāras*)—extend up to the last ocean of the middle world. At 790 *yojanas* above the surface of the earth (middle world) is the lower level of the *Jyotishkas*. The lowest are the stars. The suns are ten *yojanas* above them. Eighty *yojanas* above the suns are the moons. Four *yojanas* above the moons are the 27 *nakshatras*, *Kṛttikā*, *Rohiṇī*, *Mṛigaśīrṣhā*, *Ārdrā*, *Punarvasu*, *Pushya*, *Āśleshā*, *Maghā*, *Pūrvāṣāḍha*, *Uttarāṣāḍha*, *Hasta*, *Chitrā*, *Svāti*, *Viśākhā*, *Anurādhā*, *Jyeshthā*, *Mūlā*, *Pūrvāṣāḍha*, *Uttarāṣāḍha*, *Abhijit*, *Śravana*, *Dhanishthā*, *Śatabhishak*, *Pūrvottarābhādrapadā* (or *Pūrvābhādrapadā* and *Uttarābhādrapadā*), *Revatī*, *Āśvinī* and *Bharanī*. Four *yojanas* above the *nakshatras* is *Budha*, the planet Mercury. Three *yojanas* above *Budha* is *Śukra*, the planet Venus; three *yojanas* above Venus is *Bṛhaspati* (Jupiter); three *yojanas* above *Bṛhaspati* is *Angāraka* (Mars), and three *yojanas* above *Angāraka* is *Śanaiścara* (Saturn). So in height the Stellar world is 110 *yojanas* or 900 *yojanas* from the surface of the earth. In the 2½ *dvīpas*, where human beings live, the *Stellars* move round their respective Merus, but the nearest point on their orbits is 1,121 *yojanas* from the centre of the Meru of *Jambū-dvīpa*². Divisions of time are caused by the movements of the *Stellars*. There are two moons and two suns belonging to *Jambū-dvīpa*; four moons and four suns for *Lavana-samudra*, 12 moons and 12 suns for *Dhātakikhaṇḍa-dvīpa*, and 42 moons and 42 suns for *Kālodadhi-samudra*. To the first half of *Pushkaravara-dvīpa* belong 72 suns and a similar number of moons. Thus there are 132 moons and 132 suns in the human world. Each moon has a retinue of 88 planets, 28 constellations and of 6,697,500,000,000,000,000 stars. The width and length of a moon's car (*vimāna*) is ⅘ of a *yojana*; of the sun's car ⅙ of a *yojana*; of those of the planets ½ a *yojana*; of those of the constellations ¼ *yojana*; of those of all the stars that have the maximum life ⅛ *yojana*; of those of all the stars having a minimum life ⅓ *yojana* or 500 bows. This is the case with the *Stellars* in the human world (2½ *dvīpas*).

Beyond the *Mānushottara* mountain-range the *Stellars* are fixed and never move. The suns and moons stand still and their sizes are half those of the suns and moons of the human world. Their number increases according to the successive increase in the circumference of the various island-continent. Their retinue consists of innumerable planets, constellations and stars, brilliant and bell-shaped and the whole group is finally bounded by the *Svayambhūramāya* ocean.

¹ See *below*, pp. 230-231.

² According to Hemachandra the *Jyotiṣchakra* or circle of heavenly bodies moves continually in a circle at 1,121 *yojanas* from the borders of *Meru*. The pole star is fixed. Beyond the 2½ *dvīpas* constituting the human world the *Jyotiṣchakra* remains fixed in a circle, "not touching the end of the world, at a distance of 1,111 *yojanas*."

THE UPPER WORLD (*Ūrdhva-loka*).

Going upwards in the *trasa-nāḍī* we reach the upper world where the *Vaimānika-devas* and still higher celestial beings and perfected and liberated souls live. The upper world is above Mount *Meru* and is seven *rajjus* high less 900 *yojanas*. It can be divided, starting from below, into (1) *Kalpas*, (2) *Graiveyakas*, (3) *Anudīśas*, (4) *Anuttaras* and (5) *Siddha-kshetra*. The *Kalpas* which are 16 in number rise above Mount *Meru* and are situated in eight superposed pairs which are compared to the ribs of a man. Above the last of the *kalpas* rise the *Graiveyaka* heavens which correspond to his neck, hence called *Graiveyakas* (*Grīva*, neck). They are in three layers each divided into three parts. Then come the *Anudīśas* which correspond to the chin of the figure; they form one layer and are nine in number. Then come the *Anuttaras* which are five in number; they correspond to the five openings in the face, two eyes, two nostrils and one mouth. The whole is capped by the "crown of *Siddha-kshetra*" which is in the shape of a "half-moon-like dome"; this region corresponds to the crown of the human head. The *devas* of the *kalpas* are called *Kalpavāsī-devas*¹; those of the *Graiveyakas*, *Anudīśas*, and *Anuttaras* are called *Ahamindras*,² while the liberated souls that occupy *Siddha-kshetra* are called *Siddhas*.³

The *kalpas* must now be described. They are sixteen in number and are situated in pairs like the ribs of a man, one pair above the other. They are—

(1) *Saudharma*, (2) *Aiśāna*, (3) *Sanatkumāra*, (4) *Māhendra*, (5) *Brahma*, (6) *Brahmottara*, (7) *Lāntava*, (8) *Kāpiṣṭha*, (9) *Śukra*, (10) *Mahāśukra*, (11) *Śatāra*, (12) *Sahasrāra*, (13) *Anata*, (14) *Prānata*, (15) *Āraṇa*, (16) *Achyuta*.

The first *kalpa*, *Saudharma*, is the nearest to the middle world, because its central heavenly car or abode (*Indraka-vimāna*) is only one hair's breadth from the top of Mount *Meru*.

The first two *kalpas* are founded on thick water; the next three on thick wind; the next three on thick water and thick wind; and the heavens above these rest on space. It is $1\frac{1}{2}$ *rajjus* from the level of the ground to the first pair of *kalpas*; $2\frac{1}{2}$ *rajjus* up to *Sanatkumāra* and *Māhendra*; 5 *rajjus* to *Sahasrāra*, and 6 up to the sixteenth *kalpa*. There are thus 7 *rajjus* up to the top of the universe. The fifth *kalpa* is 5 *rajjus* wide and is situated in the place that corresponds to the elbow of the man representing the universe.

The upper world has in all 63 layers (*paṭala*), each layer being coextensive with the mobile channel (*trasa-nāḍī*). In the centre of each layer is the central abode or car (*Indraka-vimāna*) of that layer. The respective *Indras* live only in these cars or *vimānas*. The *Indraka-vimāna* of the first layer is a circle with a diameter of 45 lakhs *yojanas*; then it goes on decreasing in size till in the sixty-third layer it is a circle of one lakh *yojanas* diameter. Apart from the central cars there are also other cars or *vimānas* in each *paṭala* in the four cardinal points. Thus in the first layer there are 62 such cars or *vimānas* in each direction, in the second layer 61, in the third 60 and so on till in the sixty-second

¹ See below, p. 231.² See below, pp. 231, 234.³ See below, p. 189.

and sixty-third layers there is only one car for each in each direction. In the intermediate directions and all over the rest of these layers there are innumerable other *vimānas* also. The arrangement of the layers are as follows:—

The 16 *kalpas* have 52 layers as detailed below:—

31 layers for the first pair of <i>kalpas</i> .	1 layer for the sixth pair of <i>kalpas</i> .
7 do. second do.	6 layers for the seventh and eighth pairs of <i>kalpas</i> .
4 do. third do.	—
2 do. fourth do.	52 layers.
1 layer for the fifth do.	—

The *Kalpātita* heavens have eleven layers as follows:—

9 for the 9 *Graiveyakas*.

1 for the 9 *Anudīśas*.

1 for the *Anuttaras*.

—
11 layers.
—

The *Kalpātita* part of the upper world where the *Ahamindras* live are as we have seen the *Graiveyakas*, the *Anudīśas* and the *Anuttaras*.

The *Graiveyakas* are nine in number, being arranged in three rows one above the other. The bottom row consists of three named Sudarśana, Suprabuddha and Manorama; the middle row of three called Sarvabhadra, Suviśāla and Sumanas; and the upper row of three more called Saumanasa, Pritikara and Āditya.

The *Anudīśas* are also nine and they are arranged, four for the cardinal points, four for the intermediate directions and one for the centre. The four in the cardinal points are called Archih, Archimālini, Vairā and Vairochanā; the intermediate four are Soma, Somarūpa, Anka and Sphaṭika; and Āditya is the name of the central one.

Above the *Anudīśas* are the *Anuttara* heavens which are five in number; they are arranged as follows: Vijaya in the east, Vaijayanta in the south, Jayanta in the west and Aparājita in the north and Sarvārthasiddhi in the centre. Those that get born in the *Anuttaras*, excepting Sarvārthasiddhi, and in the nine *Anudīśas* will attain liberation after undergoing at most two births as human beings. But those in Sarvārthasiddhi will have only one more birth before liberation.

Twelve *yojanas* above Sarvārthasiddhi at the summit of the universe is the *Siddha-kṣetra*, the place of liberated souls, which is situated in the middle of the eighth world (*dhara*) called *Iśhatprāgbhāra*. This *Iśhatprāgbhāra* world is one *raju* broad, one *raju* long and eight *yojanas* high. In its centre, radiant like silver and shaped like a parasol or canopy, is the *Siddha-śilā* or *kṣetra*, eight *yojanas* broad and 45 lakhs of *yojanas* wide, tapering up towards the top. Above this *Siddha-śilā*, at the end of the *uparima-tanu-vāta-valaya* or outermost atmospheric sheath, the *Siddhas* live in "the blissful possession of their infinite quaternary." Their happiness in a second (*kṣana*) compares with that for all time of all human beings, kings, Indras, *devas* and *Ahamindras* put together.

APPENDIX III.¹JAINA CLASSIFICATION OF SOULS.²

Jainism is accused of being atheistic, which is however not true. The numerous gods (Tirthaṅkaras, Yakshas, Yakshīs, Indras, etc.) that fill the Jaina pantheon speak for the Jaina belief in godhood. But their gods are not creators of the universe, for creation implies volition or desire to create which can be spoken of only if there is anything which hitherto is not but must come into existence. The world is infinite and was never created at any particular moment. It is subject to integration and dissolution, its constituent elements or magnitudes (*astikāyas*) including the soul are eternal and indestructible; but they change their forms and conditions. These changes take place in the two eras *avasarpinī* and *utsarpinī* above explained (pp. 167—169). The desire to create would imply imperfection which will have to be attributed to God if he is to be the creator of the universe. Also the theory of creation, if accepted, will give rise to theories of a more complicated nature such as causation, which must eventually point to imperfection. The creator will be only a man, needy and therefore imperfect as any other. Jainism attempts to raise man to godhood and to inspire him to reach it as nearly as possible by "steady faith, right perception, perfect knowledge, and, above all a spotless life."³ Thus it will be seen that Jainism believes in godhood and Jaina iconography speaks of innumerable gods. Here it should be noted that in Jainism a sharp line of distinction is drawn between gods and *devas*; the former are called *Siddhas* and the latter are described as mundane souls. All souls can aspire to godhood.

Jaina iconography as it is available to us to-day is so mixed up with Hindu iconography⁴ and has been drawn so much from Hindu mythology⁵ that a correct description

¹ Concerning the authorities consulted, see *preface*.

² Though the popular heading "Jaina Iconography" might be expected here, it is not adopted because the heading "Jaina classification of souls," being wider, deals not only with those Supreme Beings (Souls) that are covered strictly by the term "Iconography" but also with other mundane souls that are privileged to attain to godhood by a particular course of conduct. See table below, p. 187.

³ J. L. Jaini, *Outlines of Jainism*, pp. 4-5.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 9, 10, 133-149.

⁵ See above, pp. 9, 10 and 33.

of the various gods and goddesses occupying the Jaina pantheon is necessary to prevent them from being confused with their present equivalents in the Hindu pantheon. Though Brahmanical divinities have been included they have been accorded only inferior positions—a feature that luckily marks them out clearly. The whole system of the Jaina gods and goddesses appears to-day as an elaborately constructed system, probably synchronizing in its origin with the period in Hindu iconography which witnessed a similar construction of a system of gods in accordance with certain dogmas that were made to standardize the various icons, till then loosely and freely fashioned. More than this we cannot say as materials are lacking for a chronological study of the Jaina system of divinities. Much reliance cannot be placed on the Jaina tradition that the system of Jaina divinities was evolved immediately after Mahāvīra, for if this were admitted it would carry the gods and goddesses back to very early centuries before the birth of Christ. Even very orthodox Jains who accept the above tradition, will hesitate to assign the various Brahmanical divinities that have crept into their iconography to such a remote past, for they have undoubtedly been taken into the system as C. R. Jain says "to placate the Brahmanical hatred and win them over to protect the Jains against bitter persecutions at the hands of their co-religionists (Hindus)."¹ And so far as South India is concerned the need for protection appears to have arisen only about the seventh century A.D. The utmost that can be expected in the early centuries of the Christian era is that there was then a pantheon of gods, not so bewilderingly big as is found now, but probably consisting of only a select few. The membership may even have been so circumscribed that only the 24 Tirthaṅkaras and some members of their families like Bāhubali or Gommatēśvara (Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa) and Bharata, etc., were admitted. But as years rolled on a regular Jaina hierarchy of *munis* or sages and *Āchāryas* or apostles came to be evolved. Very soon these came to be deified by their followers. Close on the heels of this visible apostle-worship came religious persecution. Both combined to elaborate for the modern Jaina the present iconography that he boldly and with legitimate pride presents to his erstwhile Hindu persecutor.

As in Hindu iconography, so also in Jaina, the gods and goddesses are classified into orders, and convenient groups; they are mostly mortal and are mostly distinguished by *lāñchchhanas* or cognizances. The most prominent among these gods as well as the most ancient are the 24 Tirthaṅkaras or the perfected teachers who belong to the present age (*avasarpinī*).

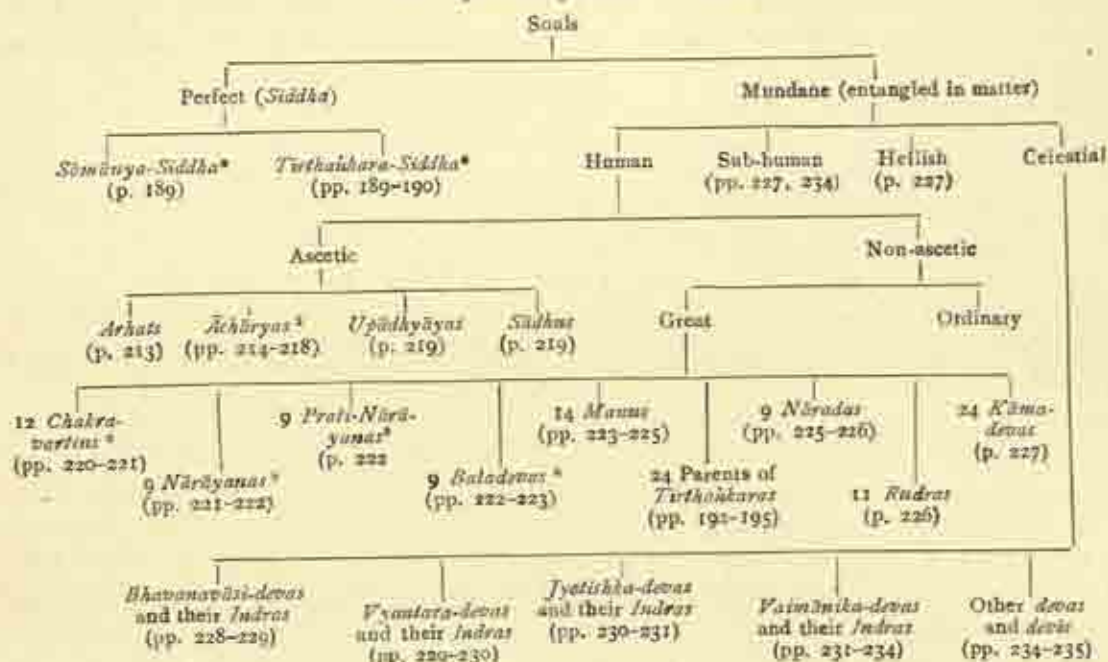
Luckily we have ample materials concerning these Tirthaṅkaras², and if to-day we have not a sufficiently satisfactory compendium of Jaina iconography it is not because materials are lacking.

¹ *Kishabhadra*, p. 102.

² Thanks to the philanthropist Mr. J. L. Jaini, who has made endowments for the speedy publication of several Jaina works, and Dr. F. W. Thomas, the erudite scholar who in his capacity as President of the Jaina Literature Society is bringing to light several of these works.

The classification of souls¹ in Jainism can be seen in the following table:—

Table of Classification of Souls.



Siddhas, arhats, āchāryas, upādhyāyas and sādhus are called *pañcha-parameshthins* or the five supreme ones, to whom the Jainas pray and bow many times every day with the following invocation (*mantra*):—

Namo arahantānaṃ, namo siddhānaṃ, namo āyāriyānaṃ, namo uvajjhāyānaṃ, namo loye sabba-sāhūnaṃ.

"Salutation to the arhats, to the siddhas, to the āchāryas, to the upādhyāyas and to all the sādhus of the world."

With the above invocation repeated millions of times every day the Jainas bow with hands folded in *añjali* (worship) in the four cardinal directions, east, south, west and north.⁷ The main import of such a prayer is three-fold:—

(1) Worship is given to all human souls worthy of it, in whatever clime they may be, (2) Worship is impersonal. It is the aggregate of the qualities that is worshipped

* An asterisk denotes the special importance of the class to which it is affixed.

¹ As the subject of Jaina iconography deals with the Jaina gods and goddesses, who are all classified as souls, it is treated here under the wider heading "Jaina classification of souls" instead of going as a separate appendix.

² *Śreya-devīs* are not included in this table as they are females. Being the leaders of the female converts to Jainism they rank with *Āchāryas*. See below, p. 218.

³ These four groups were contemporaneous with the 24 *Tīrthaṅkaras* of the present age, forming with them a group of 63 great and spiritual persons collectively known as the 63 *Sāṃkhyas-paramahatthas*.

⁴ For details regarding the worship of the *pañchaparameshthins* see Indramandīn's *Pañchaparameshthi-pūjā*; Hemachandra's *Abhidhāna-chintāmaṇi*; Amṛtāchandra Sūri's *Puruṣārtha-siddhyuṣṇya*.

rather than any individual, (3) The *arhat*, "the living embodiment of the highest goal of Jainism", is mentioned first and then the *siddha* who is disembodied and consequently cannot be appealed to or approached by humanity. As the *siddha* is without body the Jainas feel that they can never pray to the *siddha* alone and pre-eminently. A *siddha* has, however, 108 attributes, some of which have been enumerated above (p. 64) and these the Jainas recite, telling their beads. By this they do not worship or salute the *siddha* but tell their beads "only with the object of stirring up their spiritual ambition and in order to remind themselves of the qualities a *siddha* must possess, in the hope that some day they too may reach their desired goal, and rest in perfect bliss in the state of *nirvāṇa*, doing nothing for ever and ever."

The Jainas include *Aum* (*Om*) also in their incantation and interpret it as consisting of the following five sounds, standing for the five supreme ones (*Pañcha-parameshthins*): *a*, *ā*, *u* and *m*; *a* stands for *arhat*; *ā* stands for *aśarīra*, i.e., "disembodied", i.e., *siddha*; *ū* stands for *āchārya*; *u* stands for *upādhyāya*; and *m* stands for *muni*, i.e., saint, who is the *sādhu*.

Images and sculptures containing figures of these five supreme ones (*pañcha-parameshthins*) can be seen in Jain temples. They are invariably in the shape of *chakras* standing on *padmāsanas*. A very interesting specimen of this symbolic worship is found in the temple at Tiruparuttikulam which is figured as No. 2 on plate xxxvi. The whole is in the form of a *chakra* which is supported by a crouching lion and two rearing *yālis* in turn standing on a *padmāsana* attached to a rectangular *bhadrāsana*. The *chakra* can compare well with the Hindu *chakra* which is associated with Viṣṇu. Within the *chakra* is placed an eight-petalled lotus (*aṣṭadala-padma*), each petal bearing a seated figure or some article. The figures are those of the five supreme ones (*arhat*, *siddha*, *āchārya*, *upādhyāya* and *sādhu*) while the articles are a *dharmachakra* or the wheel of the law¹, a wooden rest supporting the Jain scripture called *śrūta* or *śrūta-jūṇa*² and a temple (*Jina-ālaya*). In the centre of the lotus where one would expect the seed-vessel of the lotus, is the seated figure of the Tīrthaṅkara in all his glory, attended by *chāmara*s, triple-parasol, halo and the like. Mr. Mallinath explains this in a different way, which has much in its favour. According to him the whole specimen is symbolical of the worship of the *Navadevūtās* or the "nine deities," they being the five *pañchaparameshthins* and *dharmachakra*, *śrūta*, *chaitya* and *chaityālaya*. The *pañchaparameshthins* occupy the centre and the four cardinal points of the lotus while the latter four go in the petals alternately in the following order: proceeding clockwise *dharmachakra* first, then *śrūta*, then *chaitya* (an idol), and lastly *chaityālaya* or temple.

The evolution of souls is based on three fundamental principles, viz., that man is not perfect, but can improve and can achieve perfection, that man's personality is dual, material and spiritual, and that by his spiritual nature man can and must control his material nature. The second of the principles is in striking contrast with the Hindu *Advaitic* doctrine of *Brahman*, or one soul which is in all and is all. When the material

¹ See above, pp. 109-110.

² The *sāga* literature and the like.

nature is entirely subjugated the soul is said to have been liberated or to have attained perfection. In its perfection-condition the soul "enjoys its true and eternal character, whereof the characteristic is the four infinities—infinite perception or faith, infinite knowledge, infinite power and infinite bliss." And such a soul is called a *Siddha*.

SIDDHAS.

These perfect and free souls are of two kinds, *Sāmānya-siddhas* and *Tīrthāṅkara-siddhas*. *Sāmānya-siddhas* are "disembodied and in *nirvāṇa* at the summit of the Universe, steady and in bliss unending." They are commonly referred to simply by the term "siddhas." *Tīrthāṅkara-siddhas* are these perfect souls in *nirvāṇa*, who in their embodied condition preached and propounded the Truth. There have been 24 of them in the current cyclic era, the *avasarpinī*.

Both kinds of *Siddhas* have innumerable qualities, but eight qualities of the *Sāmānya-siddhas* or *Siddhas* and 46 of the *Tīrthāṅkara-siddhas* are the most important. The perfect soul, without body (*siddha*) has the following eight:—

(1) Infinite and perfect faith (*ananta-darśana*), (2) Perfect perception, (3) Perfect knowledge (*ananta-jñāna*), (4) Being neither light nor heavy (*agurulaghu*), (5) Infinite capacity for penetrability, (6) Extreme refinement beyond sense-perception, (7) Infinite power (*ananta-vīrya*), (8) Immunity from disturbance of all kinds.¹

TĪRTHĀṆKARA-SIDDHAS.

The 46 most important qualities of a *Tīrthāṅkara-siddha* can be analysed under the following five broad heads:—

I. Four attributes in their infinity called *ananta-chatushtaya*, viz., (1) infinite perception, (2) infinite knowledge, (3) infinite power and (4) infinite bliss.

II. By birth he attains: (1) A handsome body, beyond the powers of description, (2) a natural pleasing fragrance emanates from the body, (3) No sweat forms on it, (4) No excreta comes out of it, (5) The limbs are perfect in proportion, (6) The joints, bones, nerves and sinews are strong and unbreakable, (7) There are something like 1,008 lucky signs or auspicious marks on the body, (8) Immeasurable strength characterises the body, (9) The blood is of milk-white purity, (10) Speech is sweet and harmless.

III. By achieving omniscience (*Kevala-jñāna*) he performs the following:— (1) Averts famine within a circular area of 800 miles' radius, (2) Remains always raised above the ground, whether walking, sitting or standing, (3) Appears to face every one in all the four directions, (4) Removes all destructive inclinations and impulses of people near him, (5) He is free from pain and disturbance (*upasarga*), (6) Lives without food, (7) Is master of all arts and sciences, (8) His nails and hair do not grow, (9) His eyes are always open and the lids do not wink, and (10) His body does not cast a shadow.

¹ A slightly different list of these eight qualities from *Pañcagratikramanādiśāstra*, Bhavnagar, 1926, p. 2, is as follows:—(1) *Anantadarśana*, infinite faith, (2) *Anantajñāna*, infinite knowledge, (3) *Anantaśhānta*, perfect conduct or infinite good-conduct, (4) *Aśayāhādharma*, undisturbable bliss, (5) *Aśhayaśhānti*, permanent state as *Siddha*, (6) *Arūpatva*, state of being a pure spirit, (7) *Agurulaghu*, being neither too light nor too heavy, (8) *Ananta-vīrya*, infinite power.

IV. The effects of his achieving omniscience, which are also treated as his attributes are:—(1) The heavenly bodies attain a general mastery over the *Ardhamāgadhi* language, the language in which he spoke,¹ (2) All the beings near him cherish nothing but friendly feelings towards each other, (3) The skies are always clear, (4) The directions and the whole atmosphere are all clear, (5) Trees and plants bear fruits and flowers in all seasons, (6) Space around the Tirthaṅkara of eight miles radius (one *yojana*) is clean, (7) When he walks the *devas* place under his feet golden lotuses, (8) Shouts of "Jai! Jai!, victory, victory," rend the air, (9) Pleasant, mild and fragrant breeze blows all round, (10) The earth gets cooled by sweet-scented showers, (11) The thorns of the earth are all removed scrupulously by the *devas* of the air (*Vānavyantarās*), (12) Every being is endowed with supreme joy and happiness, (13) The *dharma-chakra*, or the "wheel of the law" goes in front of the Tirthaṅkara when he is taken in procession, (14) Eight kinds of auspicious marks or things (*aṣṭa-maṅgalas*) attend the procession, i.e., parasol, *chāmara*, flag, *svastika*, mirror, a kind of vase (*kalaśa*), a powder-flask (*vardha-mānaka*) and a throne seat.²

V. Eight kinds of heavenly signs called *prātihāryas* appear miraculously:—

(1) *Aśoka* tree, (2) Showers of celestial blooms, (3) Heavenly music or "wordless speech flowing from the Lord" (*divya-dhvani*), (4) *Chāmara* held by the *Yakshas*, (5) A *śinhāsana*, (6) Aura of beautiful radiance (*bhā-maṇḍala*), (7) Heavenly drum, and (8) Triple parasol (*trichhatra*).

TIRTHAṅKARAS OF THE PAST AGE (*Atitakāla-Tirthaṅkaras*).—Endowed with the abovementioned qualities there were 24 Tirthaṅkara-siddhas in the past age. They are as follows³:—

(1) Nirvāṇa, (2) Sāgara, (3) Mahāsādhv, (4) Vimalaprabha, (5) Śrīdhara, (6) Sudatta, (7) Amalaprabha, (8) Utara, (9) Āngira, (10) Sanmati, (11) Sindhu, (12) Kusumāñjali, (13) Śivagaṇa, (14) Utsāha, (15) Jñāneśvara, (16) Parameśvara, (17) Vimaleśvara, (18) Yaśodhara, (19) Kṛishṇa, (20) Jñānamati, (21) Śuddhamati, (22) Śrībhadrā, (23) Atikrānta, and (24) Śānta.

Little is known of the iconography of these 24 Tirthaṅkaras of the past age. It is only when we come to the Tirthaṅkaras of the present age that our search for iconographic details is amply rewarded.

TIRTHAṅKARAS OF THE PRESENT AGE (*Vartamānakāla-Tirthaṅkaras*).—Images of the 24 Tirthaṅkaras of the present age are usually placed on highly sculptured *āsanas*, generally *padmāsanas*. In Śvetāmbara temples they are generally of marble, white mostly except in the cases of Mallinātha, Munisuvrata, Neminātha and Pārśvanātha, where they

¹ The original language of the Jain canon was a Prakrit, an early derivative of Sanskrit, spoken in Bihār, which is known as *Arāka* or *Arāka-Māgadhi*. Dr. F. W. Thomas observes, "In the existing Śvetāmbara texts, modified by time, two dialects are distinguished, one being confined to verse, while the Digambaras employ a third. The early commentaries were in Prakrit. Sanskrit, first employed by the Digambaras, has been predominant since about 1000 A.D., although the Prakrit has continued in use. Of modern dialects the Mārwarī, a special form of Hindi, and Gujarātī are preferred."—Jaini, *Outline of Jainism*, p. xcv, n.1.

² For a slightly different list of the *aṣṭamaṅgala* see *Trilokaśāra*, v, 989.

³ The names given here are taken from the *Jayamālā*, which the temple priest was kind enough to show me.

are often black. There is no such preference in South India for white marble and though we do find it in some of the Jaina temples here it is due to North Indian influence. Ordinary granite is more often selected for image-making than polished stone or any other material, it being maintained that the colossal statues at Śravaṇa Belgola, Karkal and Yenur which are hewn out of rocks justify the selection.

Tirthaṅkara images are luckily found only in two attitudes, sitting and standing. There, however, appears to be a marked preference for the former attitude. Twenty-one Tirthaṅkaras are said to have attained *nirvāṇa* in the *kāyotsarga*¹ attitude, i.e., standing erect as do Bharata and Bahubali at Śravaṇa Belgola, while the other three did so while sitting on a *padmāsana*. These three are Rishabhadeva, Neminātha, and Mahāvīra, who are considered the most important of all. The attitude in which they attained *nirvāṇa* was thus specially emphasised and came later to be sometimes associated with all the twenty-four. When colossal statues of any Tirthaṅkara were made they were hewn out of boulders, the standing posture being mostly preferred².

Seated images of Tirthaṅkaras always have the legs crossed in front, the toes of one foot resting close upon the knee of the other, and the right hand placed on the left in the lap, both the palms facing upwards. All are so alike when thus represented that the need appears to have been felt to differentiate them by certain devices which are known as *chihnas* or *tāñchchhanas*. These have been given in the table below under emblems. These emblems are usually carved on the pedestals or *āsanas* on which the images are installed. In the case of Pārśvanātha, snake-hoods numbering seven are shown over his head and sometimes a snake with a single hood or without hood on the pedestal. This is to distinguish him from Supārśvanātha, the seventh Tirthaṅkara, who has also snake-hoods over his head, though the number of the hoods rarely exceeds five. To avoid even the slightest confusion the *svastika* symbol has been prescribed for Supārśvanātha, which is scrupulously engraven in all images of this Tirthaṅkara. Digambara images are all nude while those of the Śvetāmbaras (there are a few of them in South India) are dressed and sometimes decorated with crowns and ornaments. They have a triple umbrella called *mukkoḍai* in Tamil over their heads which is surrounded by a *bhā-maṇḍala* or halo. At the base of the *āsanas* are sometimes found nine figures representing the nine planets (*navagrahas*). On the front of the *āsanas* are usually carved two small figures. To the right of the Tirthaṅkara stands a male figure representing the Yaksha or male attendant *deva* of that particular Tirthaṅkara; to his left stands the corresponding female figure representing the particular Yakshini or female attendant *devī* of that particular Tirthaṅkara. Sometimes between these attendants is a small panel in which the figure of a *devī* is often shown.

The iconography of the twenty-four Tirthaṅkaras is shown in the following table.

¹ Helen translates *kāyotsarga* as "indifference to the body by one standing or sitting, with the arms hanging down" (*Yogalīlāsa* by Hemachandra, 4, 133). Another term which indicates much the same idea is *pratimā* which also involves meditating in a particular posture. But in *pratimā* the meditator must always stand while in *kāyotsarga* he may be either standing or seated. See Hemachandra, *Trishaṅkṣīlālākāṣṇasūtrakaritra*, Vol. I, Helm's edition, 1931, pp. 16n, 54n.

But the general way of representing the *kāyotsarga*, judging from images and sculptures, appears to be to show it standing. See *Trishaṅkṣīlālākāṣṇasūtrakaritra*, pp. 68, 323-4.

² C. R. Jain, *Rishabhadeva*, pls. 1, 6, 8 and 9.

The Twenty-four

Number and name of the Tirthankara.	Vimāna (heaven) from which he descended for incarnation.	Birth place.	Father and mother.	Age.	Colour.	Height.	Nakshatra.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1. Kishabhadra or Adinātha.	Sarvārthasiddhi.	Ayōdhya ...	Nābhi : Maru-Devi.	84 lakhs of <i>Pūrvas</i> .	Golden-yellow.	500 dhanushas. ²	Uttarāshāḍha.
2. Ajitanātha	Vijaya ...	Do. ...	Jitātmā : Vijayā-Dēvi.	72 lakhs of <i>Pūrvas</i> .	Do.	450 dhanushas.	Rohiṇi ..
3. Sambhavanātha ...	Uparima-graiveyaka.	Śrāvastī ...	Jitāri : Sena ...	60 lakhs of <i>Pūrvas</i> .	Do.	400 dhanushas.	Pūrvāshāḍha.
4. Abhinandana ...	Jayanta ...	Ayōdhya ...	Sadvata : Siddhārthā.	50 lakhs of <i>Pūrvas</i> .	Do.	350 dhanushas.	Parvāṣa ...
5. Sumatinātha ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Meghaprabha : Sumangalā.	40 lakhs of <i>Pūrvas</i> .	Do.	300 dhanushas.	Maghā ...
6. Padma-prabha ...	Uparima-graiveyaka.	Kauśāmbī ...	Dharmā : Śrīdharmā : Sumitā.	30 lakhs of <i>Pūrvas</i> .	Red (<i>rakta</i>).	250 dhanushas.	Chitrā ...
7. Suparivanātha ...	Madhyama-graiveyaka.	Varāṇasī (Benāres?).	Supratishṭha : Prithivī.	20 lakhs of <i>Pūrvas</i> .	Green. ²	200 dhanushas.	Viśākhā ...
8. Chandraprabha ...	Vaijyanta ...	Chandrapur ...	Mahāsenā : Lakshmanā.	10 lakhs of <i>Pūrvas</i> .	White	150 dhanushas.	Anurādhā ...
9. Pushpadanta or Savidhinātha.	Anata ...	Kākaṇḍī or Kākaṇḍinagara.	Sugriva : Rāmā.	2 lakhs of <i>Pūrvas</i> .	Do.	100 dhanushas.	Mūlā ...
10. Śitalanātha ...	Achyuta ...	Bhadrapura or Bhadrā.	Dvītharatha : Sunandā.	1 lakh of <i>Pūrvas</i> .	Golden-yellow.	90 dhanushas.	Pūrvāshāḍha.
11. Sreyāmanātha ...	Do. ...	Simhaspur ...	Vishnu : Vishnā or Vishnudit.	84 lakhs common years.	Do.	80 dhanushas.	Śrāvāṣā ..
12. Vasupājya ...	Prāyāta ...	Champāpur ...	Vasupājya : Vijayā (Jayā).	72 lakhs of years.	Red	70 dhanushas.	Satābhishak.

¹ The iconography of Yakshas and Yakshis is dealt with separately (pp. 198-212).² Dhanusha or dhanus = 4 cubits (see table on p. 166).

Tirthankaras.

Diksha- vriksha.	Emblem or cognisance.	Place of Nirvāṇa.	Number of Ganadhara or apostles their chief.	First Ārya or leader of the female converts.	Yaksha or attendant god. ¹	Yakshi or Yakshini or attendant goddess. ¹	Interval to next Tirthankara.
(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)
Banyan tree	Bull	Mt. Kailāsa (or Aśhṭā- pada. ²)	84; Vṛisha- bhasana (Pundarikā.)	Brāhmi ...	Gōmukha	Chakreśvari (Śv. Apraticakrā).	50 lakhs of crores sāgaras.
Śāla (Shorea robusta).	Elephant	Sammata- śikhara or Mt. Parva- nāth. ³	90; Simha- senā.	Phālgū	Mahāyaksha	Rohini (Śv. Ajita- balā).	30 lakhs of crores sāgaras.
Prayāla (Bu- chanania latifolia).	Horse	Do.	105; Chāru.	Śyāmā	Trimukha	Prajāpati (Śv. Duri- tārī).	10 lakhs of crores sāgaras.
Priyangu (Panicum stalicum).	Monkey or the ape	Do.	103; Vajra- nābha	Ajitā	Yakshēvara (Śv. Yakshanāyaka).	Vajrasrīkhalā (Śv. Kālīkā).	9 lakhs of crores sāgaras.
Śāla (Shorea robusta).	Wheel or circle or Carlew (kranūka)	Do.	116; Chata- ma.	Kāśyapī	Tumburu	Purushadattā (Śv. Mahākālī).	90,000 crores sāgaras.
Cchātrā (Anethum sowa).	Red lotus	Do.	111; Pradyū- tana.	Kālī	Kusuma	Manovēgā or Mano- guptī (Śv. Śyāmā or Achyutā).	9,000 crores sāgaras.
Sirisha (Acacia Sirisha).	Svastika on the branch and 3 snake hoods over his head.	Do.	95; Vidur- bha.	Somā	Varanandi (Śv. Mātanga).	Kālī (Śv. Śāntā)	900 crores sāgaras.
Nāga tree	Crescent moon	Do.	93; Dīna.	Sumanā	Śyāmā or Vijaya (Śv. Vijaya).	Jyālmālinī (Śv. Bhri- kutī).	90 crores sāgaras.
Śālī	Makara (croco- dile) or the crab.	Do.	88; Varā- haka.	Vārāṇ	Ajitā	Mahākālī or Ajitā (Śv. Sātārā).	9 crores sāgaras.
Priyangu (Panicum stalicum).	Svetikaha or wishing tree; Śrīvatsa mark according to Svetāśūbara	Do.	81; Nanda.	Suyātā	Brahmā or Brah- meśvara.	Mānavī (Śv. Aśokā).	1 crore, less 100 sāgaras.
Tanjuka tree.	Deer or Rhino- ceros or Garuda.	Do.	77; Kāśyapa.	Dharaṇī	Īvara (Śv. Yak- shet).	Gaurī (Śv. Mānavī).	54 sāgaras.
Pātala (Bignonia suaveolens).	Buffalo or bul- lock.	Chāmpāpurī (in North Bengal).	66; Subhū- ma.	Dharaṇī	Kemāra	Gāndhārī (Śv. Chān- drā or Chāṇḍī).	30 sāgaras.

¹ Supposed to be Śātrūjaya in Gujarat.² In Western Bengal.³ Śv. Golden yellow.

The Twenty-four

Number and name of the Tirthankara.	Vimāna (heaven) from which he descended for incarnation.	Birth place.	Father and mother.	Age.	Colour.	Height.	Nakshatra
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
13. Vimalanātha ...	Mahāśukra ...	Kāmpīlya ...	Kṛitavarman : Sūramyā or Syāmā.	60 lakhs of years.	Golden yellow.	60 dha- nushas.	Uttarāshāḍhā.
14. Anantanātha (pl. xxxvi, fig. 3).	Prāṇata ...	Ayodhyā ...	Simhasena : Sarvayāsā or Suyādā.	30 lakhs of years.	Do.	50 dha- nushas.	Revatī ...
15. Dharmānātha ...	Vijaya ...	Ratnapurī ...	Bhānu : Suvratā.	10 lakhs of years.	Do.	45 dha- nushas.	Pushyā ...
16. Śāntinātha ...	Sarvārthasiddhi.	Hastināpurā ...	Vilvasena : Achirā.	1 lakh of years.	Do.	40 dha- nushas.	Bharanī ...
17. Kunthunātha ...	Do.	Do.	Sūrya (Sūra) ; Śrī Devī.	95,000 years.	Do.	35 dha- nushas.	Kṛittikā ...
18. Arānātha ...	Do.	Do.	Śūdarśana : Mitrā Devī.	84,000 "	Do.	30 dha- nushas.	Rohiṇī ...
19. Mallinātha ...	Jayanta ...	Mithilāpurī (Mathurā).	Kumbha : Rakshitā (Pra- bhavati).	55,000 "	Do.*	25 dha- nushas.	Āśvinī ...
20. Munisuvrata ...	Aparājita	Rājagṛīha or Kusāgrama- gāra.	Sumitra : Padmā- vatī.	30,000 "	Black	20 dha- nushas.	Śravaṇā
21. Naminātha, Nimi or Nimesvara.	Prāṇata	Mithilāpurī (Mathurā).	Vijaya : Vapūrā (Viprā).	10,000 "	Golden yellow.	15 dha- nushas.	Āśvinī ...
22. Neminātha or Arishtanemi.	Aparājita	Śāntipura or Dvārakā	Samudravijaya : Śiva-Devī.	1,000 "	Black (syāma)	10 dha- nushas.	Chitrā ...
23. Pārśvanātha (pl. xxxiii, fig. 2).	Prāṇata	Kāśī (Bena- res).	Āśvasena : Vāmā.	100 "	Blue ..	9 hastas or hands.	Trivishākhā.
24. Mahāvīra or Vandhamāna (pls. iii, fig. 2; xxiv, fig. 2).	Do.	Kundāpura or Kundagrā- ma.	Siddhārtha : Priyakāripī (Trisālā)	72 "	Golden yellow.	7 hastas or hands.	Hastā ...

* Blue, according to Śvetāmbara version.

Tirthaṅkaras—cont.

Dikshā- vṛkṣha.	Emblem or cognizance.	Place of Nirvāṇa.	Number of Gaṇadharas or apostles; their chief.	First Ārya or leader of the female converts.	Yaksha or attendant god ¹ .	Yakshi or Yakshini or attendant goddess ² .	Interval to next Tirthaṅkara.
(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)
Jamba (<i>Eugenia jambolana</i>).	Boar	Mt. Pārśva- nāth or Sammēta- śikhara.	55; Maṇ- dara.	Dhara ..	Shanmukha or Kārtikeya.	Vajrōti or Vairātya (Sv. Vīdita).	9 <i>āgaras</i> .
Aśoka (<i>Jonesia asoka</i>).	Bear (facon according to others).	Do.	50; Yaśas ..	Padmā ..	Pātala	Anantamati (Sv. Ankula).	4 <i>āgaras</i> .
Dadhīparva (<i>Citoria ternata</i>).	Vajra-danda (thunderbolt).	Do.	43; Ariśhta.	Arthāśivā.	Kinnara ..	Mānasī (Sv. Kandar- pā).	3 <i>āgaras</i> , less by 1 <i>palya</i> .
Nandi (<i>Cedra sana</i>).	Deer (tortoise according to others).	Do.	36; Chakra- yūtha.	Suchi ..	Kimpurusha (Sv. Garuḍa).	Mahāmānasī (Sv. Nirvāṇi).	1 <i>palya</i> .
Bhīlaka tree	Goat	Mt. Pārśva- nāth	35; Sām̐ba.	Dāmini	Gandharva ..	Vijaya or Jayā (Sv. Bala).	1 <i>palya</i> , less by 6,000 crores years.
Mango tree.	Fish (Sv. Nandīavarta diagram).	Do.	30; Kum- bha.	Rakṣita.	Kendra (Sv. Yakṣendra or Yakṣeṣ).	Ajita (Sv. Dhāriṇi or Dhanā).	1,000 crores, less 6,584,000 years.
Aśoka tree.	Water pot or jar.	Do.	28; Abhik- shaka.	Bandhu- matī.	Kubera	Aparājita Vairoṇyā (Sv. or Dharaṇapriyā).	54 lakhs years.
Champakā (<i>Michelia champakā</i>).	Tortoise ..	Do.	18; Malli.	Puṣpa- vati.	Varuṇa	Bahurūpiṇi Naradattā).	9 lakhs years.
Bakula (<i>Mimusops elongi</i>).	Blue water-lily...	Do.	17; Śubha.	Anilā ..	Bhṛīkṣi	Chāmūṇi (Gāndhārī).	5 lakhs years.
Vetasa ..	Conch ..	Mt. Gīmaṇ.	11; Vara- datta.	Yakṣa- dīpmā.	Sarvāhna (Sv. Gomeḍha).	Kāśhmāndīni or Dharma-Devī. (Sv. Aḥlikā).	84,000 years.
Dhātaki (<i>Grisea lomentosa</i>).	Serpent on the seat and seven snake-hoods over his head.	Mt. Pārśva- nāth.	10; Ārya- dīpmā.	Paṣpa- chūda.	Dharaṇendra or Pārśvayakṣha.	Padmāvati	250 years.
Śāla, or teak tree	Lion	Pāvāpurī ...	11; Indra- bhūti.	Chandra- bālā.	Mātanga ..	Siddhāyini or Śikḍhā- yikā.	.....

¹ The iconography of Yakṣas and Yakṣis is dealt with separately (pp. 196-212).

ŚĀSANADEVATĀS.—The names of the Yakshas and the Yakshīs or Yakshinīs are given in the table against the particular Tirthankaras with whom they are associated. In the Jaina purāṇas legends are given accounting for these associations. These Yakshas and Yakshinīs are called the *Śāsanadevatās* of the Tirthankaras by Hemachandra (twelfth century A.D.), the celebrated author of two works on Jaina iconography and mythology, the *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi* and the *Trishashṭiśalākā-purusha-charitra* from which I have drawn for my study. As these *Śāsanadevatās* form almost the whole of the Jaina pantheon and include such Brahmanical divinities as have found a place in it they receive elaborate treatment at the hands of Hemachandra, which gives his work a special value to students of Jaina iconography for they are important "not only on their own account, but because they help to identify the statues of the Jinas." The account given by Hemachandra is strictly the Śvetāmbara version and differs so much from the Digāmbara version current in South India that given images designed according to one version they cannot always be recognized from the description found in the other. Hemachandra discusses each *Śāsanadevatā* under convenient heads such as name, colour, *vāhana*, hands and the emblems in them, and other particular features.

The Digāmbara version that is known at Tiruparuttikunram is the one current in the Kanarese districts of the Madras Presidency, for the temple priest, who was asked by me to recite the *dhyāna-śloka*s or meditation-verses on these *Śāsanadevatās*, poured out a volley of verses in Kanarese. As he is a Tamilian I asked if he knew Kanarese to which he replied that it did not matter, he was only concerned in getting these verses by rote for there was much merit accruing out of memorising them—indeed it was his duty to do so.

It thus appears that no Tamil version is known and that apparently this Kanarese version is the only one extant here. It agrees closely with the iconographic notes given by Burgess in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xxxii, pp. 461-3. On comparing it with the Śvetāmbara version given by Hemachandra, however, several points of difference appear. It is therefore necessary to give both the versions side by side, but in doing so we have refrained from going into the details of the Śvetāmbara version as our main concern is to concentrate on the Digāmbara. The difference is not only in the details of name, emblems and objects held in the hands but also in the attitudes of the figures. The Śvetāmbara admits of such variety that it is a relief to find in the Digāmbara that there is much greater uniformity in attitude, etc.

Before proceeding to details it is necessary to indicate the features that are common to all these *Śāsanadevatās*. All have head-dresses, high and tapering, that resemble the *kaṇḍa-makuta* known to the Hindu iconographer. All are seated in the *lalita*-pose, i.e., with one leg down and the other tucked up on the seat (*āsana*) in front. They are naked up to the waist, disclosing the navel; the Yakshinīs are sometimes clad with the right arm and shoulder bare. All except the first Yaksha, Gomukha who has a cow's face, have earrings in the ears of the Hindu *patra-kundala* type which is associated with

Hindu *devīs* and inferior gods. All the *Yakṣiṇīs* have generally more than two hands except Siddhayinī, the *Yakṣiṇī* of the last Tīrthaṅkara, who has usually two hands.

In the following summary of the iconography¹ of the Śāsanadevatās (Yakṣas and Yakṣīs or Yakṣiṇīs) the Digāmbara version is the one in Kanarese which has just been mentioned. The Śvetāmbara version is taken from Hemachandra's works mentioned above. These versions have been supplemented from two palm-leaf manuscripts in the possession of the temple priest at Tiruparuttikunṇam, one without any title and the other having the title "Yakṣa-Yakṣt-lakṣhaṇa", both in a badly moth-eaten condition. They are referred to below as numbers (i) and (ii), respectively.

And luckily the bronze images (*utsava-vigrahas*) of the temple representing some of the Śāsanadevatās, which the temple priest very kindly permitted me to photograph, are illustrated in this bulletin itself (plates xxxi-xxxv), so that our information on the subject is not only further supplemented but also receives confirmation in most places. Description of the temple images is necessarily brief and is given at the end of the respective items.

Gomukha (Yakṣa of the first Tīrthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Of golden colour. Head of a cow or ox. Seated on an *āsana* with the left leg hanging down and the right tucked up on the seat in front. Four arms; the upper right with a rosary, lower right showing *abhaya*²; upper left with axe, lower left with pomegranate fruit (*mātulaṅga*). The bull is his cognizance even as it is for his Tīrthaṅkara. It may either be engraved on the seat or shown as a separate *vāhana*.

Śvet.—Of golden colour. Right hands rosary and *varada*³; left hands with a citron and noose (*pāśa*). An elephant is his *vāhana*.

(i) In agreement with (ii).

(ii) Of golden colour, with the head of an ox, and with four arms, carrying in them axe, citron (*bijāpura*), rosary and showing the *varada-hasta*. Carries the *dharmachakra* on his head. The bull is his *vāhana*.

Chakreśvarī (Yakṣiṇī of the first Tīrthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated like Gomukha. Has 16 arms, one right showing *abhaya* and the corresponding left in the *kaṭaka* pose, another right and the corresponding left resting on lap, and the rest with weapons of war. Garuḍa is her *vāhana* or cognizance.

¹ It has been necessary to refer to several well-known poses (*mudrās*). A brief description of these will be found on pp. 17-18 of "Catalogue of the South Indian Hindu metal images in the Madras Government Museum" [Bulletin, Madras Government Museum (N.S.) G.S. 1 (2)].

² There appears to be some confusion in the use of the terms *abhaya* and *varada* by the Jains. While the Digāmbaras assign these to any hand, the Śvetāmbaras, as we gather from Hemachandra's works, assign the *varada* always to the right hand. From this it has been deduced that "apparently, the Jain use of these two terms is just the opposite of the Buddhist and the Hindu" (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LV1, p. 72), or, "that in the case of the Śvetāmbaras, at least, the very ordinary right hand position, usually called *abhaya-hasta* may also be on the left side." So far as the Digāmbaras are concerned there is no confusion, for from what I could gather they understand the terms much in the same manner as Hindus do. The *varada* and *abhaya* might thus be expected in any hand (cf. *Varadarāja, Vahṇu, Śrinivāsa*).

Śvet.—Also called *Apratichakrā*. Golden in complexion; rides a Garuḍa and has eight arms; right hands *varada*, arrow, *chakra* and noose; left hands *vajra* or thunderbolt, bow, *chakra* and elephant-goad.

(i) Golden in colour. Has three eyes and twelve arms: *śakti*, *vajra*, discus in eight hands, one in each, *varada* and *padma*. Garuḍa is her *vāhana*.

(ii) Golden colour. Twelve arms. Thunderbolt in two hands, one in each, discus in eight hands, one in each, citron (*bijāpara*), and *varada*. Garuḍa is her *vāhana*.

Mahāyaksha (Yaksha of the second Tīrthāṅkara)—

Dig.—Dark in colour. Seated on a snake. Has eight arms with weapons of war in six of them, like sword, *daṇḍa*, goad, axe, trident, discus, the seventh (the front right) with lotus and the eighth *varada*. Elephant is his cognizance.

Śvet.—Colour dark. Has four heads and eight arms. Right arms, hammer, rosary, *pāśa* and *varada*; left arms, citron, goad, spear and *abhaya*. Elephant is his *vāhana*.

(i) Dark colour. Eight arms: sword, lotus, discus, trident, *varada*, elephant-goad, stick or staff and axe. Serpent is his *vāhana*.

(ii) Golden colour. Four heads and eight arms: discus, sword, trident, staff, lotus, axe, goad and *varada*. Elephant is his *vāhana*.

Rohiṇī (Yakshinī of the second Tīrthāṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated with her right leg down and left tucked up in front. Has four arms; upper arms with a *chakra* in each; lower right *abhaya*, and lower left *katuka*. A stool or seat is her emblem.

Śvet.—Called *Ajitabalā* or *Ajitā*. Seated on an iron seat. Golden yellow in colour. Has four arms; right *varada* and noose; left citron, and goad.

(i) Red colour (*kunkuma*). Has four arms: thunderbolt (*vajra*), elephant-goad, dart or dagger (*śanku*), lotus. Crocodile (*makara*) is her *vāhana*.

(ii) Golden colour. Has four arms: *varada*, *abhaya*, conch, discus. Sits on a metal seat.

Trimukha (Yaksha of the third Tīrthāṅkara)—

Dig.—*Śyāma* in colour. Seated with left leg down and right tucked up in front. Has three faces and six arms: right arms, trident, noose or *vajra*, *abhaya*; left arms, sword, goad, book? or closed but with a tendency to show the palm outwards. Peacock is his symbol.

Śvet.—Dark in colour, with three faces, three eyes and six arms: right arms, mongoose, mace and *abhaya*; left arms, citron, wreath of flowers and rosary. Peacock is his *vāhana*.

(i) Dark-blue in colour (*śyāma*). Has six arms: sword, shield, dagger (*katti*), discus, trident and staff. His *vāhana* is an active monkey (*vīramarkata*).

(ii) Dark-blue (*śyāmala*) in colour. Has three heads, three eyes, and six arms: discus, sword, staff, trident, elephant-goad, a weapon called *satkirtika*. Peacock is his *vāhana*.

Prajñapti (Yakshinī of the third Tirthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated with left leg down and right tucked up in front. Has six arms: right arms, axe, sword, *abhaya*; left arms, noose, *chakra*, *kaṭaka*. *Haṁsa* or duck is her *vāhana*.

Śvet.—Called *Duritarīh*. Her colour is *gaura* or fair-white. Has four arms: right, *varada*, rosary; left, *abhaya*, serpent. Her *vāhana* is a ram.

(i) Dark-blue in colour (*śyāma*). Has two arms: *varada* and lotus. Horse is her *vāhana*.

(ii) White in colour. Has six arms: crescent or half-moon, axe, fruit, *varada*. The contents of the remaining two arms are not given. A bird is her *vāhana*.

Yakshesvara (Yaksha of the fourth Tirthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated with left leg down and right tucked up in front. Has four arms: right arms, sword, *abhaya*; left, shield, bow. A spear or arrow leans on the right shoulder. Elephant is his cognizance.

Śvet.—Called also *Yakshanḍyaka*¹. Dark in colour. Has four arms: right, citron, rosary; left, mongoose, goad. Elephant is his *vāhana*.

(i) Blue in colour. Has four arms: sword, shield, arrow, bow. Elephant is his *vāhana*.

(ii) Dark-blue in colour (*śyāma*). Has four arms: arrow furnished with a heron's feathers (*kaṅkapatra*), bow, sword and shield. Elephant is his *vāhana*.

Vajrasriṅkhala (Yakshinī of the fourth Tirthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated with left leg hanging down and right tucked up in front. Has four arms: right, rosary, *abhaya*; left, snake, *kaṭaka*. *Haṁsa* is her cognizance.

Śvet.—Called *Kālīka*. Dark in colour. Seated on a lotus which is also her cognizance. Has four arms: right, *varada*, noose; left, snake and goad.

(i) Dark-blue (*śyāma*) in colour. Has four arms: discus, water-jar (*kumandalu*), *varada*, lotus. Monkey is her *vāhana*.

(ii) Golden colour. Has four arms: *varada*, fruit, noose, rosary. *Haṁsa* is her *vāhana*.

Tumburu (Yaksha of the fifth Tirthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated with left leg down and right tucked up in front. Has four arms: upper arms with snakes; lower right *abhaya*, lower left *kaṭaka*. *Garuḍa* is his cognizance.

Śvet.—White in colour. Has four arms: right, *varada*, spear; left, mace, noose. *Garuḍa* is his *vāhana*.

(i) Golden colour. Has four arms: sword, shield, thunderbolt, fruit. Lion (*raṭa kaṇṭhīraṇa*) is his *vāhana*.

(ii) Dark-blue in colour (*śyāma*). Has four arms: snake in two hands, one in each, fruit, *varada*. A snake serves as his *yajñopavita*. Lion? (*gōdadhīpati*) is his *vāhana*.

¹ *Abhidhānamahatmya*, v. 41.

Purushadattā (Yakshinī of the fifth Tirthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated like the Yaksha. Has four arms: upper, *chakra*, *vajra*; lower, *abhaya*, *kataka*. Elephant is her *vāhana*.

Śvet.—Called *Mahākālī*. Golden yellow in colour. Has four arms: right, *varada*, noose; left, citron, goad. Lotus is her symbol.

(i) Golden colour. Has two arms: *abhaya*, goad. Dog is her *vāhana*.

(ii) Has four arms: discus, thunderbolt, fruit, *varada*. Elephant is her *vāhana*.

Kusuma (Yaksha of the sixth Tirthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated with left leg hanging down and right tucked up in front on the seat. Has four arms: upper, spear, shield; lower, *abhaya*, *kataka*. Bull is his symbol.

Śvet.—Blue in colour. Has four arms: right, *abhaya* (or *varada*), fruit; left, mongoose, rosary. Deer is his *vāhana*.

(i) White in colour. Has four arms: a lotus or turner's lathe (*kunḍa*), shield, *varada*, *abhaya*. A spotted deer (*krishṇasūra*) is his *vāhana*.

(ii) Dark-blue in colour (*śyāma*). Has four arms: *varada*, *abhaya*, lance (*kunta*), shield. Deer is his *vāhana*.

Manovegā or *Manoguptī* (Yakshinī of the sixth Tirthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated like Kusuma. Has four arms: upper, sword, shield; lower, *abhaya*, *kataka*. Horse is her *vāhana*.

Śvet.—Called *Śyāmā* or *Achyutā*. Dark in colour. Has four arms: right, *varada*, noose; left, bow, *abhaya*. Her *vāhana* is a man.

(i) Red colour (*kunkuma*). Has four arms: sword, shield, arrow, bow. Deer (*krishṇasūra*) is her *vāhana*.

(ii) Golden colour. Has four arms: *varada*, shield, sword, fruit. Horse is her *vāhana*.

Varanandī (Yaksha of the seventh Tirthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated like Kusuma. Has two hands only: right, *triśūla*; left, rod or cane. Lion is his symbol.

Śvet.—Called *Mātāṅga*. Blue in colour. Has four hands: right, *śrī-phala* (*bilva* fruit), noose; left, not known. Elephant is his *vāhana*.

(i) Also called *Mātāṅga*. Blue in colour. Has two arms: trident, staff. Lion is his *vāhana*.

(ii) Called *Mātāṅga*. Dark colour (*asita*). Has four arms: trident, staff, lotus, lotus. Lion is his *vāhana*.

Kālī (Yakshinī of the seventh Tirthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated like the Yaksha Varanandī. Has four arms: upper, trident, bell; lower, *abhaya*, *kataka*. Bull is her cognizance.

Śvet.—Called *Śāntā*. Golden in colour. Has four arms: right, rosary, *varada*; left, *abhaya*, trident. Elephant is her *vāhana*.

(i) Deep dark colour (*kāla*). Has four arms: *añjali* (by two hands), *varada*, rosary. Peacock is her *vāhana*.

(ii) White colour. Has four arms: bell, trident, fruit, *varada*. Bull is her *vāhana*.

Śyāma or *Vijaya* (Yaksha of the eighth Tirthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated like Varanandi. Has four arms: lower right *abhaya*, rest not known. *Hansa* is his cognizance.

Śvet.—Called *Vijaya*. Green in colour. Has two arms: right, *chakra*; left, hammer. *Hansa* is his *vāhana*.

(i) Dark-blue (*śyāma*) in colour. Has four arms: whip (*kaśā*), noose, *varada*, elephant-goad. Dove is his *vāhana* (*kapotavara*).

(ii) Also called *Vijaya*. Dark-blue (*śyāma*) in colour. Has three eyes, and four arms: fruit, rosary, axe, *varada*. Dove is his *vāhana*.

Jvālāmālīnī (Yakshinī of the eighth Tirthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated like *Vijaya*, the Yaksha. Has eight arms: right, trident, arrow, snake, *abhaya*; left, *vajra*, bow, snake, *kataka*. Flames issue out of her *makuta* as in Hindu Kālī. Bull is her emblem.¹

Śvet.—Called *Bhṛīkūrī*. Yellow in colour. Has four arms: right, sword, hammer; left, tablet, axe. Swan (*marāṭa*) is her *vāhana*.

(i) White in colour. Has eight arms: discus, crocodile (*makara*), flag, arrow, bow, trident, noose, *varada*. Buffalo is her *vāhana*.

(ii) White in colour. Has eight arms: arrow (*kāṇḍa*), discus, trident, *varada* or fruit, bow, noose, fish (*jhaṣa*), shield. Buffalo is her *vāhana*.²

There is a bronze image of *Jvālāmālīnī* in the temple at Tiruparuttikunṇam (pl. xxxv, fig. 1) which is carried in procession (*utsava-vigraha*). The Yakshinī is represented as seated in the *lalita* pose on a *padmāsana* placed on the back of a bull, with a *kirita-makuta* framed as it were by an aureole of flames, and showing the seated figure of *Chandraprabha* in its front, adorning her head. She has eight arms that carry the following: upper row, *chakra* and conch; second row, bow and arrow; third row, sword and shield; fourth or the bottom row shows *abhaya* and *varada*. A *yajñopavīta* can be seen on her body.

Ajita (Yaksha of the ninth Tirthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated as *Śyāma*. Has four arms: right, rosary, *abhaya*; left, spear, pomegranate fruit. Tortoise (*kūrma*) is his cognizance.

Śvet.—White in colour. Has four arms: right, rosary, citron; left, mongoose, spear. Tortoise is his symbol.

(i) White in colour. Has four arms: whip (*kaśā*), staff, trident, axe. Tortoise is his *vāhana*.

(ii) White in colour. Has four arms: fruit, rosary, trident, *varada*. Tortoise is his *vāhana*.

¹ *M.E.R.*, 1929, p. 88:—In the Ādinātha temple at Ponnūr in the North Arcot District there are a few well-made metallic images (*utsava-vigraha*), carried in procession, of *Chandraprabha*, *Pārśvanātha*, *Mahāvīra*, *Bāhukalis*, etc., and of minor deities like *Jvālāmālīnī*. The image of *Jvālāmālīnī* is represented here "with an aureole of flames framing its head, and with eight arms carrying the characteristic attributes in the following order: right series—*chakra*, *abhaya*, *gada*, and a *śūla*; and the left series—*śaṅkha*, *śhepa*, *kapala* and a *putaka(?)*".

² *Cf.* Hindu *Mahābhāratam* arjuna.

Mahākālī or *Ajitā* (Yakshi of the ninth Tīrthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated as Yaksha Śyāma. Has four arms: upper, rod, fruit or *vajra*; lower, *abhaya*, *kaṭaka*. Has no cognizance.

Śvet.—Called *Sutārā* or *Sutārakā*. *Gaura* or fair-white in colour. Has four arms: right, rosary, *varada*; left, water-pot, goad. Bull is her *vāhana*.

(i) Golden colour. Has four arms: sword, fruit, thunderbolt, lotus. Lion (*vāja-kaṇṭhirava*) is her *vāhana*.

(ii) Black in colour. Has four arms: *Survajña*? (probably a weapon or *jñāna-mudra*, the pose of knowledge), hammer (*mudgara*), fruit, *varada*. Tortoise is her *vāhana*.

Brahmeśvara or *Brahmā* (Yaksha of the tenth Tīrthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated as Yaksha Śyāma. Has three eyes, four heads and eight arms: six arms with weapons like mace, sword, shield, rod, and the remaining two *abhaya* and *kaṭaka*. Lotus-bud is his cognizance.

He is often confused with the Hindu Aiyanār, whose other names such as Hariharaputra and Śāstā are also in vogue among the Jaiṇas. Though he is the special attendant of Śītalānātha he is also represented in the form in which we recognize Aiyanār, either as seated with an elephant below him as in fig. 2 of plate v, or as mounted on horseback, with four hands, holding whip, reins, sword and shield. In the former he is two-handed, the right holding a crooked stick called *śeṇḍu* and the left stretched in ease with its elbow resting on the left knee, which is placed vertically on the seat and is secured by a *yoga*-band going between the left leg and the waist, the attitude suggested by the figure being one of serenity and inner contemplation.¹ Sometimes Pūrṇā and Pushkalā, the two goddesses that Hindu iconography speaks of as the wives of Aiyanār are associated with this Yaksha. Yet another form of this Yaksha which conclusively proves his confusion with the Hindu Aiyanār is supplied by a group of three bronze images used in worship in the temple at Tiruparuttikunṅam (pl. xxxi, fig. 1). The three images represent Brahmadeva or Brahmeśvara and Pūrṇā and Pushkalā. The Yaksha stands in the middle on a *padmāsana* in the *sama-bhaṅga* pose, wearing a *jaṭā-makuṭa* on his head, *makara-kunḍalas* in his ears, and a *yajñopavīta* on his chest besides other ornaments serving a decorative purpose. He has four arms, the upper two holding a goad and noose and the lower two the *śeṇḍu* and fruit. Pūrṇā stands on his right on a *padmāsana* in the *tribhaṅga* pose bending towards him and wearing besides other ornaments a *karāṇḍa-makuṭa* on her head, *patra-kunḍalas* in her ears, the breast-band over her breasts and a *yajñopavīta* across her body. Her right hand is hanging down like the tail of a cow while her left holds a lotus. Pushkalā stands on the left of the Yaksha and is similarly equipped except for a water-lily that she holds in her right hand, *makara-kunḍalas* in her ears and the absence of the breast-band. Both

¹ Cf. "Catalogue of the South Indian Hindu Metal Images in the Madras Government Museum", p. 14—Madras Museum Bulletin, New Series, General Section, Vol. 1, part 2.

² Pl. v, fig. 2.

Pūrṇa and Pushkalā are provided by the temple priest with the *tālī*, symbol of marriage-tie, round their necks. Given this group and a group of Aiyanār with consorts according to the Hindu canon it will be difficult to say which is which.

Śvet.—White in colour. Has three eyes, four faces and eight arms: right, citron, hammer, noose, *abhaya*; left, mongoose, mace, goad, rosary. He is seated on a lotus.

(i) White in colour. Has eight arms: sword, shield, arrow, bow, axe, thunderbolt, noose, *abhaya*, or *varada*. Lion is his *vāhana*.

(ii) White in colour. Has four heads and eight arms: sword (*attahāsa*), shield, *varada*, arrow, bow, staff, axe, thunderbolt. Red lotus is his *vāhana*.

Mānavī (Yakshinī of the tenth Tirthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated like Yaksha Śyāma. Has four arms: upper, rosary, fish; lower, *abhaya*, *kaṭaka*. No cognizance is given.

Śvet.—Called *Aśokā*. Of bean-colour. Has four arms: right, noose, *varada*; left, fruit, goad. Her *vāhana* is a cloud.

(i) Dark-blue (*śyāma*) in colour. Has two arms: *varada*, lotus. Crocodile (*makara*) is her *vāhana*.

(ii) Dark? (*hisatvarṇa*?) in colour. Has four arms: fish (*jhaṣa*), rosary, garland, *varada*. Black boar or pig (*sūkara*) is her *vāhana*.

Īśvara (Yaksha of the eleventh Tirthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated as the Yaksha Śyāma. Has four arms: right, *kaṭaka* and *abhaya*; left, *triśūla* and rod. A crescent is attached to the outer side of the *makuta*. *Nandī* or the bull is his *vāhana*. Surely in this Yaksha we can recognize Śiva who carries the moon on his head and who rides on *Nandī*.

Śvet.—Called also *Yakshet*. White in colour. Has three eyes and four arms: right, citron, mace; left, mongoose, rosary. Bull is his *vāhana*.

(i) White in colour. Has four arms: arrow, bow, trident, staff. Bull is his *vāhana*.

(ii) Colour not mentioned. Has three eyes, four arms: fruit, *abhaya*, trident, staff. Bull is his *vāhana*.

Gaurī (Yakshinī of the eleventh Tirthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated like Īśvara. Has four arms: right, water-pot, *abhaya*; left, *varada*, rod. The bull (*Nandī*) is also her *vāhana*. The crescent is also attached to the outer side of her *makuta*. Surely this is Gaurī or Pārvatī or Umā, the wife of Śiva.

Śvet.—Called *Mānavī*. Fair white (*gaurā*) in colour. Has four arms: right, *varada*, hammer; left, axe and goad. Her *vāhana* is a lion. Surely the lion is the *vāhana* assigned to *Aṇḍikā* or *Devī* in Hindu iconography.

(i) White in colour. Has two arms: whip (*kaṣṭhā*), elephant-goad. *Huṃsa* is her *vāhana*.

(ii) Golden colour. Has four arms: lotus, hammer? (*munira*, probably *mudgara*), vessel (*kalāṣa*), *varada*. Deer is her *vāhana*.

Kumāra (Yaksha of the twelfth Tirthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated like *Īśvara*. Has three heads and six arms: right, noose, spear, *abhaya*; left, *vajra*?, bow, *varada*. His cognizance is the peacock. This is the Hindu *Subrahmanya*, also called *Kumāra*.

Śvet.—White in colour. Has four arms: right, citron, arrow; left, mongoose, bow. *Haṁsa* is his *vāhana*.

(i) White in colour. Has four arms: arrow, bow, fruit, staff. *Haṁsa* is his *vāhana*.

(ii) White in colour. Has three heads and six arms; contents of arms not mentioned. *Haṁsa* is his *vāhana*.

Gāndhārī (Yakshinī of the twelfth Tirthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated like *Kumāra*. Has four arms: upper, 2 mirrors; lower right *abhaya*, lower left, rod or cane. Serpent is her emblem.

Śvet.—Called *Chandrā* or *Chandā*. Dark in colour. Has four arms: right, *varada*, spear; left, flower, mace. Horse is her *vāhana*.

(i) Dark blue (*śyāmā*) in colour. Has two arms: *varada*, pose indicative of knowledge (*jñāna-mudrā*). *Haṁsa* is her *vāhana*.

(ii) Green in colour. Has four arms: *varada*, pestle (*musala*), lotus, lotus. *Makara* is her *vāhana*.

Shaṇmukha or *Kārttikēya* (Yaksha of the thirteenth Tirthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated with the right leg hanging down and the left tucked up in front on the seat. Has six heads and twelve hands, one of the latter showing *abhaya*. The cock (*kukkuta*) is his cognizance. This is the same *Shaṇmukha*, the six-headed form of *Subrahmanya* known to the Hindu.

Śvet.—White in colour. Has twelve arms: right, fruit, *chakra*, sword, noose, rosary; left, mongoose, discus, bow, tablet, goad and *abhaya*. Peacock is his *vāhana*.

(i) Dark-blue (*śyāma*) in colour. Has twelve arms: sword, shield, axe, *varada* in eight arms, and pose of knowledge (*jñāna-mudrā*). Monkey is his *vāhana*.

(ii) Fair in colour. Has twelve arms: axes in eight arms, one in each, shield, sword, staff, and rosary. Peacock is his *vāhana*.

Vairoṣī or *Vairāṭyā* (Yakshinī of the thirteenth Tirthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated like *Shaṇmukha*. Has four arms: upper, snakes; lower right, *abhaya*, lower left, *kaṭaka*. A spear leans against her right shoulder. The serpent is her emblem.

Śvet.—Called *Viditā*. Yellowish-green in colour. Has four arms: right, noose, arrow; left, snake and bow. Seated on a lotus which serves as her *vāhana*.

(i) White in colour. Has four arms: arrow, bow, *varada*, lotus. Spotted deer (*kṛishṇasāra*) is her *vāhana*.

(ii) Green in colour. Has four arms: snakes in two arms, one in each, arrow, bow. A kind of snake (*gonasa*) is her *vāhana*.

Pātāla (Yaksha of the fourteenth Tirthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated as Shaṇmukha. Has three heads and six arms: right, rod, spear, *abhaya*; left, axe, noose, hook or spear. *Makara* or the crocodile is his emblem.

Śvet.—Red in colour. Has three heads and six arms: right, lotus, sword, noose; left, mongoose, tablet, rosary. Crocodile (*makara*) is his *vāhana*.

(i) Red (*kuṅkuma*) in colour. Has three heads, and six arms: whip (*kaśā*), elephant-goad, fruit, *varada*, trident, noose. *Makara* is his *vāhana*.

(ii) Red in colour. Has three heads and six arms: arrow, elephant-goad, plough, trident, fruit, lotus. A snake surrounds his head. *Makara* is his *vāhana*.

Anantamati (Yakshiṇī of the fourteenth Tirthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated like *Pātāla*. Has four arms: upper, arrow, bow or crook; lower right *abhaya*, lower left *kataka*. *Hansa* is her cognizance.

Śvet.—Called *Aikuśā*. Fair-white (*gaura*) in colour. Has four arms: right, sword, noose; left, tablet, goad. Lotus is her *vāhana*.

(i) White in colour. Has two arms: *varada*, lotus. Peacock is her *vāhana*.

(ii) Golden colour. Has four arms: bow, arrow, fruit, *varada*. *Hansa* is her *vāhana*.

Kinnara (Yaksha of the fifteenth Tirthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated like the previous Yaksha. Has three heads and six hands: right, rosary, rod, *abhaya*; left, *śakti*, spear, *mālā* or garland or *kataka*. Fish is his emblem.

Śvet.—Dark-red in colour. Has three heads and six arms: right, citron, club, *abhaya*; left, mongoose lotus, rosary. Tortoise is his *vāhana*.

(i) Red (*kuṅkuma*) colour. Has six arms: *mudga*¹ or a kind of kidney-bean, discus, thunderbolt, rosary, *varada*, elephant-goad. Fish is his *vāhana*.

(ii) Red like lotus. Has six arms: discus, hammer or club (*mudgara*), thunderbolt, elephant-goad, *varada*, rosary. Fish is his *vāhana*.

Mānasi (Yakshiṇī of the fifteenth Tirthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated like the Yaksha. Has four arms: right, goad, spear or arrow; left, flower or *chakra*, hook or bow. Lion is her emblem.

Śvet.—Called *Kandarpā*. Fair-white (*gaura*) in colour. Has four arms: right, goad, *nīlotpala*; left, *abhaya*, lotus. Fish is her *vāhana*.

(i) Yellow in colour. Has four arms: arrow, bow, *varada*, lotus. Spotted deer (*kṛishṇasāra*) is her *vāhana*.

(ii) Red like coral (*vidrumaprabhā*). Has six arms: lotus, bow, *varada*, elephant-goad, arrow, water-lily (*utpala*). Tiger is her *vāhana*.

Kiṃpurusha (Yaksha of the sixteenth Tirthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated like the previous Yaksha. Has four arms: upper, *chakra*, *śakti*; lower, *abhaya*, *kataka*. Bull is his emblem.

¹ What was probably intended is *mudgara*, i.e., hammer or club.

Śvet.—Called *Garuḍa*. Has the head of a (?) boar. Black in colour. Has four arms: right, citron, lotus; left, mongoose, rosary. Elephant is his *vāhana*.

(i) Blue in colour. Has four arms: thunderbolt, lotus, discus, lotus or *abhaya* or *varada*. *Garuḍa* is his *vāhana*.

(ii) Dark-blue (*śyāma*) in colour. Has four arms: thunderbolt, fruit, discus, lotus. Boar is his *vāhana*.

Mahāmānasi (Yakṣiṇī of the sixteenth Tirthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated like the Yaksha. Has four arms: upper, dart, *chakra*; lower, *abhaya*, *kaṭaka*. Peacock is her cognizance.

Śvet.—Called *Nirvāṇī*. Fair-white (*gaura*) in colour. Seated on a lotus. Has four arms: right, *nīlotpala*, book; left, water-pot, lotus. Lotus is her cognizance or *vāhana*.

(i) White in colour. Has four arms: sword, shield, lance (*śakti*), noose. Crocodile (*jalacharagraheshu grāhavaram*) is her *vāhana*.

(ii) Golden colour. Has four arms: fruit, sword, discus, *varada*. Peacock is her *vāhana*.

Gandharva (Yaksha of the seventeenth Tirthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated like the previous Yaksha. Has four arms: upper, snakes; lower, spear or arrow, crook or bow. Deer is his cognizance.

Śvet.—Black in colour. Has four arms: right, noose, *varada*; left, citron, goad. *Haiṣa* is his *vāhana*.

(i) Dark-blue (*śyāma*) in colour. Has four arms: arrow, bow, noose, noose. A car? (*ratha-nandana*) is his *vāhana*.

(ii) Dark-blue (*śyāma*) in colour. Has four arms: noose in two, bow, arrow. Bird is his *vāhana* (*pakshi-yāna*).

Vijayā or *Jayā* (Yakṣiṇī of the seventeenth Tirthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated like the Yaksha. Has four arms: upper, *chakras*; lower, *abhaya*, sword. Peacock is her emblem.

Śvet.—Called *Balā*. Fair-white (*gaura*) in colour. Has four arms: right, trident, citron; left, a stick or rod of iron four cubits long (*muṣaṇḍhi*), lotus. Peacock is her *vāhana*.

(i) White in colour. Has two arms: *varada*, blue water-lily. *Haiṣa* is her *vāhana*.

(ii) Golden colour. Has four arms: conch, sword, discus, *varada*. A black boar is her *vāhana*.

Kendra (Yaksha of the eighteenth Tirthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated like the previous Yaksha. Has six heads and twelve arms: one pair lying in his lap; another pair, *abhaya*, *kaṭaka*; a third pair, crook and snake; the rest with other emblems not specified. Peacock is his *vāhana*.

Śvet.—Called *Yakshendra* or *Yakshet*. Dark in colour. Has three eyes, six faces and twelve arms: right, citron, arrow, sword, hammer, noose, *abhaya*; left, mongoose, bow, shield, trident, goad, rosary. Conch is his emblem or *vāhana*.

(i) Also called *Jaya*. Blue in colour. Has two arms: trident, staff. His *vāhana* is said to be *Ambārāvana*, the meaning of which is not clear.

(ii) Colour and *vāhana* not mentioned. Has twelve arms: bow, thunderbolt, noose, hammer or club (*mudgara*), elephant-goad, *varada*, arrow, lotus, fruit, ladle (*sruk*), garland, rosary.

Ajitā (Yakshinī of the eighteenth Tirthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated like the Yaksha. Has four arms: upper, snakes; lower, *abhaya*, *śakti*. *Haṁsa* is her emblem.

Śvet.—Called *Dhārīnī* or *Dhanā*. Blue in colour. Seated on a lotus. Has four arms: right, citron, *nilotpala*; left, lotus, rosary. Lotus is her *vāhana*.

(i) Also called *Vijayā*. Dark-blue (*śyāma*) in colour. Has six heads and twelve arms: sword, shield, arrow, bow, discus, elephant-goad, staff, rosary, *varada*, blue water-lily, *abhaya*, fruit. Bull is her *vāhana*.

(ii) Called *Vijayā*. Golden colour. Has four arms: snake, thunderbolt, deer, *varada*. *Haṁsa* is her *vāhana*.

Kuberā (Yaksha of the nineteenth Tirthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated like the previous Yaksha. Has four heads and eight arms: right, sword, javelin, dagger, *abhaya*; left, arrow, bow or crook, double-pointed javelin or mace, *kaṭaka* or with some other weapon. Elephant is his cognizance.

Śvet.—Of rain-bow colour. Has four heads and eight arms: right, axe, trident, *abhaya*, *varada*; left, citron, spear, hammer, rosary. Elephant is his *vāhana*.

(i) Red (*kuṅkuma*) in colour. Has four heads, eight arms: sword, shield, arrow, bow, fruit, axe, *varada* and *śaṇḍa-mudrā*?. Elephant is his *vāhana*.

(ii) Red in colour. Has eight arms: sword, shield, arrow, bow, lotus, staff, noose, *varada*. Elephant is his *vāhana*.

Aparājitā (Yakshinī of the nineteenth Tirthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated like the Yaksha. Has four hands: upper, sword, shield; lower right *abhaya*, lower left *kaṭaka*. *Haṁsa* is her cognizance.

Śvet.—Called *Vairotyā* or *Dharaṇapriyā*. Black in colour. Seated on a lotus which is also her *vāhana*. Has four arms:—right, lotus, *varada*; left, citron, spear.

(i) White in colour. Has two arms: *varada*, maddar flower (*satara*). Fox is her *vāhana*.

(ii) Green in colour. Has four arms: fruit, sword, shield, *varada*. A spider or a fabulous animal called *Śarabha* (*aṣṭāpada*) is her *vāhana*.

Varuṇa (Yaksha of the twentieth Tirthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated like the previous Yaksha. Has seven heads and four hands: right, flower (lotus), *abhaya*; left, *kaṭaka*, shield. He has no cognizance.

Śvet.—White in colour. Has three eyes, four heads with matted hair (*jaṭās*) and eight arms: right, citron, mace, arrow, spear; left, mongoose, rosary, bow and axe. Bull is his *vāhana*.

(i) White in colour. Has five heads, eight arms: sword, shield, arrow, bow, fruit, noose, *varada*, staff. *Makara* is his *vāhana*.

(ii) White in colour. Has three eyes and four arms: sword, *varada*, shield, fruit. Bull is his *vāhana*.

Bahurūpīnī (Yakṣiṇī of the twentieth Tīrthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated like the Yaksha. Has four arms: upper, sword, shield; lower, *abhaya*, *katāka*. Her cognizance is a snake.

Śvet.—Called *Naradattā*. Fair (*gaura*) in colour. Seated on a throne. Has four arms: right, *varada*, rosary; left, citron, trident. The throne is perhaps her *vāhana*.

(i) Goddess of learning (*vidyā-yakṣiṇī*). Has two arms: sword, shield. Peacock is her *vāhana*.

(ii) Golden colour. Has four arms: shield, sword, fruit, *varada*. Black snake is her *vāhana*.

Bhṛīkūtī (Yaksha of the twenty-first Tīrthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated like the previous Yaksha. Has four heads and eight arms: right, sword, dart, flower, *abhaya*; left, shield, crook or bow, arrow and *katāka*. Bull is his *vāhana* or cognizance.

Śvet.—Golden colour. Has three eyes, four heads and eight arms: right, citron, spear, hammer, *abhaya*; left, mongoose, axe, thunderbolt, rosary. Bull is his cognizance.

(i) Also called *Vidyut-prabha*. Red (*kuṅkuma*) in colour. Has four heads and eight arms: sword, shield, arrow, bow, discus, elephant-goad, *varada*, mango-flower (*sahakāra-pushpa*). *Haṁsa* is his *vāhana*.

(ii) Red in colour. Has four heads and eight arms: shield, sword, arrow, bow, discus, lotus, elephant-goad, *varada*. *Nandī* or bull is his *vāhana*.

Chāmūṇḍī (Yakṣiṇī of the twenty-first Tīrthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated like the Yaksha Bhṛīkūtī. Has four arms: right, rosary, sword or *abhaya*; left, rod, *katāka*. *Makara* or the crocodile is her cognizance.

Śvet.—Called *Gāndhārī*. White in colour. Has four arms: right, sword, *varada*; left, citrons. *Haṁsa* is her *vāhana*.

(i) White in colour. Has two arms: *varada*, lotus. *Haṁsa* is her *vāhana*.

(ii) Of terrible form. Green in colour. Has four arms: sword, staff, shield, rosary. *Makara* is her *vāhana*.

Sarvāhṇa (Yaksha of the twenty-second Tīrthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated like the previous Yaksha. Has three heads and six arms: right, *takti*, flower, *abhaya*; left, rod, axe, *katāka*. A small temple is his cognizance.

Śvet.—Called *Gomedha*. Dark in colour. Has three heads and six arms: right citron, axe, *chakra*; left, mongoose, trident, spear. A man is his *vāhana*.

(i) Dark-blue in colour. Has three heads, six arms: whip (*kaśā*), hammer or club (*mudgara*), fruit, axe, *varada*, staff. Rides on a man.

(ii) Called *Gomedha*. Dark-blue in colour. Has four arms: *abhaya*, elephant-goad, noose, *varada*. Carries in his head a *dharmachakra* or "wheel of the law." A flower serves as his cognizance.¹ Elephant is his *vāhana*.

Answering fairly well this description (ii) is a bronze image in the temple at Tiruparuttikunram (pl. xxxii, fig. 1) which superficially resembles Hindu images of Chandrasekhara. It stands in the *sambhanga* pose on a *padmāsana*, the lower part of which reveals the form of a bull, meant to be the Yaksha's *vāhana*. This is a deviation from the text which speaks of the elephant as the *vāhana*. The apparent resemblance of this figure to the Hindu Chandrasekhara whose *vāhana* is a bull, is obvious. The arms carry the prescribed emblems. A *kirita-makuta* surmounted by a *dharmachakra* and with the figure of the Tirthankara Neminātha in its front adorns the head. Other features worth noting are *patra-kundalas* and *makara-kundalas* in both the ears, a *yajñopavita* and the exquisite drapery of the under-garment. The temple priest informed me that this image and that of Dharma-Devī to be described below, also of the temple at Tiruparuttikunram, are the oldest in the whole temple collection of *utsava-vigrahas*. To me these two appear to date from about 1600 A.D.

Kūshmāṇḍinī (Yakshinī of the twenty-second Tirthankara)—

Dig.—Also called *Dharma-Devī*. Seated like the Yaksha. Has four arms: upper arms, sword, *chakra*; lower resting on the lap and supporting two children, her sons, seated one on each thigh. A lion is her cognizance. It is believed that the lion represents her husband.²

Śvet.—Called also *Ambikā*. Golden in colour. Has four arms: right, noose and cluster of mangoes; left, child, goad. Her *vāhana* is a lion.

(i) Dark-blue in colour. Has two arms: fruit, *varada*; lion (*rājakañthirava*) is her *vāhana*.

(ii) Also called *Dharma-Devī*. Seated with her two sons on her lap, one on each thigh. Has four arms: two support the sons, one left arm holds a bunch of mango flowers, the corresponding right is extended towards the lion that serves as her *vāhana*.

The bronze image of this Yakshinī in the temple at Tiruparuttikunram (pl. xxxii, fig. 3) represents her as standing, slightly bent, on a *padmāsana*, the lower part of which reveals the lion, her *vāhana*. Her right hand holds a lotus bud while her left hangs down. A *jaṭā-makuta* showing the seated figure of the Tirthankara Neminātha in front adorns her head; *makara-kundalas* adorn her ears. Other features worth noting are the *yajñopavita*,

¹ I take the flower to be cognizance, though the text has it as a *vāhana* or vehicle, (or elephant is also referred to as *vāhana*).

² See above, p. 158.

the exquisite drapery of the under-garment and an artificial (removable) *tāli*, the last mentioned provided by the temple priest.

Dharaṇendra or Pārsvayaksha (Yaksha of the twenty-third Tīrthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated like the previous Yaksha. Has a single head over which rise five snake-hoods. Has four arms: upper, snakes; lower, *abhaya*, *kataka*. A tortoise is his cognizance.

Śvet.—Dark in colour. Has the head of an elephant and a serpents' hood for an umbrella. Has four arms: right, citron, serpent; left, mongoose, serpent. Tortoise is his *vāhana*.

(i) Blue in colour. Has four arms: water-vessel (*kalāśa*), noose, goad and fruit. Tortoise is his *vāhana*.

(ii) Black in colour (*śyāma*). Has four arms: noose, goad, fruit, water-lily? (*utphulla-dhara?*) or water-vessel? (*kalāśa?*). Tortoise is his *vāhana*. A snake is seen over his head.

In the temple at Tiruparuttikunṇam there is a bronze image of Dharaṇendra (pl. xxxiii, fig. 1) representing him standing in the *samā-bhaṅga* pose on a *padmāsana* resting as it were on a tortoise, the whole supported by a *bhadrāsana*. The Yaksha wears a *kirīṭa-makuta* presenting the seated figure of his Tīrthaṅkara in its front and surmounted by a cobra with five hoods. He has *makara-kundalas* in his ears and wears a *yajñopavīta*, while his arms, of which there are four, hold the goad and noose in the upper two and a fruit (pomegranate) in the lower left while the lower right presents the *abhaya*. The image, though modern looking, is highly interesting as also another of the same Yaksha (pl. xxxii, fig. 2) which is at present in household worship, being in the possession of the temple priest's son. The latter is similar to the former except that its lower left hand indicates the *varada* instead of holding the fruit and that the tortoise underneath the *padmāsana* is not shown.

Padmāvati (Yakshī of the twenty-third Tīrthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated with left leg down and right tucked up in front. Has four arms: upper, axe, thunderbolt; lower, *abhaya*, *kataka*. Has five snake-hoods (*śeṣha-phaṇā*) over her *makuta*. *Hansa* is her cognizance.

Śvet.—Golden colour. Has four arms: right, lotus, noose; left, fruit, goad. Her *vāhana* is a *kukkuṭa-sarpa*.

Monier Williams translates the term *kukkuṭa-sarpa*, whose other equivalents are *kukkuṭābha* and *kukkuṭāhi* as "a kind of snake compared to a fowl perhaps from having a crest or comb."

(i) Yellow in colour. Has three eyes and four arms: goad, noose, *varada* and lotus. *Kukkuṭa-sarpa* is her *vāhana*.

(ii) Red in colour. Has three eyes and four arms: noose, goad, fruit, *varada*. Snake is her *vāhana* and a snake is seen over her head.

There are three bronze images of this Yakshī (pls. xxxi-xxxiii) in the temple at Tiruparuttikunṇam, two of them standing and the third sitting on *padmāsanas*. One of the

standing ones (pl. xxxii, fig. 2) belongs to the temple priest's son and is therefore in household worship. The other (pl. xxxiii, fig. 3) represents the Yakshinī as wearing a *kirita-makuta* surmounted by a cobra with five hoods and showing the seated figure of the Tirthaṅkara in its front, *makara-kundalas* in her ears, and as carrying in her upper two arms goad and noose and in her lower two a water-lily (*utpala*) and a fruit, probably pomegranate, while her cognizance, the *kukkuta-sarpa* can be seen in front of the lower part of the *padmāsana*. The image in private ownership (pl. xxxii, fig. 2) is much similar to this but shows *abhaya* in the lower right and wears *patra-kundalas* in the ears while the *kukkuta-sarpa* is not in evidence. The sitting one (pl. xxxi, fig. 2) is similar to the latter except that its right leg rests on the *kukkuta-sarpa* while the cobra over the *makuta* is bigger.

Mātanga (Yaksha of the twenty-fourth Tirthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated like the previous Yaksha. Has four arms: upper arms are lifted up in worship and are applied to the sides of his *makuta*; lower right, *abhaya*; lower left, open with its fingers hanging down and the palm inwards. Elephant is his cognizance.

Śvet.—Black in colour. Has two arms: right, citron; left, mongoose. Elephant is his *vāhana*.

(i) Blue in colour. Has six arms: *dharmachakra*, whip (*kaśā*), noose (*pāśa*), thunderbolt (*vajra*), staff (*daṇḍa*), and *varada*.

Answering this description there is a bronze image at Tiruparuttikunṅam (pl. xxxiv, fig. 1) which shows this Yaksha as standing in the *sama-bhāṅga* pose on a *padmāsana*, the lower part of which shows the carving of a lion which is intended to be his cognizance¹. The Yaksha has six arms which are characterised by the following emblems: *dharmachakra* and *vajra* in the upper row; goad and noose in the middle row; and whip and *varada* in the lower one. *Makara-kundalas* adorn his ears while a *kirita-makuta* showing the seated figure of the Tirthaṅkara Vardhamāna in front rests on his head.

(ii) Green in colour (*mudga-varṇa*). Carries *dharmachakra* on his head. Has two arms: *varada*, pomegranate fruit. Elephant is his *vāhana*.

Siddhāyini or *Siddhāyikā* (Yakshinī of the twenty-fourth Tirthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated like Padmāvatī. Has two hands only: right, *abhaya*; left, open with its fingers hanging down and the palm inwards. *Hansa* is her cognizance.

Śvet.—Green in colour. Has four arms: right, citron, lute; left, book, *abhaya*. Lion is her *vāhana*.

(i) Golden colour. Has twelve arms: sword, shield, flower, arrow, bow, noose, discus, staff (*daṇḍa*), rosary, *varada*, blue water-lily (*nilotpala*) and *abhaya*. Garuḍa is her *vāhana*.

¹ All the versions are agreed in claiming for him the elephant as the emblem of cognizance. This deviation would therefore speak for the tendency to manipulate iconographical details over and above those warranted by the canon.

Answering this description there is a bronze image of this Yakshini in Tiruparuttikunram (pl. xxxiv, fig. 3) which represents her as standing in the *sambhanga* pose on a *padmāsana*, the lower part of which shows the carving of a Garuḍa, her cognizance. She wears a *karaṇḍa-makuta* showing the seated figure of Vardhamāna in front, on her head, *patra-kundalas* in her ears and a *yajñopavīta* on her body while her arms, of which there are twelve, carry the following emblems and weapons: first row of two *chakra* and conch, second row goad and noose, third row arrow and bow, fourth row sword and shield, fifth row water-lily or lotus and lotus, sixth and bottom row rosary and *varada*.

(ii) Golden colour. Has two arms.

TIRTHANKARAS OF THE FUTURE AGE (*Bhāvīkūla-Tirthaṅkaras*).—The Jains believe that 24 Tirthaṅkaras will appear in the coming age, the first of them with life duration of 116 years and height of 7 cubits (*hastas*) and the last of them with life duration of a *koti* of *pūrvas* and height of 500 *dhanushas*. They are²:

1. *Mahāpadma* or *Padmanābha*, who will appear in the *Dushama Sushama* age of the coming era as was seen above (p. 169).

2. *Suradeva*, the first of the remaining 23 Tirthaṅkaras who are to appear in the *Sushama* age of the coming era. *Supārśva*, who was an uncle of Vardhamāna and who is now in the second *kalpa* (heaven) will be born as this Tirthaṅkara.

3. *Supārśva*. *Udayi*, the son of *Kuṇika*, who is now in the third *kalpa* will become the third Tirthaṅkara of the coming era.

4. *Svayamprabha*.³ *Prosthila*, now in the fourth *kalpa*, becomes the fourth of these Tirthaṅkaras.

5. *Sarvātmaḥhūta*.⁴ *Dridhaketu*, now in the second *kalpa*, will become the fifth Tirthaṅkara.

6. *Devaputra*.⁵ *Kārttikaśreshtha*, now in the first *kalpa*, will become the sixth Tirthaṅkara.

7. *Kulaputra*.⁶ becomes the seventh.

8. *Udāka*.⁷ becomes the eighth.

9. *Prosthila*, becomes the ninth.

10. *Jayakīrti*, will become the tenth.

11. *Munisuvrata*. *Devaki*, the mother of *Kṛishṇa*, now working out her *karma* in the eighth *kalpa* will become the eleventh.⁸

12. *Ara*.⁹ will become the twelfth Tirthaṅkara.¹⁰

¹ *Trilokaśāstra*, v. 876.

² The list given below is taken from *Trilokaśāstra*, vv. 872-5 and from *Jayamālā*.

³ The *Svetāśvatara* list is different. It is as follows—

1-3 the same as in our list. 4. *Svayamprabha*. 5. *Sarvātmaḥhūta*. 6. *Devaputra*. 7. *Udayaprabha*. *Sankhaśravaka*, now in the twelfth *kalpa* becomes this Tirthaṅkara. 8. *Prosthila*. *Ānandaśravaka*, now in the first *kalpa*, will become the eighth. 9. *Prosthila*. *Sunandaśravaka*, now in the first *kalpa*, will become the ninth. 10. *Satakīrti*. A man named *Satakrāśravaka*, now in the third *kalpa*, will become the tenth.

⁴ These are some of the "elements of the Hindu influence" taken in deliberately or unconsciously by the Jains to placate Brahmanical hatred, to which we drew attention at the beginning of this paper. See above, pp. 9-10.

13. *Nishpāpa*,¹ will become the thirteenth Tirthaṅkara.²
14. *Nishkashāya*,¹ will become the fourteenth Tirthaṅkara.²
15. *Vipula*,¹ will become the fifteenth Tirthaṅkara.
16. *Nirma'a*,¹ will become the sixteenth Tirthaṅkara.
17. *Chitrāgupta*,¹ Rohiṇī, the mother of Baladeva and step-mother of Kṛṣṇa, who is at present in the second *kalpa*, will become the seventeenth Tirthaṅkara.²
18. *Samādhigupta*,¹ will become the eighteenth Tirthaṅkara.
19. *Soayambhūh*,¹ do, nineteenth do.
20. *Antvartaka*,¹ do, twentieth do.
21. *Jaya*,¹ do, twenty-first do.²
22. *Vimala*,¹ do, twenty-second do.
23. *Devapālu*,¹ do, twenty-third do.
24. *Anantavīrya*,¹ do, twenty-fourth do.

ARHATS.

Souls that like Tirthaṅkaras are embodied and have attained omniscience, but unlike them "have not yet discarded the last vestments of the human body" are the *arhats*. They await going to *nirvāṇa* after shedding the "kāramaṇa" body. They have the following twelve chief qualities:—

1-8. The *prātihāryas*.³ 9. Complete freedom from any kind of harm or injury (*apāyāpagamūtiśaya*). 10. Perfect knowledge (*jñānūtiśaya*). 11. Worship by every one (*pūjātiśaya*). 12. Supernatural characteristics of speech (*vachanūtiśaya*), which are 35 according to Hemachandra.⁴

¹ The Svetāshvara list is different:—

12. *Amara*, Kṛṣṇa himself, now in the third *kalpa*, will become the twelfth.²
13. *Nishkashāya*, Harasatyaki, the guru of Ravana, now in the fifth *kalpa*, will become the thirteenth.²
14. *Nishpālu*, Baladeva, the brother of Kṛṣṇa, now spending his time in the sixth *kalpa* will become the fourteenth.²
15. *Nirmama*, Sulasa, a man now in the fifth *kalpa*, will become the fifteenth.
16. *Chitrāgupta*.²
17. *Samādhi*, Revati, a woman, now in the twelfth *kalpa*, will become the seventeenth.
18. *Samādhigupta*, a lady of the name of Subala in her past birth and later a chaste woman of the name of Magavati, who is now in the eighth *kalpa*, will become the eighteenth.
19. *Valadhara*, Dvapāyana, who set fire to Dvāraka, and is now one of the Agnikumāras will become the nineteenth.²
20. *Vijaya*. Kumika, who in his past birth was named Javakumara and a relative of Kṛṣṇa, is now in the twelfth *kalpa*, and will be born as the twentieth.²
21. *Mallinātha* or *Malayadeva*. Nārada, a layman in the time of Ravana of Hindu mythology, who is now in the fifth *kalpa*, will become the twenty-first Tirthaṅkara.
22. *Devajina*. Ambara, a layman or ascetic in his past birth, who is now in the twelfth *kalpa*, will become the twenty-second.
23. *Anantavīrya*. Amara, now in the ninth *Graiveyaka*, becomes the twenty-third.
24. *Bhadrajiṇa*. Srayambudhi, now in the highest of all the *devolakas* (*Sarvārthasiddhā*) will become incarnate as the twenty-fourth and last.

² These are some of the "elements of Hindu influence" taken in deliberately or unconsciously by the Jaina to placate Brahmanical hatred, to which we draw attention at the beginning of this paper. See above, pp. 9-10.

³ See above, p. 190.

⁴ See his *Abhidhānābhīnāṁ*.

ĀCHĀRYAS.

Āchāryas are the heads of groups of saints or sages. They have among others 36 qualities, which can be classified under five heads:—

I. Twelve kinds of penance (*tapas*)—1. Not taking food (*anāśana*). 2. Eating less than necessary (*anavāpta*). 3. *Vrata-parisamkhyāna*, a pledge taken by a saint on the way to receive food, that he will accept it only if a particular thing is fulfilled, otherwise go without it. This pledge, of course, is secret and extempore. 4. Renunciation and suppression of taste (*rasaparitīyāga*) and of tasteful things. Six such tasteful things are milk, ghee, curds, sugar, salt and oil. 5. Sitting or sleeping alone (*vivikta-śayyāsana*). 6. Self-mortifications (*kāya-kleśa*), not by inflicting injuries on the body but by refusing it many comforts and necessities. These six are called external *tapas*. The remaining six which constitute internal *tapas* are—7. Penance to expiate sins or faults committed knowingly or otherwise (*prāyaścitta*). 8. Zeal in the pursuit of right faith, knowledge, conduct and proper *tapas* or restraint, and also loving obedience to superiors (*vinaya*). 9. Service in the manner of attending on old, infirm or sick ascetics and elders (*vaiyāpritya*). 10. Studying the scriptures (*svādhyāya*). 11. Detachment to the body (*vyutsarga*). 12. Meditation (*dhyāna*).

II. Ten kinds of duties or *dharma*s—1. The highest type of endurance, complete annihilation of feelings of anger, etc., and a ready spirit of forgiveness of all injuries, real or imaginary (*uttama-kṣamā*). 2. Gentleness or humility (*mārdava*). 3. Frankness or frank straightforwardness (*ārjava*). 4. Truth in mind, speech and action or conduct (*satya*). 5. Purity and freedom from sinful feelings such as avarice, hatred, etc. (*śaucha*). 6. Restraint (*śamya*), which is of two kinds: restraint of the senses, and practice of compassion towards six kinds of living beings, viz., (a) mineral life which is the lowest, (b) aquatic life, (c) fire-life, (d) air-life, (e) vegetable-life, and (f) animal-life. 7. Asceticism (*tapas*) mainly of the various kinds enumerated under the first heading. 8. Benevolence (*tyāga*). This term is also generally interpreted as gift of knowledge by means of lessons and precepts when applied to the *āchāryas* as here, and sometimes as renunciation of all worldly connections as applied to all ascetics. 9. Beggary or development of the feeling, "nothing is mine," more probably the latter (*ākīñchana*). 10. Chastity (*brahmacharyā*). Jaini translates it as "the devoted contemplation of the self by the soul" which could be attained "by securing self-concentration through celibacy and other means of freeing the mind from the bondage of worldly care and attachment."¹

III. Six kinds of daily duties called *āvśyakas*—1. Cultivating in slow degrees and peacefully a spirit of indifference to worldly things with a view to attain eventually tranquillity of mind and thereby equanimity of soul (*śāmāyika*). 2. Worshipful bowing before perfect souls and their images (*vandana*). 3. Singing the praises of perfect souls and other holy beings (*stuti*). 4. Repentance for sins and faults already done which have "attached themselves to the soul" (*pratikramana*). 5. Zeal to avoid such faults adhering

¹ See *Outlines of Jainism*, p. 132.

to the soul in future (*pratyākhyāna*).¹ Sometimes *svādhyāya*, or studying scriptures, is given in the place of *pratyākhyāna*. 6. Detachment from the body and practice of self-contemplation (*kāyotsarga*).

IV. Five kinds of exercises (*āchāras*)—practice with a view to (1) induce strong and steady faith (*darśanāchāra*), (2) increase knowledge (*jñānāchāra*), (3) improve daily life or conduct (*chārītrāchāra*), (4) to become a great ascetic (*tapāchāra*), and (5) to increase power, which is here the power of one's inner self (*vīryāchāra*).

V. Three kinds of restraint—(1) restraint of mind (*mano-guṇṭī*), (2) of speech (*vacana-guṇṭī*), and (3) of body (*kāya-guṇṭī*).

A list of *āchāryas*, who were historically important and pre-eminently great, is available from a palm-leaf manuscript (without heading) in the temple of Vardhamāna, wherein the subject is dealt with under the caption *Āchāryaprasasti* or "Praise of Āchāryas." After Vardhamāna attained *nirvāṇa* propagation of the religion that he had founded was taken up first by the apostles and next by their successors who thus established a continuous line of pontiffs. While the earlier ones knew all the teachings of Vardhamāna comprised in the twelve *āngas*, fourteen *pūrvas*,² etc., the later ones were successively less and less learned in them till the time came when they were masters of but a fraction of what Vardhamāna taught the world. These pontiffs of the Jaina faith are—

Eleven *Ganadhuras* or apostles, that explained things in accordance with Vardhamāna's teachings—

1. Śrī Gautama.	5. Maurya.	9. Akampava.
2. Vāyubhūti.	6. Mandara.	10. Achelaka.
3. Agnibhūti.	7. Putra.	11. Prabhāsa.
4. Sudharma.	8. Maitreya.	

Five *Pañcha Sarvāṅga-Dhuras*, who were masters of all the *āṅga* literature and the *pūrvā* literature³—

1. Viṣṇu.	3. Aparājita.	5. Bhadrabahu (I).
2. Nandimitra.	4. Govardhana.	

Eleven *Pūrvā-Dhuras*, masters of all the fourteen kinds of *pūrvā*⁴ literature—

1. Viśākha.	5. Nagasena.	9. Buddhila.
2. Proshthila.	6. Siddhārtha.	10. Gaṅgadeva.
3. Kshatriya.	7. Dhṛitishena.	11. Dharmasena.
4. Jaya.	8. Vijaya.	

Five *Āṅga-Dhuras*, masters of eleven *āṅgas*⁵—

1. Nakshatra.	3. Pāṇḍu.	5. Kamsa.
2. Jayapāla.	4. Dhruvasena.	

¹ Roughly *pratyākhyāna* and *pratyākhyāna* correspond to two of the seven principles (*latvas*) of Jainism, *virjā* which means the falling away of *śāśva* matter from the soul, and *saṁvara*, which means *śāśva*-check, i.e., checking the inflow of *śāśva* matter.

² See below, p. 219.

Four *Āchārāṅga*-Dharas, masters of one *aṅga*, the *āchāra-aṅga*—

- | | |
|----------------|---------------------|
| 1. Subhadra. | 3. Bhadrabāhu (II). |
| 2. Yaśobhadra. | 4. Lohachārya. |

From here follow propagators of the Jaina faith who had not perfect knowledge of even one *aṅga*. But the line of pontiffs, was never broken.

Mukhya-Pañchamakūla-Dharma-pravartakas, principal propagators of *dharma* of the fifth age (*dushama*), through which we are now passing—

- | | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Arhadbali. | 14. Nēmichandra. | 23. Śiva-Gupti-Bhaṭṭāraka. |
| 2. Māghanandi. | 15. Prabhāvachandra. | 24. Samantalihadra. |
| 3. Pushpadanta. | 16. Vāsavachandra. | 25. Śivakoṭi. |
| 4. Umāchārya. | 17. Balachandra. | 26. Pajya-pāda. |
| 5. (H)elachārya. | 18. Meghachandra. | 27. Akalaṅka. |
| 6. Kundakunda. | 19. Sarvabhūtahita-Bhaṭṭāraka. | 28. Nishkalaṅka. |
| 7. Griddhrapiñchchha. | 20. Tribhuvana-Svayambhū-Bhaṭṭāraka. | 29. Anantavīrya. |
| 8. Mayūrapīñchchha. | 21. Śruta-Sāgara-Bhaṭṭāraka. | 30. Vidyānanda. |
| 9. Dharasena. | 22. Samādhi-Gupti-Bhaṭṭāraka. | 31. Māṇikyānanda. |
| 10. Vīrasena. | | 32. Kaviparameshthi. |
| 11. Jinasena. | | 33. Vardhamāna. |
| 12. Rāmasena. | | 34. Guṇabhadra. |
| 13. Jinachandra. | | |

Jaini's list of sages¹ is critical and has been drawn after a careful comparison of the various *pañcāvalis* recording the extant traditions concerning the sages. It is worth quoting here for comparison with the list of sages culled from the temple manuscripts given above:—

Serial number of saint.	Name.	Number of years that he was head of Jainism	From and to the year of Lord Mahāvīra, i.e., after Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa—527 B.C.
I			
3 <i>Kevalī</i> (for 62 years).			
1	1. Gautama Svāmi	12	1-12 A.V.
2	2. Sudharmāchārya	12	13-24 "
3	3. Jambu Svāmi	38	25-62 "
II			
5 <i>Śruta Kevalī</i> (100 years).			
4	1. Viṣṇudhara	14	63-76 A.V.
5	2. Nandimitra	16	77-92 "
6	3. Aparājita	22	93-114 "
7	4. Gauvardhana	19	115-133 "
8	5. Bhadrabāhu I	29	134-162 "

¹ Umāsvāmi, *Tattvārthakādhigamaśūtra*, pp. 15-2.

Serial number of saints.	Name.	Number of years that he was head of Jainism.	From and to the year of Lord Mahāvira, i.e., after Mahāvira's Nir- vāṇa—527 B.C.
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III

II Ten-Pūrvi (181 years).

9	1. Viśakhāchārya	10	163-172 A.V.
10	2. Prosbtīlāchārya	19	173-191 "
11	3. Kshatriyāchārya	17	192-208 "
12	4. Jayasenāchārya	21	209-229 "
13	5. Nāgasenāchārya	18	230-247 "
14	6. Siddārthāchārya	17	248-264 "
15	7. Dhṛitishenāchārya	18	265-282 "
16	8. Vijayasenāchārya	13	283-295 "
17	9. Buddhiliṅgāchārya	20	296-315 "
18	10. Devāchārya	14	316-329 "
19	11. Dharmasenāchārya	14	330-343 "

IV

5 Eleven-Aṅgins (123 years).

20	1. Nakshatrāchārya	18	344-361 A.V.
21	2. Jayapālākāchārya	20	362-381 "
22	3. Pāṇḍavāchārya	39	382-420 "
23	4. Dhruvasenāchārya	14	421-434 "
24	5. Kāmsāchārya	32	435-466 "

V

4 Minor Aṅgins (99 years).

25	1. Subhadrāchārya	6	467-472 A.V.
26	2. Yaśobhadrāchārya	18	473-490 "
27	3. Bhadrabāhu II	23	491-513 "
28	4. Lohāchārya	52	514-565 "

VI

5 One-Aṅgins (118 years).

29	1. Arhadbali	28	566-593 A.V.
30	2. Māghanandī	21	594-614 "
31	3. Dharaśena	19	615-633 "
32	4. Puṣhpādanta	30	634-663 "
33	5. Bhūtabali	20	664-683 "

After Bhūtabali, there was no one who had perfect knowledge of even one *āṅga*. But the line of Jaini pontiffs was never vacant, and the list of Jaini continues as follows:—

Name.	Became Pontiff on	Remained Pontiff for	A.V. from and to
1. Guptigupti ...	Phālgunā, Sudi 14, Śaka 26	... 10 years.	683-693 A.V.
2. Māghanandi ...	Āśvina, " 14 " 36	... 4 "	694-697 "
3. Jinachandra ...	Phālgunā, " 14 " 40	... 9 "	698-706 "
4. Kundakunda ...	Pausha Badi 8 " 49	... 52 "	707-758 "
5. Umāsvāmi. ...	Kāntika Badi 8 " 101	... 40 years, 8 days.	759-799 "

As Mr. Jaini admits, the dates that he has assigned to these sages and pontiffs tentatively are not to be relied upon as absolutely correct, for different dates are given to them in other *pattāvalis* resulting in a discrepancy of a few years which "is inevitable." The dates found in Jaini's list must therefore be taken to be rough and approximate. The sequence of the tradition regarding these saints is however universally acknowledged and may be relied upon thoroughly.

There is also another palm-leaf manuscript in the temple in which a list of these sages (*munīśvarar varalāra*) is found. According to it numbers 17 and 18 of Jaini's list¹ are Buddhila, Gaṅgadeva; No. 29 is Arhadbali; Vṛishabhāchārya, and Uchchārāṇāchārya take the place of Guptigupti, Māghanandi, and Jinachandra of Jaini's list.

Ārya-Devīs.—From yet another palm-leaf manuscript entitled "*Punyāhavachana*" preserved in the temple the following list is available regarding the *Ārya-devīs*, or leaders of the female converts to Jainism, associated with the twenty-four Tirthaṅkaras², whose position corresponds to that of the *Āchāryas* in our classification of the souls:—

1. Brāhmī.	9. Ghoshavattī.	17. Bhavaśrī.
2. Prāgabjā.	10. Dharāṇāśrī.	18. Kūrmaśrī.
3. Dharmāśrī.	11. Dhāraṇā.	19. Buddhishenā.
4. Pauruṣheṇā.	12. Varasenā.	20. Pushpadantā.
5. Anantamatī.	13. Padmaśrī.	21. Maṅgini.
6. Rātriṣheṇā.	14. Sarvaśrī.	22. Yakshaśrī.
7. Mīnaśrī.	15. Suvratā.	23. Sulochanā.
8. Varuṇāśrī.	16. Harishenā.	24. Chandanā.

¹ See introduction of Jaini to Umāsvāmi's *Tattvārthadhigamaśūtra*, vii-1.

² See *above*, table on p. 187.

UPĀDHYĀYAS.

Upādhyāyas are teaching saints who have twenty-five qualities inasmuch as they have to study and teach Jaina scripture consisting of the eleven *aṅgas* and fourteen *pūrvas*.¹

SĀDHUS.

All ascetics or saints are *sādhus*. They have twenty-eight chief qualities among several other subsidiary ones, which can be arranged under five broad heads:—

- I. Restraint of the five senses (touch, taste, smell, sight and hearing).
- II. Six daily duties or *āvāśyakas* specified under *āchāryas*.²
- III. Seven other duties—I. Not to bathe. 2. To sleep on the ground. 3. Nakedness. 4. Pulling the hair on the face and the head with one's own hands (*loch*). 5. Eating very little food and that once a day. 6. Desisting from the use of tooth-brushes. 7. Receiving food in the hollow of the hands held together and eating it standing (*cf.* paintings Nos. 35, 47, 82).

IV. Five *saṃitis* or religious observances:—I. To walk observing carefully all the things and insects, if any in the way, $3\frac{1}{2}$ yards ahead at least (*Jryā*). 2. To speak relevantly and that in a manner prescribed by the scriptures (*Bhāṣā*). 3. To partake of pure food, not however specially prepared for the person concerned (*Eṣhaṇā*). 4. To handle very carefully the things in the possession of the *sādhū* such as water-bowl (*kamaṇḍalu*), scriptures, peacock-brush, *etc.* (*Ālāna-nikshepana*). 5. To select with great care places where the *sādhū* should answer calls of nature, *etc.* (*Pratishthāpana* or *Pārishtāpanikā*).

V. Five great vows or austerities (*mahā-vratas*)—I. "Not to cause, or tend to cause, pain or destruction to any living being, by thought, speech, or conduct" (*ahimsā*). 2. Truth in thought, speech and deed (*satya*). 3. To take nothing unless offered (*asteya*). 4. Chastity (*brahma-charyā*) as in the case of *āchāryas*. 5. Renunciation of all worldly things and concerns (*parigrahyāga*).

NON-ASCETIC GREAT SOULS.

The non-ascetic class of the human mundane souls as opposed to the ascetic class described above can be divided into Ordinary and Great souls. Such human beings as

¹ The *Aṅgas* are:—1. *Āchāra-aṅga*, 2. *Sūtrakṛita-aṅga*, 3. *Sthāna-aṅga*, 4. *Samavāya-aṅga*, 5. *Vyākhyā-prajñapti*, or *Bhagavati* or *Pravāha-prajñapti*, 6. *Dharma-kathā-aṅga*, also called *Jñātridharma-kathā-aṅga*, 7. *Upāsa-sādhyayana-aṅga*, 8. *Antahriḍ-dalā-aṅga*, 9. *Anuttaropapādaka-dalā-aṅga*, 10. *Pratna-avyākaraṇa-aṅga*, and 11. *Vipāka-sūtra-aṅga*. Sometimes a twelfth *aṅga* is added to these which is called *Dṛishṭi-pravāda-aṅga*.

The 14 *Pūrvas* or *Pūrvagatas* as they are called are:—1. *Utpāda-pūrva*, 2. *Agrāyāniya-pūrva*, 3. *Paryānuvāda-pūrva*, 4. *Atināsti-pravāda-pūrva*, 5. *Jñāna-pravāda-pūrva*, 6. *Satya-pravāda-pūrva*, 7. *Ātma-pravāda-pūrva*, 8. *Karma-pravāda-pūrva*, 9. *Pratyākhyāna-pūrva*, 10. *Pidyānuvāda-pūrva*, 11. *Kalyāṇa-vāda-pūrva*, 12. *Prāna-vāda-pūrva*, 13. *Kriyā-vilāsa-pūrva*, and 14. *Triloka-bindu-sāra-pūrva*. For details of the contents of the *aṅgas* and the *pūrvas* see Jaini, *Outlines of Jainism*, pp. 135-145; *Jaina Gazette*, 1905, pp. 133-140; Namichandra, *Gommatasāra*, *Jiva-kāṇḍa*; *Tattvārthasūtra* by Umāsvāmi, edited by J. L. Jaini, 1920, pp. 29-31 and 32-36.

² See *ibid.*, pp. 214-215.

are great in life and have superior status, attainments and the like are called pre-eminently great souls. They are—

TWELVE CHAKRAVARTINS OR CHAKRINS.—These were universal monarchs and lived during the times of the Tirthaṅkaras of the present age. All of them were golden in colour and belonged to the *gotra* of *Kāśyapa*. They are—

1. *Bharata*, the son of *Rishabhadeva*, the first Tirthaṅkara and therefore nearly contemporaneous with him. His height was 500 *dhanushyas* or bows and he lived for 84 lakhs of *pūrvas*. Soon after death he reached *moksha*.

2. *Sagara* of *Ayodhya*, the son of *Sumitra* through *Yaśomati* and contemporaneous with *Ajitanātha*, the second Tirthaṅkara. His height was 450 bows and he lived for 72 lakhs of *pūrvas*. After death he went to *moksha*.

3. *Maghavā*, born in *Śrāvastī* to *Samudravijaya* and *Bhadra*, in the interval between *Dharmanātha* and *Śāntinātha*, the fifteenth and the sixteenth Tirthaṅkaras. His height was $42\frac{1}{2}$ bows and he lived for five lakhs of years. After death he went to the third heaven (*kalpa*), *Sanatkumāra*.

4. *Sanatkumāra*, who must be distinguished from *Sanatkumāra-Indra*, the *Indra* of *Sanatkumāra*, the third heaven. He was born in *Hastināpura* to *Aśvasena* and his wife *Sahadevī*, in the interval between *Dharmanātha* and *Śāntinātha*. His height was $41\frac{1}{2}$ bows and he lived for three lakhs of years. After death he reached the *Sanatkumāra-kalpa* like *Maghava*.

5. <i>Śāntinātha</i> .	} These three were both Tirthaṅkaras and Chakravartins. For their description, see pp. 192-195.
6. <i>Kunthunātha</i> .	
7. <i>Aranātha</i> .	

8. *Subhauma*, son of *Tārā* and *Kṛitavīrya*. He lived in *Hastināpura* in the interval between *Aranātha* and *Mallinātha*, the eighteenth and nineteenth Tirthaṅkaras. His height was 28 bows and he lived for 60,000 years. After death he reached the seventh earth, or seventh hell as it is more often called, *Mahātamaḥ-prabhā*.

9. *Mahāpadma*, also called *Padma* or *Padmanābha*, son of *Padmottara* and *Jvalā*. He lived in *Vārāṇasī* (Benares) in the interval between *Mallinātha* and the next Tirthaṅkara *Munisuvrata*. His height was 22 bows according to *Trilokasāra* (verse 819), and 20 bows according to *Hemachandra's Trishashtīśalākāpuruṣacharitra*. He lived for 30,000 years, and after death went to *moksha*.

10. *Harishena*, son of *Merā* and *Mahāhari*. He lived in *Kāmpilya* in the interval between *Munisuvrata* and the next Tirthaṅkara *Naminātha*. His height was according to *Trilokasāra* (verse 819) 20 bows, and according to *Trishashtīśalākāpuruṣacharitra* 15 bows. He lived for 10,000 years and soon after death went to *moksha*.

11. *Jaya*, also called *Jaya-sena*. He was born in *Rājagṛiha* as the son of *Vijaya* and *Vapṛā* in the interval between the Tirthaṅkaras *Naminātha* and *Neminātha*. His height according to the *Trilokasāra* was fifteen bows and according to the *Trishashtīśalākāpuruṣacharitra* twelve bows. He lived for 3,000 years and after death went to *moksha*.

12. *Brahmadatta*, son of Chulanī and Brahma. He ruled in Kāmpīlya in the interval between Neminātha and Pārśvanātha. His height was seven bows and he lived for 700 years. After death he went to the seventh hell, *Mahātamaḥ-prabhā*, as he had engaged in evil meditation.

NINE NĀRĀYANAS OR VĀSUDEVAS OR ARDHACHAKRINS.—They were all black in colour, and ruled over three parts of the earth and enjoyed half the power of the Chakravartins. All of them belonged to the family of Gautama, except the eighth who belonged to the Kāśyapa family. They were—

1. *Trippriṣṭha*, son of Prajāpati and Mrigavati. He lived in the city of Potana in the time of Śreyāmsanātha, the eleventh Tirthaṅkara. His height was 80 bows and he lived for 84 lakhs of years. After death he went to the seventh hell.

2. *Dvipriṣṭha*, son of Padmā and Brahmanandana. He lived in Dvārāvati in the time of Vāsupūjya, the twelfth Tirthaṅkara. His height was 70 bows and he lived for 72 lakhs of years. After death he went to the sixth hell, *Tamaḥ-prabhā*.

3. *Svayambhūh*, son of Bhadrarāja and Prithvīdevī. He lived in Dvārāvati and was a follower of Vimalanātha, the thirteenth Tirthaṅkara. His height was 60 bows. After living for 60 lakhs of years he reached the sixth hell.

4. *Purushottama*, son of Soma and Sītā. He lived in Dvārāvati in the time of Anantanātha, the fourteenth Tirthaṅkara. His height was 50 bows and he lived for 30 lakhs of years. After death he went to the sixth hell.

5. *Purushasimha*, also called Narasimha, son of Śiva and Rājāmrītā. He ruled in Aśvapura in the time of Dharmanātha, the fifteenth Tirthaṅkara. He was 45 bows tall and lived for 10 lakhs of years, after which he went to the sixth hell.

6. *Purusha-puṇḍarīka*, also called Puṇḍarīka, son of Lakshmiṃvati and Mahāśiras. He ruled in Chakrapur in the interval between Aranātha and Mallinātha, the eighteenth and the nineteenth Tirthaṅkaras, respectively. His height was according to *Trilokasāra* 29 bows, but according to *Trishasṭhiśālākāpurushacharitra* 19 only and he lived for 65,000 years. After death he went to the sixth hell.

7. *Purusha-datta*, also called Datta or Datta-deva, son of Agnisimha and Śeṣavati. He ruled in Vārāpaṣṭi in the interval between Mallinātha and Munisuvrata, the nineteenth and twentieth Tirthaṅkaras, respectively. He was 22 bows high according to *Trilokasāra*, and 26 according to *Trishasṭhiśālākāpurushacharitra*, and lived according to the former for 32,000 years and according to the latter for 56,000 years. After death he went to the fifth hell (*Dhūma-prabhā*).

8. *Nārāyana*, in some works also called *Lakshmana*, son of Daśaratha and Kaikeyī (cf. the Hindu Rāma). He lived in Rājagriha in the interval between Munisuvrata and Naminātha, the twentieth and twenty-first Tirthaṅkaras. His height was 16 bows and he lived for 12,000 years, after which he went to the fourth hell (*Pañka-prabhā*) according to *Trilokasāra*, and to the third hell (*Vāluka-prabhā*) according to *Trishasṭhiśālākāpurushacharitra*.

9. *Kṛishṇa*, son of Vasudeva and Devakī. He was born in Mathurā and ruled in Dvārāvātī in the time of Neminātha, the twenty-second Tīrthāṅkara, who was his cousin. His height was 10 bows and he lived for 1,000 years. After death he went to the third hell (*Vāluka-prabhā*).

NINE PRATI-NĀRĀYANAS OR PRATI-VĀSUDEVAS.—They were the respective foes of the nine Nārāyaṇas or Vāsudevas, and each shared with his particular foe the latter's height, period of life, and destination (hell). They fought against these foes with the *chakras* (discus) and perished from their own *chakras* which went to their foes' hands. They were—

1. *Aśvagrīva*, foe of Triprishṭha.

2. *Tāraka*, foe of Dviprishṭha.

3. *Meraka*, rival of Svayambhūḥ. In some books he is called Naraka.

4. *Nisumbha*, rival of Purushottama.

5. *Madhukaitabha*, sometimes merely called Madhu. Rival of Purushasimha.

6. *Bali*. In some works the next (seventh) Prati-Vāsudeva is given as the sixth and Bali is treated as the seventh. He was the rival of Purusha-puṇḍarīka.

7. *Praharāṇa*, sometimes called Prahlāda and treated as the sixth Prati-Vāsudeva. Rival of Purusha-datta.

8. *Rāvaṇa*, rival of Nārāyaṇa.

The above eight Prati-Vāsudevas moved in the sky. The ninth, Jarāsandha, to be described now, was alone a denizen of the earth like any mortal.

9. *Jarāsandha*, rival of Kṛishṇa.

NINE BALADEVAŚ OR BALABHADRAS¹.—They were all white in colour and were the half-brothers of the respective Vāsudevas. The father of each Baladeva is the same as that of the corresponding Vāsudeva, the Baladeva being the son of a co-wife. The first eight Baladevas went to *moksha*, while the ninth and the last (Padma) went to *Brahma-kalpa* from where he will come down to *Bharata-kshetra* and attain *moksha* in the coming *utsarpiṇī* era when Kṛishṇa becomes the Tīrthāṅkara, Amama². The Baladevas are—

1. *Vijaya*. In some texts he is given as the second, the second being treated as the first³. He was son of Subhadrā and was of the same height as his half-brother, the Vāsudeva, Triprishṭha. He lived for 87 lakhs of years⁴.

2. *Achala*. In some works Achala is treated as the first Baladeva. He was the son of Bhadrā, and was of the same height as his half-brother, the Vāsudeva Dviprishṭha. He lived for 77 lakhs of years⁵.

¹ The four groups, viz., *Chakravartins*, *Nārāyaṇas*, *Prati-Nārāyaṇas*, and *Baladevas* were contemporaneous with the 24 Tīrthāṅkaras of the present age, forming with them a group of 63 great and spiritual persons collectively known as the *Trishashī-Salākā-purushas*.

² See above, p. 213.

³ See Hemachandra, *Trishashī-Salākā-purushacharitra*, p. 351.

⁴ According to Hemachandra, he lived for 75 lakhs of years.

⁵ According to Hemachandra, he lived for 85 lakhs of years.

3. *Sudharma*. In some works he is called Bhadra or Dharma-prabha. He was the son of Suprabha and was of the same height as his half-brother, the Vāsudeva Svayambhūh. He lived for 67 lakhs of years.¹

4. *Suprabha*, son of Sudarśana. He was of the same height as the fourth Vāsudeva, his half-brother. He lived for 37 lakhs of years.²

5. *Sudarśana*, son of Vijaya. He was of the same height as the Vāsudeva, Purushasimha. He lived for 17 lakhs of years.

6. *Nandi*. In some texts he is called Ānanda. Son of Vaijayanti, he was of the height of the sixth Vāsudeva, Purusha-puṇḍarika. He lived for 67,000 years.³

7. *Nandimitra*, sometimes called Nandana. Son of Jayanti, he shared the height of his half-brother, the Vāsudeva Purusha-datta, and lived for 37,000 years.⁴

8. *Rāma*, also called Rāmachandra.⁵ Son of Aparājita, he shared the height of the Vāsudeva Nārāyaṇa, and lived for 17,000 years.⁶

9. *Padma*,⁷ son of Rohiṇī. He shared the height of his half-brother Kṛishṇa and lived for 1,200 years.

Besides these 63 great ones Jaina hagiology recognizes other less important classes of great souls that also find prominent places in Jaina mythology. They are—

14 Kulakaras or Manus.

24 fathers of Tirthaṅkaras } see under Tirthaṅkaras, pp. 192-195.

24 mothers of Tirthaṅkaras }

9 Nāradas.

11 Rudras.

24 Kāmadevas.

Total ... 106

FOURTEEN KULAKARAS OR MANUS.—They were wise men who arose from time to time and laid the foundation of civilization, for which reason the Jainas call them saviours.

The first Manu was *Pratiśruti*. He is sometimes called *Prati-Svāti*. In his time the trees that were shedding light till then disappeared and the sun and the moon that were till then overshadowed by the lumination of the light-shedding *kalpa*-trees became visible. The people of the world who saw them for the first time became bewildered and were running helter-skelter when *Pratiśruti* came to their rescue and explained to them the significance of the two new lights. The division of day and night dates from

¹ According to Hemachandra, he lived for 65 lakhs of years.

² 55 lakhs of years according to Hemachandra.

³ 85,000 years according to Hemachandra.

⁴ 65,000 years according to Hemachandra.

⁵ A different version is obtained from Hemachandra's *Trishakṣīśālikāpuruṣaśāstrā* which is as follows:—

8. *Paama*, son of Aparājita, with a life of 15,000 years.

9. *Rāma*, The ninth will be Rāma, son of Rohiṇī, living for 1,200 years.

⁶ 15,000 years according to Hemachandra.

his time. He was also instrumental in establishing a sort of rule approaching kingship, and offences were almost unknown as the people were simple folk, strangers to fraud and vice.

Sanmati, the second Manu, explained to the people the significance of the seasons. In his time the light-giving trees had become so feeble that even the stars appeared to the people. It was given to this Manu to define the different constellations. It was therefore said of him that he was the "first astronomer of the half-cycle."

Kshemaikara, the third Manu, taught the world the nature of animals and of men and that the latter should not imitate the former. In his time animals began to grow troublesome as, owing to changed conditions and the inactivity of the feeding-trees that were till then supplying both animals and men with food, they were forced to fend for themselves. He was also responsible for drawing a distinction between domestic and wild animals and for teaching people how to make use of the former with advantage.

Kshemandhara, the fourth Manu, advised men, who were becoming the prey of food-hunting wild animals, to protect themselves from them with the aid of stones, missiles, weapons of wood and stone and sticks.

Simāṅkara, the fifth Manu, was so called because he fixed the *simās* or boundary marks of property and proprietorship. In his time people were fighting for the individual possession of a few *kalpa*-trees that remained. He determined their proprietorship, assigning them to the possession of groups or communities of men.

Simandhara, the sixth Manu, who continued the work of the former and determined the individual ownership over these *kalpa*-trees. The quarrels of the people over these trees had become so intense that he had to set marks on them.

Vimalavāhana, the seventh Manu, taught men how to make use of certain domestic animals like the elephant and the horse by inventing the tethering rope, the bridle and the like.

Chakshushmān, the eighth Manu, who explained to the world the nature of *bhogabhūmi*¹ and the causes for the changes in that world such as parents not dying at the birth of their progeny. Hitherto the rule in the *bhogabhūmi* was that parents died as soon as they gave birth to children, a rule which was necessary to restrict the number of its residents.

Yāśasvān, or *Yāśasvin*, the ninth Manu, who taught men how to regard their children as their own, how to rear them up and bless them.

Abhichandra, the tenth Manu, who made some more changes in the old order of things and taught men to play with their children and give them useful instruction. It is said that this Manu came to acquire the name *Abhichandra* as he was the first to play with his children in moon-light.

Chandrābha, the eleventh Manu, who also devoted his time to the betterment and proper guidance of children.

¹. See above, pp. 72, 177-178.

Marudeva, the twelfth Manu, who established state-control over all the *kalpa*-trees that still remained in the country and taught men among other things navigation and engineering work, as for instance, building forts, halls, steps, boats and ships. Many small hills, lakes and rivers came into existence during his time and there was rainfall for the first time, though scanty and irregular.

Prasenajit, also called *Prasena-chandra*, the thirteenth Manu, about whose work the Śrī Purāṇa is silent, appears to have acquired such a name owing to the fact that in his time children were first born with the *prasena* or amnion, the membrane in which a child is born. Prior to his time children appear not to have been born wrapped in a membrane.

Nābhi Mahārāja,¹ the fourteenth and the last Manu, is said to be the wisest of all and appears to have earned the name *Nābhi* from the fact that he taught men how to cut the navel chord called *nābhī*. He taught men how to make use of vegetables, fruits, grain and other eatables and thereby appease hunger. In his time the *kalpa*-trees had failed to function completely and rain and clouds became a regular feature of the world. It appears that till then the existence of *kalpa*-trees coupled with some other natural force prevented cloud-formation. Cultivation became a regular feature and fruit trees began to grow in abundance.² There was no need to resort to elaborate measures to check crimes, etc., as the people still continued to be very simple. The first five Manus were able to check a wrong-doer by making the exclamation, "ha"! The next five said "ma" to express their disapproval ("ma" signifies regret), and this was enough to make the culprit straight for the future. The remaining Manus added "dhik" (curse you!) to express their disapproval. But the necessity for the codification of laws, penal and otherwise, arose only in the days of Bharata, the son of Rishabhadeva, the first Tirthaṅkara.

For 24 parents of Tirthaṅkaras see above, pp. 192-195.

NINE NĀRADAS.—Their function is tale-bearing and as a result of this self-inflicted office they go after death to hell. Occasionally, however, they have been inclined towards *dharma*, for which reason they are treated as great souls. They are—

- | | | |
|------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------|
| 1. <i>Bhīma</i> , | contemporaneous with the first | Vāsudeva. |
| 2. <i>Mahābhīma</i> | do. | second do. |
| 3. <i>Rudra</i> | do. | third do. |
| 4. <i>Mahārudra</i> | do. | fourth do. |
| 5. <i>Kāla</i> | do. | fifth do. |
| 6. <i>Mahākāla</i> | do. | sixth do. |
| 7. <i>Durmukha</i> | do. | seventh do. |
| 8. <i>Naraka-mukha</i> | do. | eighth do. |
| 9. <i>Adhomukha</i> | do. | ninth do. |

¹ Wilson, *Fishan Purāṇa*, Vol. II, pp. 100-103.—Nābhi, his son Rishabhadeva and Bharata, the latter's son, find a place in the Hindu Purāṇic lists, where Nābhi is said to be the son of Agnidra, King of Jambūdvīpa, son of Priyavrata, King of Antarvāṇa. Also see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II, p. 135, and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXX, p. 248.

² *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 9, p. 259. Nābhi allotted to men the means of subsistence, viz. *ati* (sword), *śaiti* (letters, lit. ink), *ṭṭiśāi* (agriculture), *vāṇijya* (commerce), *paṭupālana* (attendance on cattle).

It was Adhomukha-Nārada that informed Kāmsa of the whereabouts of Kṛṣṇa, when the latter was spending his boyhood in *Godāvana*.

ELEVEN RUDRAS OR EKĀDAŚA-RUDRAS, as they are popularly called, took to the right spiritual path, setting their hearts on the highest goal, *vis.*, to become liberated (*siddha*), but left off perseverance (in repeated meditation, contemplation, etc.) after some stage. As, however, they had the right faith and had started well, they are destined to become *siddhas* after a few more births (*bhavas*). They are—

1. *Bhīmāvali*.—In some texts he is called Bhīma-bali. He lived in the time of Rishabhadeva. His height was 500 bows, his life-period was 83 lakhs of *pūrvas*, and after death he went to the seventh hell.

2. *Jita-śatru*.—He was contemporaneous with Ajitanātha. His height was 450 bows, his life-period was 72 lakhs of *pūrvas*, and after death he went to the seventh hell.

3. *Rudra*.—He must be distinguished from the third Nārada of the same name. He lived in the time of the ninth Tīrthaṅkara, Suvidhinātha; his height was 100 bows, his life-period was 2 lakhs of *pūrvas*, and after death he went to the sixth hell.

4. *Viśālanayana*.—In some texts his name is given as *Viśvānala*. He was contemporaneous with Śītalānātha, the tenth Tīrthaṅkara; his height was 90 bows, and after living for a lakh of *pūrvas* he went to the sixth hell.

5. *Supratishṭha*.—He was living in the time of the eleventh Tīrthaṅkara, Śreyāṁśa-nātha. His height was 80 bows and after living for 84 lakhs of years he went to the sixth hell.

6. *Achala*.—He was contemporaneous with the twelfth Tīrthaṅkara, Vāsupūjya. His height was 70 bows and his life-period was 60 lakhs of years. After death he went to the sixth hell.

7. *Pundarika*.—He lived in the time of the thirteenth Tīrthaṅkara, Vimalānātha. His height was 60 bows, and after living for 50 lakhs of years he went to the sixth hell.

8. *Ajitandhara*.—Sometimes spelt as Ajitadhara. He lived in the time of Anantanātha, the fourteenth Tīrthaṅkara. His height was 50 bows and after living for 40 lakhs of years he went to the fifth hell.

9. *Jitanābhi*.—He lived in the time of the fifteenth Tīrthaṅkara, Dharmanātha. His height was 28 bows, and his life-period was 20 lakhs of years. After death he went to the fourth hell.

10. *Pīṭha*.—He was contemporaneous with Śāntinātha, the sixteenth Tīrthaṅkara. His height was 24 bows, and after living for one lakh of years he went to the fourth hell.

11. *Sātyaki*.—He lived in the time of Mahāvīra, the last Tīrthaṅkara. His height was seven *hastas* or cubits and after living for 69 years he went to the third hell.

TWENTY-FOUR KĀMA-DEVAS.—There is nothing special to note about the 24 *Kāma-devas*, except that some of them have to be distinguished from their namesakes occurring in other parts of Jaina mythology and iconography. They are as follows :—

1. *Bāhubali*, the brother of Bharata and one of the sons of the first Tirthaṅkara. The colossal figure at Śravaṇa Belgola represents him. There is a bronze image of Bāhubali in the temple at Tiruparuttikunram (pl. xxxvi, fig. 1) which is fashioned like the colossal figure at Śravaṇa Belgola. It stands on a *padmāsana* in the *kāyotsarga* pose, with arms hanging down, and answers well the description of Bāhubali given by Hemachandra¹.
2. *Prajāpati*.
3. *Śrīdhara*.
4. *Darśanabhadra*.
5. *Prasenachandra*, to be distinguished from the thirteenth Manu of the same name.
6. *Chandravarna*.
7. *Agni-yukta*.
8. *Sanat-kumāra*, to be distinguished from the Indra of the *kalpa* of the same name.
9. *Vatsarāja*.
10. *Kanaka-prabha*.
11. *Megha-prabha*.
12. *Śāntinātha*.
13. *Kunthunātha*.
14. *Arahanātha*.
15. *Vijayarāja*.
16. *Śrīchandra*.
17. *Nalārāja*, can be compared with the *Nala* of Hindu mythology, and the hero of the Sanskrit classic *Naishadha*.
18. *Hanumān*, can be compared with the monkey-devotee of Rāma of Hindu mythology.
19. *Balirāja*.
20. *Vāsudeva*, to be distinguished from the nine *Vāsudevas*.
21. *Pradyumna*, can compare with his namesake in Hindu mythology, the son of Kṛishṇa through Rukmiṇī.
22. *Nāga-kumāra*, to be distinguished from the *Nāgakumāras*, one of the ten classes of the *Bhavanavāsi-devas*.
23. *Jivandhara*.
24. *Jambūsvāmī*.

Sub-human² and hellish souls³ also come under the head of mundane souls. As in Hinduism they are classified according to the various sufferings they have to undergo. There are no pre-eminently great souls among them such as are found among the human (mortal) class of the non-ascetic group of mundane souls.

DEVAS.

Among the four kinds of mundane souls, *viz.*, human, sub-human, hellish and celestial mentioned above (p. 187) the last are the *devas*, so called because they have

¹ "Thinking this, proud, he stood in that very spot in *kāyotsarga*, his arms hanging down, like a jewelled image . . . Bāhubali, remained there alone, as if sprung up from the earth, as if fallen from the sky. Devoted to meditation, his eyes fixed on the end of his nose, motionless, the *muni* appeared like a sign-post . . . Both of his feet were covered with moss caused by dripping water, like the steps of a deserted village-tank . . . He was surrounded completely by creepers with a hundred branches shooting up, like a drum by leather thongs. Dense clusters of reeds grew up and around him, . . . His feet were surrounded by serpents, like anklets, that had left the ant-hill near his feet. See *Trishatkhilāṅkāra-mahacharitra*, pp. 323-5.

² See above, p. 187, under cosmology for details.

³ *Ibid.*

shining constitutions and the following eight heavenly acquisitions:—(1) power to make their bodies very small (*aṇimā*), (2) power to assume any immense dimension (*mahimā*), (3) power to make their bodies light (*laghimā*), (4) power to make them heavy (*garimā*), (5) power to assume any kind of forms as well as any number of bodies at one time (*sakamā*), (6) power to control others (*vaśitva*), (7) overlordship, *i.e.*, power by which they can show their superiority over others (*īśitva*), (8) power to act as they chose (*prākāmya*).

They have fluid or changeable (*vaikriyika*) bodies¹ which they can change at will. The *deva*-body has no flesh, blood and bones, and knows neither sweating nor excretions; it is ever bright and glorious like "a cloud shot with the shining glory of a rising or setting sun."

There are four broad orders or groups of *devas* and they are—

1. *Bhavanavāsi* or residential *devas* (see p. 171).
2. *Vyantara* or peripatetic *devas* (see p. 171).
3. *Jyotishka* or stellar *devas* (see p. 182).
4. *Vaimānika* or heavenly *devas* (see pp. 183-184).

Each order or group has generally ten grades and they are—

1. *Indra*, of supreme authority, like the king of the land. This grade includes a sub-grade, that of the *Prati-Indra*, whose position will correspond to that of the deputy of *Indra*.

2. *Sāmānika*, not so authoritative as *Indra* but still powerful like teacher or father.

3. *Trayastrīṃśa*, so called because the *devas* coming under this grade are 33 in number. Their position will correspond to that of minister, priest or princes of the common land.

4. *Pārīśad*, like courtiers.

5. *Ātmarakṣa*, like body-guards.

6. *Lokapāla*, like the police and other protectors of the people.

7. *Anika*, corresponds to the army.

8. *Prakṛnaka*, like the people, *i.e.*, villagers and townsmen.

9. *Abhiyogya*.—The *devas* that came under this grade formed themselves into conveyances as horse, lion, bullock, swans, *etc.*, for the other grades of *devas*.²

10. *Kilbishika*, like the servile or lowest castes.

The *Vyantaras* and *Jyotishkas* do not have the *Trayastrīṃśa* and *Lokapāla* grades.

The *Bhavanavāsi*, *Vyantara*, *Jyotishka devas* and the *Vaimānikas* of the first two heavens (to be described below) have bodily sexual enjoyment like human beings.

BHAVANAVĀSI-DEVAS.—The *Bhavanavāsi*—*devas* are of ten classes, and they are.—

1. *Asura-kumāra*, with a crest-jewel cognizance (*chihna*).
2. *Nāga-kumāra*, with a snake hood cognizance.
3. *Suparna-kumāra*, with a garuḍa bird cognizance.

¹ In Jainism mundane souls have always at least three bodies:—(1) *Kārmāṇa* body or the body made up of *kārmā* matter which changes according to the intensity or mildness of the motives and actions we are doing by means of mind, speech and body, (2) *Taijasa* body, luminous or electric body, which is co-extensive with the *kārmāṇa* body, (3) *Ādāraka* body or physical body.

² According to Hemachandra they were like slaves.

4. *Dvīpa-kumāra*, with an elephant cognizance.
5. *Udadhi-kumāra*, with a *makara* cognizance.
6. *Vidyut-kumāra*, with a powder-flask cognizance.
7. *Stamita-kumāra*, with a thunderbolt cognizance.
8. *Dik-kumāra*, with a lion cognizance.
9. *Agni-kumāra*, with a vessel containing fire as his cognizance.
10. *Vāta-kumāra*, with a horse cognizance.

They are all called *kumāras* or youngsters because their lives and actions are like those of playful youths (*kumāras*). All the *Bhavanavāsi-devas* live in the first earth, *Ratna-prabhā*,¹ the *Asura-kumāras* alone living in the *pañka-bhāga* and the other classes living in the *khara-bhāga*. The thought-colours (*leśyas*) of the *Bhavanavāsi-devas* are black, indigo, grey and yellow. Their minimum age is 10,000 years while their maximum is as follows:—

One *sāgara* for *Asura-kumāras*; 3 *palya* for *Nāga-kumāras*; $2\frac{1}{2}$ *palya* for *Suparna-kumāras*; 3 *palya* for *Dvīpa-kumāras*; and $1\frac{1}{2}$ *palya* for the remaining six classes.

The *Asura-kumāras* are 25 bows (*dhanus*) high and the other *kumāras* are 10 bows high. There are 20 *Indras*, two for each of the 10 divisions of the *Bhavanavāsi-devas*. They are arranged as follows:—

Chamara and Vairochana are the two *Indras* of the *Asura-kumāras*. Bhūtānanda and Dharaṇānanda are the *Indras* of the *Nāga-kumāras*. Veṇu and Veṇudhārī are the *Indras* of the *Suparna-kumāras*; Pūrṇa and Vasiṣṭha² of the *Dvīpa-kumāras*; Jalaprabha and Jalakānta of the *Udadhi-kumāras*; Ghosha and Mahāghosha of the *Vidyut-kumāras*; Harisheṇa and Harikānta of the *Stamita-kumāras*; Amitagati and Amitavāhana of the *Dik-kumāras*; Agniśikhī and Agnivāhana of the *Agni-kumāras*; Velamba and Prabhañjana of the *Vāta-kumāras*.

Chamara often fights with Saudharmendra; Bhūtānanda with Veṇu. From Vairochana onwards the enmity is between the alternating *Indras*, as for instance between Vairochana and Dharaṇānanda and so on.

VIANTARA-DEVAS.—There are eight classes of these *devas*:—

1. *Kinnara*, with the *āsoka* tree as cognizance.³
2. *Kimpurnsha*, with the *chāmpaka* as cognizance.
3. *Mahoraga*, with the *nāga* tree as cognizance.
4. *Gandharva*, with the *tumburu* tree as cognizance.
5. *Yaksha*, with the banyan tree as cognizance.
6. *Rākshasa*, with the *kaṇṭa* tree⁴ as cognizance.
7. *Bhūta*, with the *tulasī* plant as cognizance.⁵
8. *Piśācha*, with the *kadamba* tree as cognizance.

Some of the *Vyantara-devas* live in the innumerable oceans and continents of the middle world.⁶ The *Rākshasas* live in the *pañka-bhāga* of *Ratnaprabhā*, while the other seven classes live in the *khara-bhāga* of the same earth.

¹ See above, p. 171 for details.

² Here the trees, though they are the distinguishing marks, are spoken of as *ekadya-taru*. See *Trilokaiśvara*, v. 253.

³ *Kāṣṭhā* tree according to Hemachandra.

⁴ *Sulasa* tree according to Hemachandra.

⁵ See above, pp. 171, 179 under cosmology for details.

The maximum age of the *Vyantara-devas* is a little over one *palya* while the minimum is 10,000 years. Their height is 10 bows (*dhanus*). There are 16 *Indras* for the whole order, two for each class, each with his own deputy or *Prati-Indra*. The *Indras* are arranged as follows:—

Kinnara and Kimpurusha are the *Indras* of the Kinnara class, Satpurusha and Mahapurusha of the Kimpurusha class, Mahākāya and Atikāya of the *Mahoraga* class, Gitarati and Gitayaśas of the *Gandharva* class, Mañibhadra and Pūrṇabhadra of the *Yaksha* class, Bhīma and Mahābhīma of the *Rākshasas*, Surūpa and Prati-rūpa¹ of the *Bhūtas*, and Kāla and Mahākāla of the *Pisāchas*. Each *Indra* has two principal consorts (*vallabhikā*).

Each class of *Vyantara-devas* is subdivided as follows:—

Kinnara has 10 subdivisions—1. Kimpurusha, 2. Kinnara, 3. Hridayaṅgama, 4. Rūpapālī, 5. Kinnara-kinnara, 6. Anindita, 7. Manorama, 8. Kinnarottama, 9. Ratipriya and 10. Jyeshtha.

Kimpurusha has 10 subdivisions—1. Purusha, 2. Purushottama, 3. Satpurusha, 4. Mahapurusha, 5. Purushaprabha, 6. Atipurusha, 7. Maru, 8. Marudeva, 9. Marutprabha and 10. Yaśasvān.

Mahoraga has 10 subdivisions—1. Bhujaga, 2. Bhujagaśālī, 3. Mahākāya, 4. Atikāya, 5. Skandhaśālī, 6. Manohara, 7. Aśanijava, 8. Mahaiśvarya, 9. Gambhīra and 10. Priyadarśin.

Gandharva has 10 subdivisions—1. Hāhā, 2. Hūhū, 3. Nārada, 4. Tumburu, 5. ? 6. Kadamba, 7. Vāsava, 8. Mahāśvara, 9. Gitarati and 10. Gitayaśas.

Yaksha has 12 subdivisions—1. Mañibhadra, 2. Pūrṇabhadra, 3. Śailabhadra, 4. Manobhadra, 5. Bhadraka, 6. Subhadra, 7. Sarvabhadra, 8. Mānusha, 9. Dhanapāla, 10. Surūpa-yaksha, 11. Yakshottama and 12. Manohara.

Rākshasa has seven subdivisions—1. Bhīma, 2. Mahābhīma, 3. Vighnavināyaka², 4. Uḍaku, 5. Rākshasa, 6. Rākshasarākshasa and 7. Brahmarākshasa.

Bhūta has seven subdivisions—1. Surūpa, 2. Prati-rūpa, 3. Bhūtottama, 4. Prati-bhūta, 5. Mahābhūta, 6. Praticchhanna and 7. Ākāśabhūta.

Pisācha has 14 subdivisions—1. Kūshmāṇḍa, 2. Rakshas, 3. Yakshas, 4. Sammoha, 5. Tāraka, 6. Aśuchi, 7. Kāla, 8. Mahākāla, 9. Śuchi, 10. Satalaka, 11. Deha, 12. Mahādeha, 13. Tūshṭika and 14. Pravachana.³

JYOTISHKA-DEVAS.—There are five classes of them:—1. Suns, 2. Moons, 3. Planets, 4. Constellations and 5. Scattered stars.⁴

¹ Aprati-rūpa according to Hemachandra.

² Corresponds to the Hindu *Ganaka*.

³ According to Hemachandra the *Vyantaras* are divided as follows:—In the first 100 *yojanas* of *Ratnaprabha*, with the exception of 10 above and 10 below, i.e., in 80 *yojanas*, there are 8 classes of *Vyantaras*: Aprajñaptikas, Pisāchaprājñaptis, Rishivāditas, Bhūtavāditas, Kranditas, Mahākranditas, Kūshmāṇḍas, Pachakas. The two *Indras* in these classes are respectively, Sammūhita and Samāna; Dhātṛi and Vidhātṛika; Rishi and Rishipāla; Īvara and Mahāīvara; Suvatsaka and Viśala; Hāsa and Hāsarati; Śveta and Mahāśveta; Pachaka and Pachakādhipa—*Trishashatīlākāpurāṇacharitra*, p. 383.

Mrs. Stevenson calls the above subdivisions *Pāṇavāntaras* and assigns them the lower regions. See *Heart of Jātum*, p. 270.

⁴ See above, pp. 182-183 under cosmology for details.

Their *Indra* is the sun and *Prati-Indra* the moon. Their maximum age is a little over one *palya*, while their minimum is $\frac{1}{8}$ *palya*. The suns and moons have each 16,000 *Abhiyogika-devas*, the planets 8,000, the constellations 4,000 and the scattered stars 2,000.

VAIMĀNIKA-DEVAS.—They are of two classes:—1. *Kalpapapannas* or *Kalpavāsi-devas*, born in the *kalpas* which are 16 in number¹ and 2. *Kalpātittas*, born beyond the *kalpas*, i.e., in the nine *Grāiveyakas*, nine *Anudīśas* and five *Anuttaras*². Those that live in the *kalpas* are named after the heavens in which they live. There are 12 *Indras* for these 16 *kalpas* and they are distributed as follows:—

1. Saudharma-*Indra* for the first heaven, Saudharma. He corresponds to the Hindu Devendra and his wife is Śachī. He is much the most important, being the only one commonly sculptured; he is frequently figured also with his wife Śachī on ceilings and on the lower jambs of the doorways of temples.

2. Īśāna-*Indra* in the second *kalpa*, Aīśāna.

3. Sanatkumāra-*Indra* in the third, Sanatkumāra.

4. Māhendra in the fourth, Māhendra.

5. Brahmendra in the fifth and sixth *kalpas*, Brahma and Brahmottara.

6. Lāntava in the seventh and eighth, Lāntava and Kāpishṭa.

7. Śukra in the ninth and tenth, Śukra and Mahāśukra.

8. Śatāra in the eleventh and twelfth, Śatāra and Sahasrāra.

9. Ānata in the thirteenth, Ānata.

10. Prāṇata in the fourteenth, Prāṇata.

11. Āraṇa in the fifteenth, Āraṇa.

12. Achyuta in the sixteenth, Achyuta.

There are no grades nor *Indras*³ in the heavens beyond the *kalpas*, viz., the *Grāiveyakas*, *Anudīśas* and *Anuttaras*,⁴ for the inhabitants of those heavens are called "Ahamindras" (i.e., lit. "I am Indra") and are all alike.

The *devas* are spontaneously born, without either pregnancy or labour attendant upon their birth. A mundane soul to be born as a *deva* rises as it were from a couch (*śayyā*) of "divine space." There is no neuter sex in the upper world. In each heaven

¹ See above p. 183 under cosmology for details.

² See above pp. 183-184 under cosmology.

³ The total number of *Indras* in the Jaina pantheon is 100 and is arrived at as follows:—

	<i>Indra</i>	<i>Prati-Indra</i>
Bhavanavāsi-devas	20	20
Vyantara-devas	16	16
Jyotiṣṭha-devas	1	1
Vaimānika-devas	12	12
Human	4	—
Sub-human	1	—
	51	49 = Total 100.

The *Indra* of human beings is called Chakravartī and the *Indra* of sub-human beings Singha. Both have no *Prati-Indras*.

⁴ See above, pp. 183-184 under cosmology.

there are many *devīs*, each *deva* having many *devīs* in his family. No *deva* has less than 32 *devīs*. Each *deva* and *devī* has a retinue of numerous minor *devas* and *devīs*, and also a host of *vāhanas*, elephants, horses, bulls, etc. It should be noted that every animal is an *abhiyogya-deva* or menial *deva* transformed on account of his fluid body.

The *devas* of the first two *kalpas* as well as all beings living below them have physical sexual union. The *devas* in the third and fourth *kalpas* have sexual gratification by touch only; in the fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth *kalpas* by sight only, *i.e.*, by seeing their loved ones; in the ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth *kalpas* by sound alone, *i.e.*, by songs, etc.; in the thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth *kalpas* by mind only, *i.e.*, by contemplating the charms of their beloved. The heavenly beings beyond the sixteenth *kalpa* have no sexual impulse, and there are no *devīs*, the only sex that is known there being the male sex. Their bliss is infinite, unlike that of the *devas* who marry.

In the fifth *kalpa*, Brahma, which is situated in the upper world in the place that corresponds to the elbow of the man representing the universe (pl. xxxvii), live a special kind of *devas* called *Laukāntikas* so called because they have reached the end of the universe. They are called *deva-rishis* because they are all alike, independent and without sexual desire. They are of 24 classes in the following eight groups:—*Sārasvata*, *Āditya*, *Vahni*, *Aruṇa*, *Gardatoya*, *Tushita*, *Avyābādha* and *Arishta*. The total number of the *Laukāntikas* is given as 407,806. They descend and attend to the *Tīrthaṅkaras* when the latter get the spirit of "world-flight" (*vairāgya*).¹ Their good offices, coupled with the fact that they are in their celestial incarnation, entitles them to be born as human beings in their next birth and to attain liberation then.

In *Saudharma* there are 32 lakhs of palaces of the *devas*; in *Aiśāna*, *Sanatkumāra*, *Māhendra*, and *Brahma* there are 28, 12, 8 and 4 lakhs, respectively. There are 50,000 in *Lāntava*, 40,000 in *Śukra*, 6,000 in *Sahasrāra*, 400 in *Ānata* and *Prāṇata*, and 300 in *Āraṇa* and *Achyuta*. In the first three *Graiveyakas* there are 111, in the middle three 107, and in the last three 100 palaces. There are only five in the five *Anuttaras*, one for each. Women are born up to *Aiśāna*, ascetics are born up to the *Jyotishkas*, wandering monks are born up to *Brahma-kalpa*, five-sensed creatures are born up to *Sahasrāra*, laymen are born up to *Achyuta*, and monks having wrong belief but observing the austerities in good faith up to the *Graiveyakas*. Those who have studied the 14 *pūrvas* are born from *Brahma-kalpa* up to the last *Anuttara-vimāna*. Monks and laymen of good behaviour are born at least in the first *kalpa*.

The thought-colours (*śeṣyas*) of the *devas* are as follows:—Yellow in the first and second *kalpas*; yellow-pink in the third and fourth *kalpas*; pink in fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth and tenth *kalpas*; pink-white in eleventh and twelfth *kalpas*; white in the remaining four *kalpas* and the higher regions which are collectively called *kalpātītas* as opposed to the *kalpas*.

¹ See above, pp. 94-95.

The maximum and minimum ages of the *devas* are as follows:—A little over two *sāgaras* is the maximum age in the first and second *kalpas*, while the minimum in these two *kalpas* is a little over one *palya*; in the third and fourth *kalpas* the maximum is a little over seven *sāgaras*. Further on the maximum age of the preceding *kalpa* becomes the minimum for the next *kalpa*. The maximum age in the fifth and sixth *kalpas* is a little over ten *sāgaras*. The age of the *Laukāntikas* who live in the fifth *kalpa* is eight *sāgaras* which is both the minimum and the maximum for them, while the minimum for the other *devas* in the same *kalpa* is seven *sāgaras* (the maximum of the fourth *kalpa*) and the maximum ten *sāgaras*. The maximum age in the seventh and eighth *kalpas* is a little over fourteen *sāgaras*; in the ninth and tenth a little over sixteen *sāgaras*; in the eleventh and twelfth a little over eighteen *sāgaras*; in the thirteenth and fourteenth twenty *sāgaras* and in the fifteenth and sixteenth 22 *sāgaras*. In each of the nine *Graiveyakas* it increases by one *sāgara*, i.e., it is 23 to 31 *sāgaras*, respectively. In the nine *Anudīśas* it is 32 *sāgaras*; in the first four *Anuttaras* it is 33 *sāgaras* as a rule but in the last *Anuttara*, *Sarvārthasiddhi*, it is never less than 33 *sāgaras*.

The size of the *devas* goes on decreasing as we go up to the higher heavens. Thus:—

In the first and second *kalpas* it is about seven hands or cubits (*hasta*).

In the third and fourth *kalpas* it is about six hands or cubits (*hasta*).

In the fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth *kalpas* it is about five hands or cubits (*hasta*).

In the ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth *kalpas* it is about four hands or cubits (*hasta*).

In the thirteenth and fourteenth *kalpas* it is about three and a half hands or cubits (*hasta*).

In the fifteenth and sixteenth *kalpas* it is about three hands or cubits (*hasta*).

In the first, second and third *Graiveyakas* it is two and a half hands or cubits (*hasta*).

In the fourth, fifth and sixth *Graiveyakas* it is two hands or cubits (*hasta*).

In the seventh, eighth and ninth *Graiveyakas* it is one and a half hands or cubits (*hasta*).

In the *Anudīśas* it is one hand or cubit (*hasta*).

In the five *Anuttaras* also it is one hand or cubit (*hasta*).

The *devas* breathe extremely slowly, for their respiration occurs only at fixed interval, which is of a fortnight for each *sāgara* of their maximum age. Thus, for instance, the *devas* of the first and second *kalpas*, whose maximum age is a little over two *sāgaras* breathe once in two fortnights, i.e., once a month.

The *devas* have the sensation of hunger, though they do not ordinarily take food. It arises at fixed intervals, the intervals being the number of years which is 1,000 times the number of *sāgaras* constituting their maximum age. Thus as the maximum age of the *devas* of the first two *kalpas* is a little over two *sāgaras* their hunger interval works to

2,000 years. If we compare the hunger interval with the respiration period we find that a *deva* has the sensation of hunger in 2,000 years, if one respiration takes a month or two fortnights; in other words one hunger interval covers 24,000 respirations, as 2,000 years have 24,000 months.

From the first *kalpa* onwards up to *Sarvārthasiddhi* the *devas* become stronger in each successive heaven in respect of duration of life, power, enjoyment, brilliance, purity of *leśya* (thought-colour), sense-faculties, and visual or clairvoyant knowledge; in respect of attachment to worldly objects, pride, height of body and sexual impulses they become weaker and weaker successively. All the *devas* usually have pleasant feelings, but if they cherish any unpleasant ones these last only for one *antarmuhūrta*.

The *devas* of the *kalpas* attend the ceremonial worship of the Tirthaṅkaras whenever the five kinds of auspicious events (*pañchakalyāṇas*) associated with every Tirthaṅkara happen; but the *Ahamindras* do not go out of their heavens, merely worshipping the Tirthaṅkaras on those occasions by placing their hands in *añjali* over their heads.

OTHER DEVAS AND DEVĪS.

Among other celestial souls that are pre-eminently great, mention may be made of sixteen *Vidyā-devīs* or *devīs* of learning common to both the sects, who are included among the *Yakṣiṇīs* described above (pp. 193, 195). They are as follows:—

1. Rohiṇī, 2. Prajñaptī, 3. Vajrasṛṅkhala, 4. Kulīśāṅkuṣā, 5. Chakreśvarī, 6. Nara-dattā, 7. Kālī, 8. Mahākālī, 9. Gaurī, 10. Gāndhārī, 11. Sarvāstramahājvalā, 12. Mānavī, 13. Vairotṣyā, 14. Achchhuptā, 15. Mānasī, 16. Mahāmānasikā.

Sarasvatī, the Hindu goddess of learning, is regarded as a messenger (*śāsanadevī*) of all the Tirthaṅkaras and is figured in temples and private houses. She is usually shown with four hands but sometimes with two hands only. In the former case she ordinarily holds a *vinā* in two of her hands, and a lotus or rosary and a book in the other two; in the latter the *vinā* is alone held by both her hands. The swan (*haṁsa*) is her cognizance or *vāhana*. Sometimes, however, her upper hands hold a goad and noose and her lower hands a rosary and book; and the hair on her head is arranged in the form of a *jatā-makuta*. There is a bronze image of *Sarasvatī*, almost modern looking, used in worship in the Tiruparuttikunram temple (pl. xxxv, fig. 2) which answers this description pretty strictly.

In some Jaina temples large figures are shown as guards or *Dvārapālas* at the entrance of shrines as in Hindu temples, who can be treated as *devas*. The *Dikpālas* or the guardians of the quarters, the *Yoginīs*, *Jñātidevatās* and Hanumān that have representations in the larger Jaina temples can also be classed under *devas*, though perhaps Hanumān alone, who compares well with the Hindu monkey-devotee of Rāma, can be treated as a pre-eminently great soul among the sub-human class of mundane souls¹.

¹ See above, pp. 187, 227.

Jaina iconography finds a place, as does Hindu iconography, for the *Kshetrapālas* who have to be classed under *devas*. Their functions are much the same as those of the Hindu Gaṇeśa and Vishvaksena, being removal of obstacles from the way of their devotees. They are classed by Āśādhara under the *Yaksha* group of the *Vyantara-devas*¹. They are—

1. Māṇibhadra ; 2. Bhairava. There is a stone image of Bhairava in worship in the temple of Tiruparuttikunṇam which is similar in every respect to the Hindu form of this deity ; 3. Virabhadra² ; 4. Jaya ; and 5. Vijaya³.

¹ See above, pp. 229-230.

² Can be compared with the Hindu Virabhadra.

³ Āśādhara, *Pūjapāṭha*, p. 78 :—

Prathamā Māṇibhadraika dvitīya Bhairava-tatāḥ |
Tritīya Virabhadra-cha caturtha Jayajunhākaḥ ||
Pañcama Vijaya-chaivam Kshetrapālā ami turāḥ |
Yakṣe kṛte bhavāḥ kṛyātāḥ vīṛav:ghānavighātakāḥ ||

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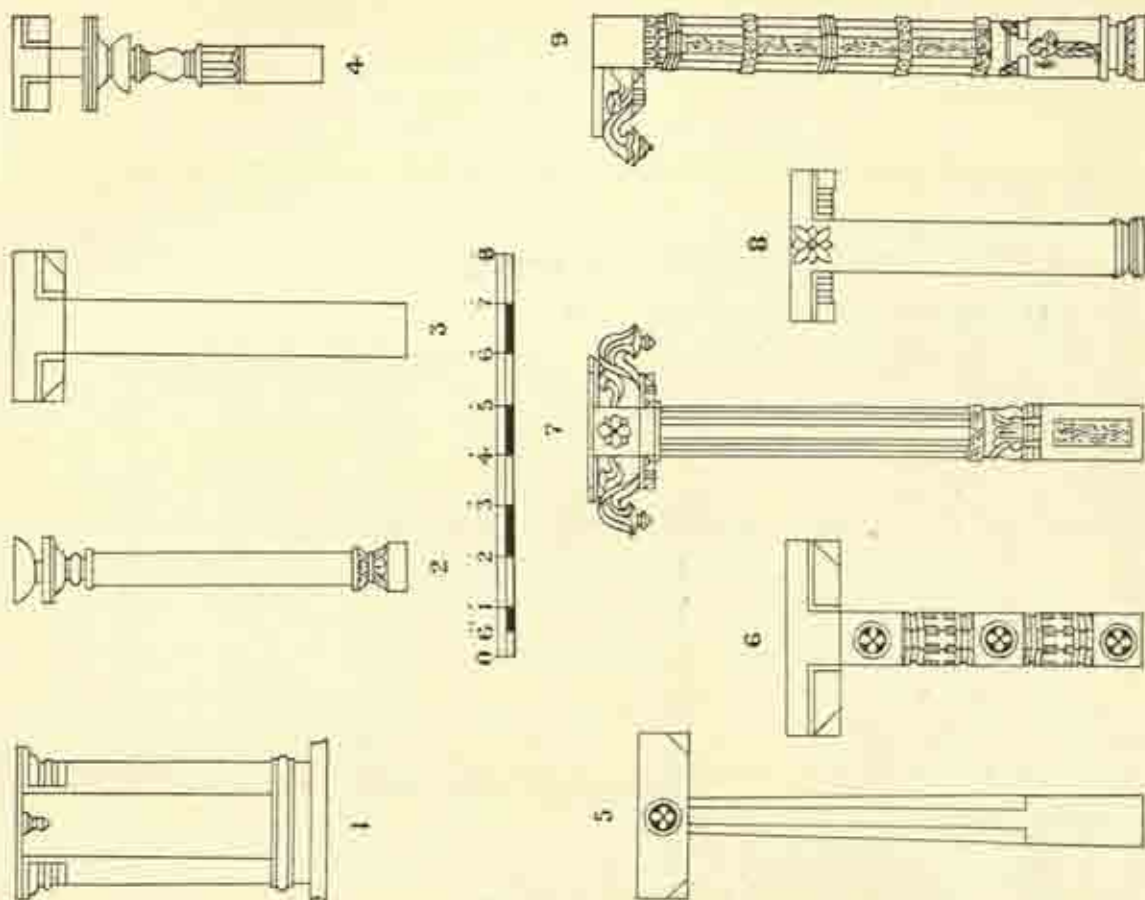
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PLATE I.

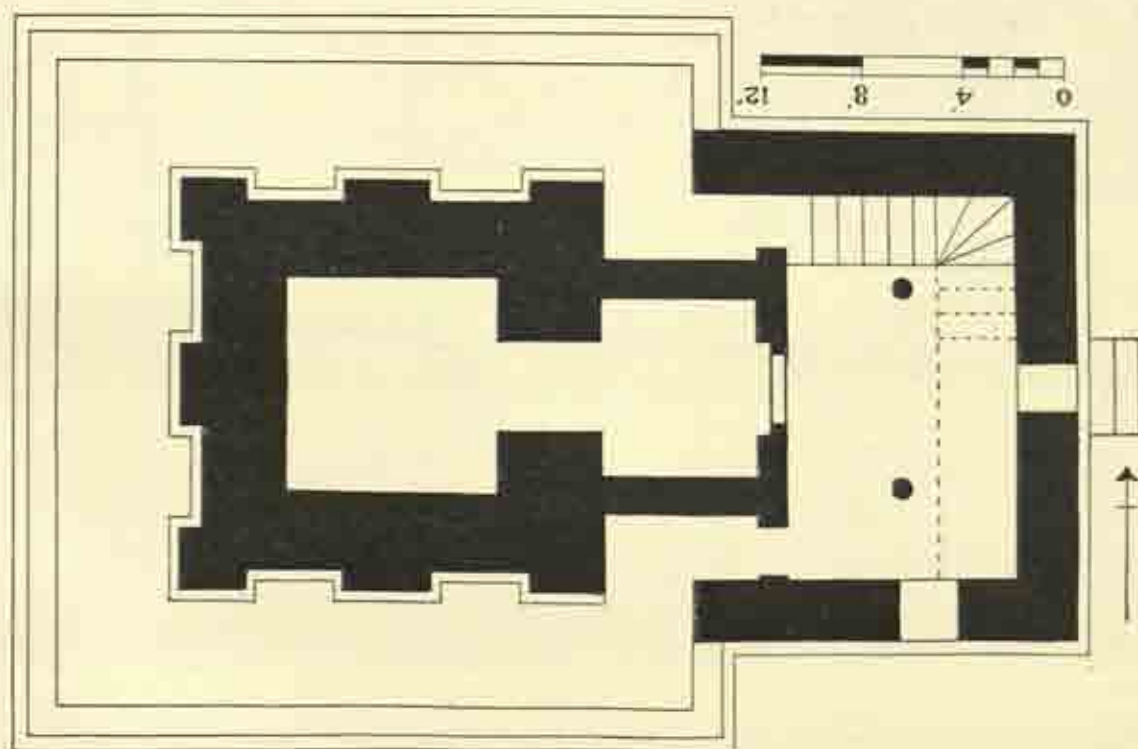
A. Ground plan of Chandraprabha temple.

B. Details of architecture—

- | | |
|--|------------------------------|
| 1. Pallava niche (Rājasimha style). | } From Chandraprabha temple, |
| 2. Pallava pilaster (do.). | |
| 3. Chola pillar (870—1250 A.D.). | } From Vardhamāna temple. |
| 4. Chola pilaster (do.). | |
| 5. Early Vijayanagara pillar (1350—1450 A.D.). | |
| 6. Late Chola pillar (1070—1250 A.D.). | |
| 7. Early Vijayanagara pillar (1350—1450 A.D.). | |
| 8. Do. do. | |
| 9. Do. do. | |



B
DETAILS OF ARCHITECTURE.

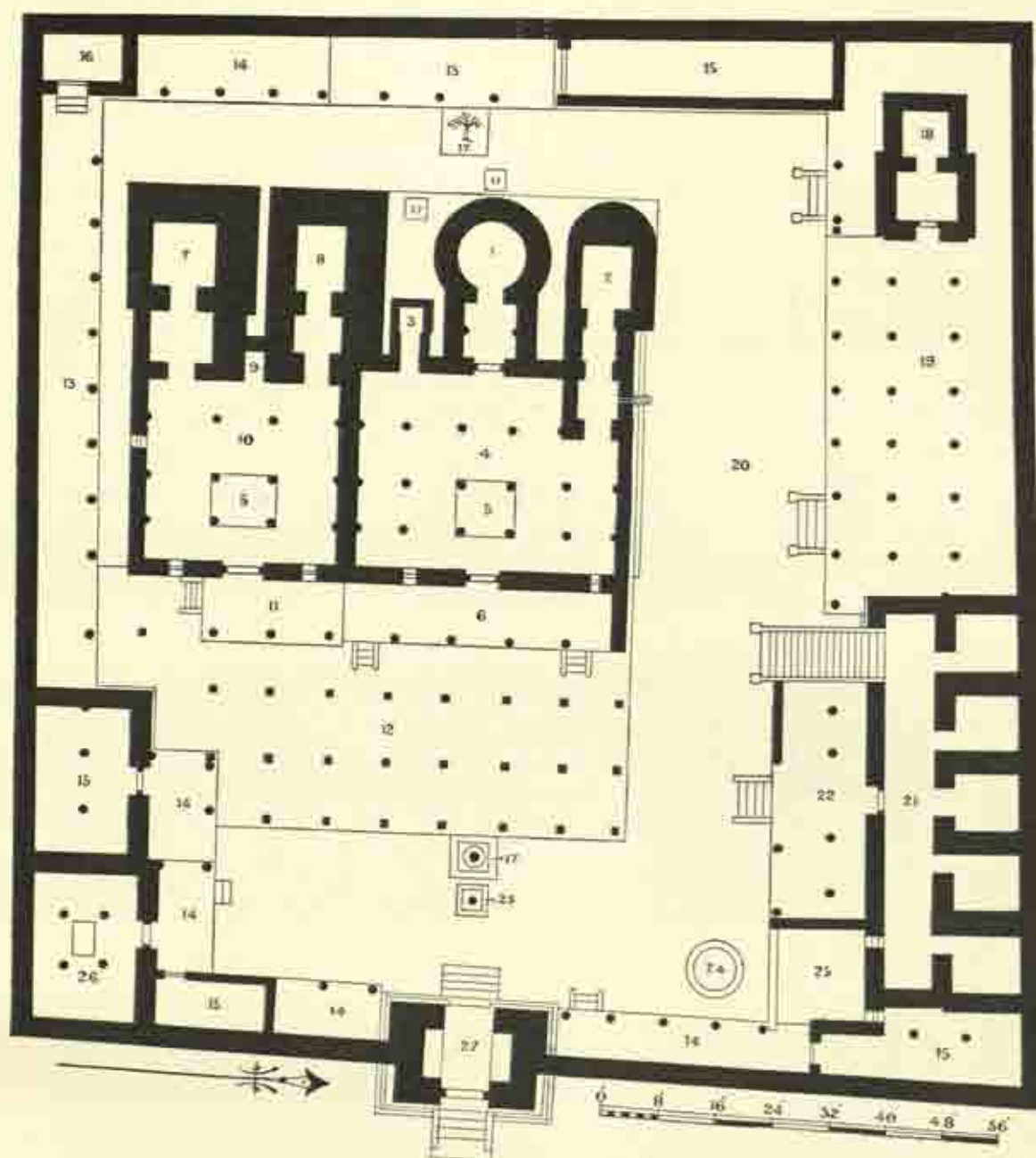


A
PLAN OF CHANDUKAPRABHA TEMPLE.

PLATE II.

Ground plan of Vardhamāna temple—

1. Vardhamāna shrine.
2. Pushpadanta do.
3. Dharmadevi do.
4. Vardhamāna-Ardhamandapa.
5. Elevations.
6. Vardhamāna-Mukhamandapa.
7. Padmaprabha shrine
8. Vāsudējya shrine
9. Pārśvanātha shrine
10. Trikūṭa-Basti-Ardhamandapa.
11. Trikūṭa-Basti-Mukhamandapa.
12. Saṅgīta-Mandapa.
13. Cloister.
14. Verandas.
15. Store-rooms.
16. Brahmadeva shrine.
17. Balipīṭhas, one with the "Kōra " tree on it.
18. Rishabhadeva shrine.
19. Śanti-Mandapa.
20. Processional path.
21. Munivāsa.
22. Munivāsa-Mandapa.
23. Dhvaja-Stambha or flag-staff.
24. Temple well.
25. A small garden.
26. Kitchen (maṇḍapaḥi).
27. Gopura.



PLAN OF VARDHAMANA TEMPLE.

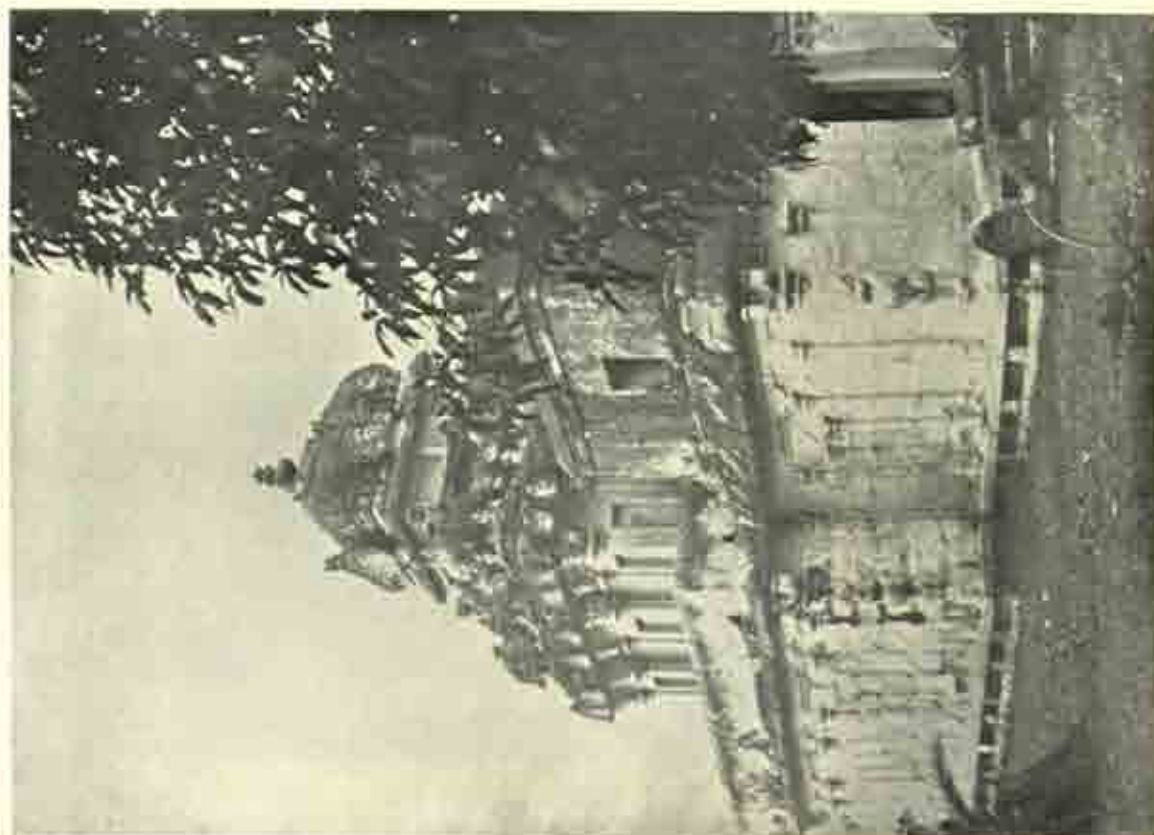
PLATE III

1. Chandraprabha temple.
2. Image of Vardhamāna from the Vardhamāna shrine, Vardhamāna temple.



2

IMAGE OF VARDHAMANA.

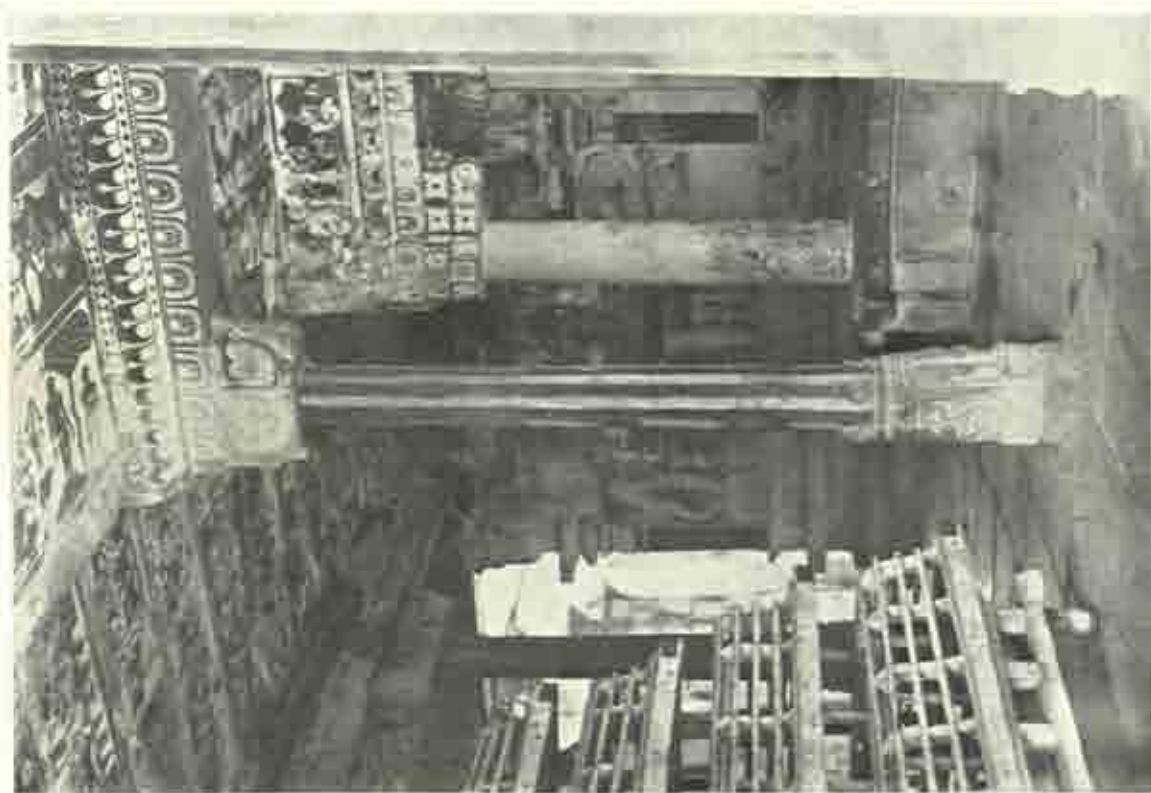


1

CHANDRAPRABHA TEMPLE.

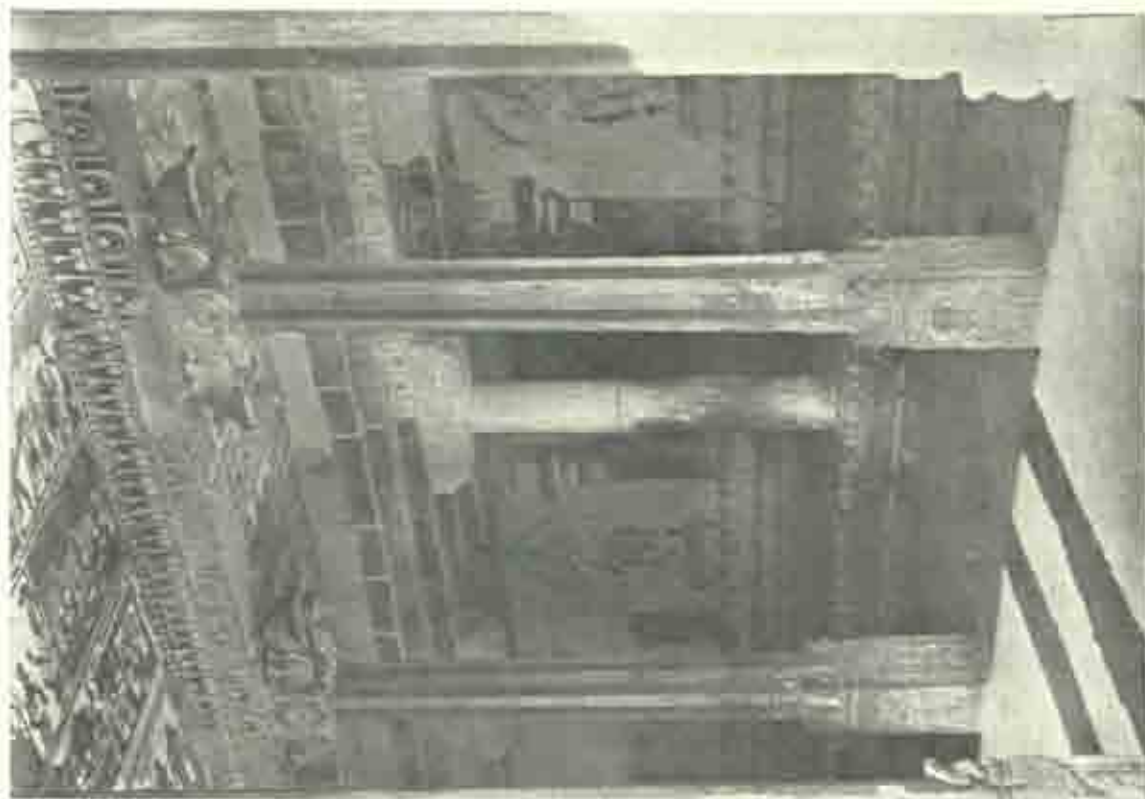
PLATE IV.

1. Left wing of Saṅgita-Maṇḍapa, Vardhamāna temple.
2. Right wing of do. do.



1

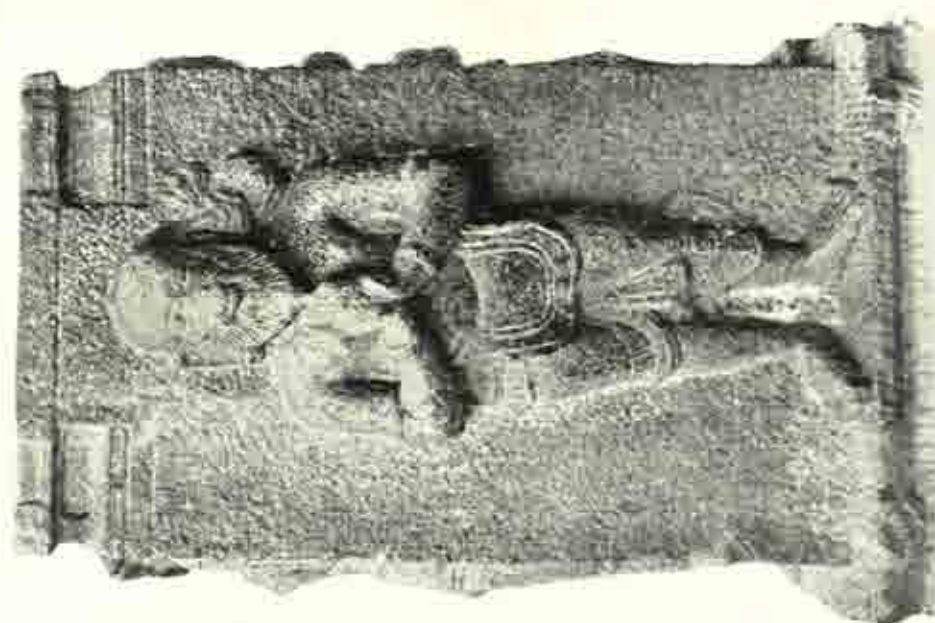
SANGITA-MANDAPA, VARDHAMANA TEMPLE



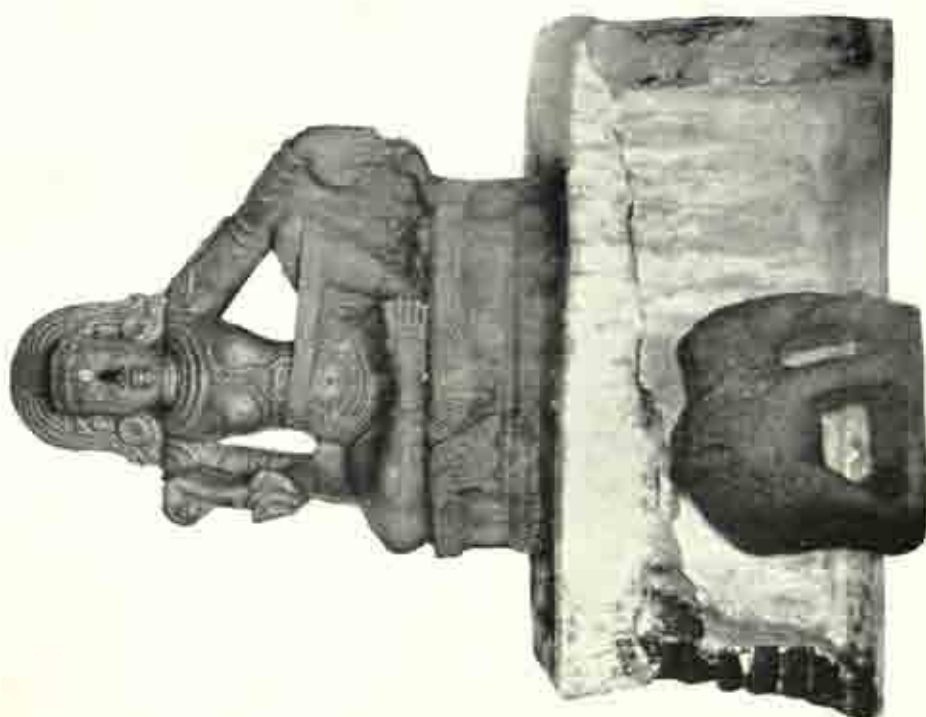
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PLATE V.

1. Portrait of Irugappa from Saṅgita-Maṇḍapa, Vardhamāna temple.
2. Brahmadeva Yaksha, Vardhamāna temple.



1
TRUGAPPA.



2
BRAHMADEVA YAKSHA.

PLATE VI.

1. Fragment of early painting showing floral design, Saṅgita-Maṇḍapa.
2. Do. women on horseback, Saṅgita-Maṇḍapa.
3. Do. floral design, Saṅgita-Maṇḍapa.
4. *Samādhi* of five sages from Aruṇagiri-mēḍu, Tiruparuttikunram.

1



2



3

4



EARLY PAINTINGS; SAMADHI.

PLATE VII

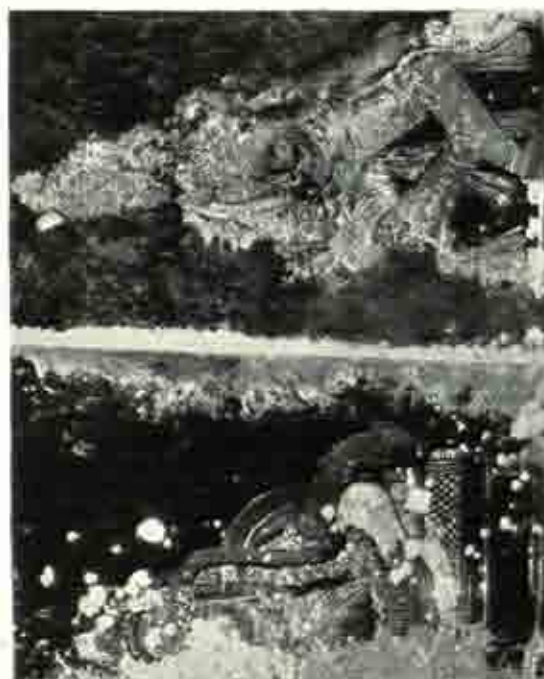
Fragments of early painting representing scenes from the life of Vardhamāna—

1. Subduing Saṅgama.
2. Saudharmendra's dance before Vardhamāna after returning from *janmābhisheka*.
3. *Samavasāraṇa* of Vardhamāna.
4. *Janmābhisheka* of Vardhamāna.
5. Nativity of Vardhamāna.

3



2



1



5



4

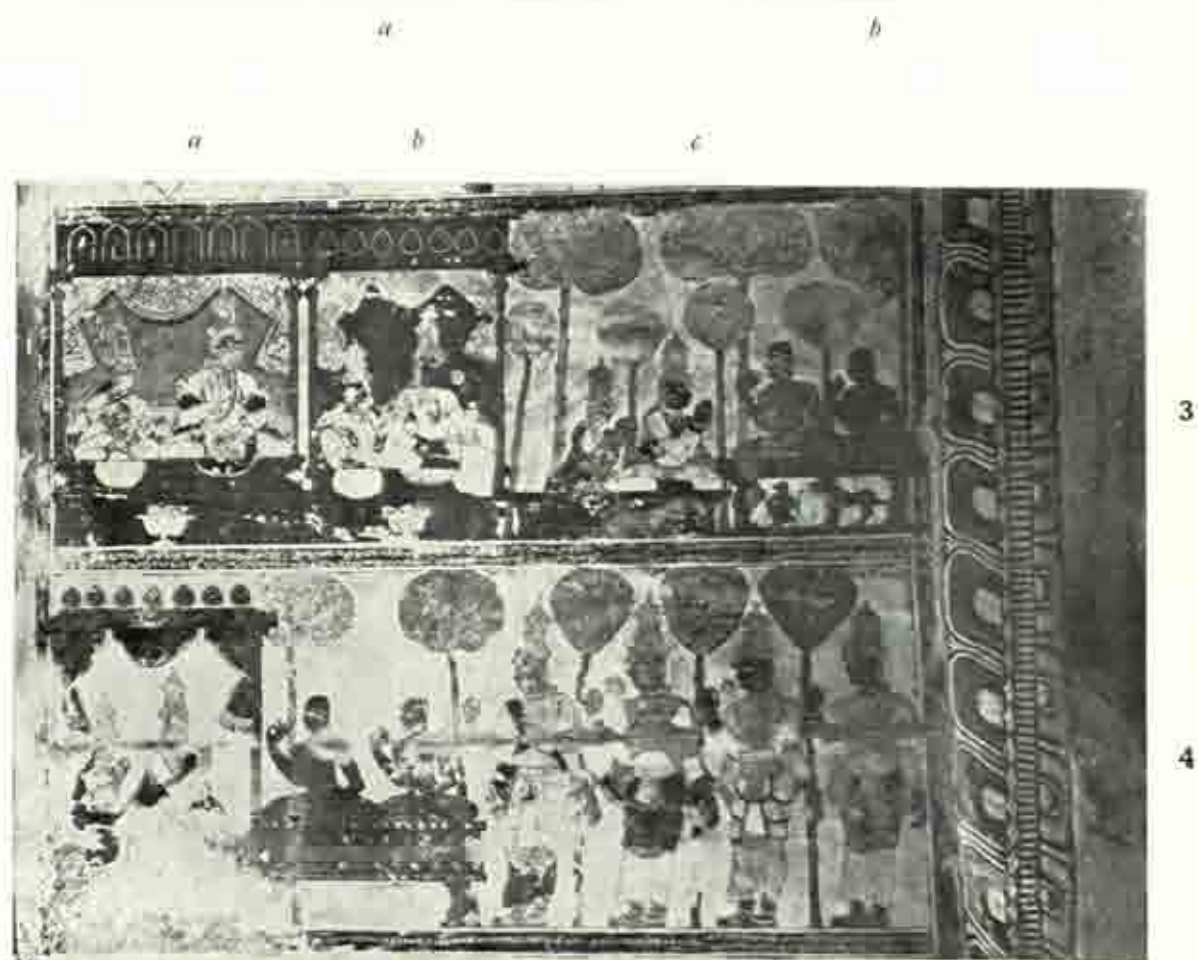


EARLY PAINTING; SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF VARDHAMANA.

PLATE VIII

Scenes from the life of Rishabhadeva, the first Tirthaṅkara—

1. (a) Śrīsheṇa Mahārāja and his queen Sundarī.
(b) Śrīvarman.
(c) Jayavarman receiving *dīkshā* at the hands of Svayamprabha.
(d) Death of Jayavarman by snake-bite.
2. (a) The Vidyādhara king Mahābala and his wife listening to their minister Svayambuddha.
(b) Mahābala performing with his minister *āshtāṇhika-vrata* in Siddhakūta-chaityālaya.
3. (a) The *deva* Lalitāṅga and his wife Svayamprabhā.
(b) King Vajrajaṅgha and his wife Śrīmātī.
(c) King Vajrajaṅgha and Śrīmātī hearing from *chārāṇa* sages their previous births, along with their minister, priest, general and treasurer. Four animals, a tiger, monkey, boar and mongoose also listen.
4. The king and queen who were born as a couple in *Uttamabhogabhūmī* listening to *dharma* from *chārāṇa* sages. The four animals, tiger, monkey, boar and mongoose of the previous birth are now born as Āryas and are also listening to *dharma* from the same sages.



SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF RISHABHADEVA.

PLATE IX.

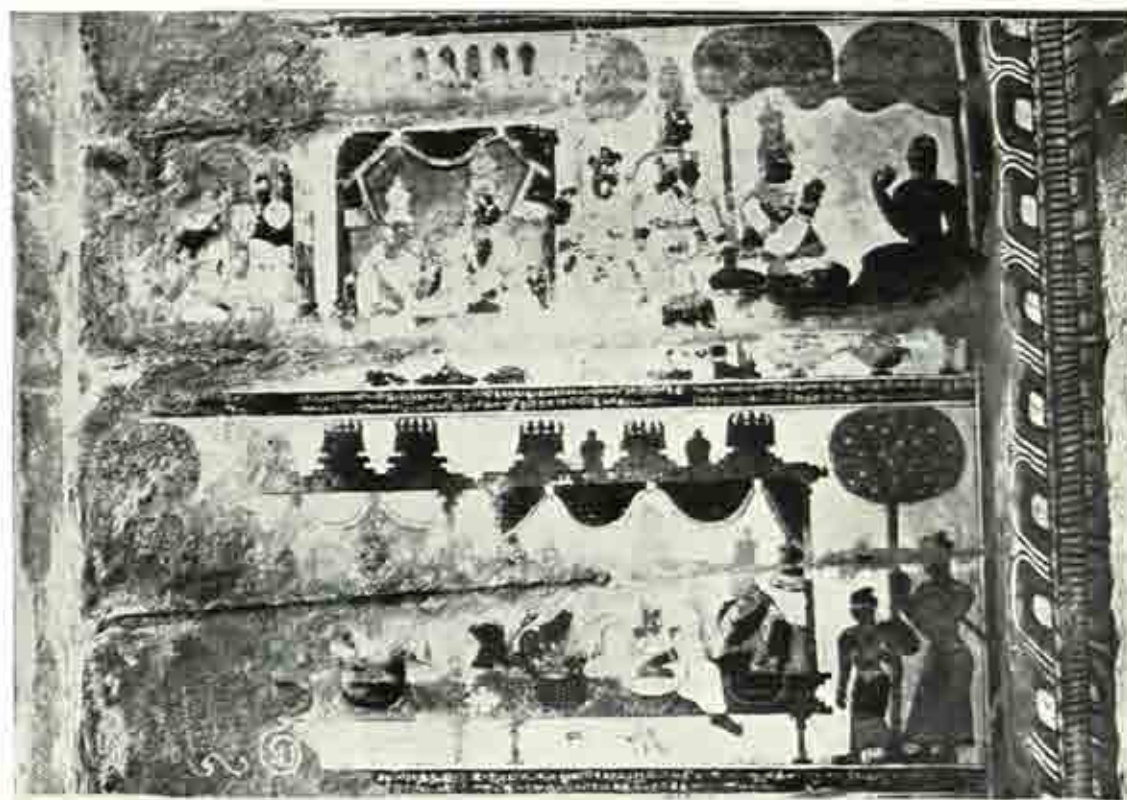
Scenes from the life of Rishabhadeva—

5. (a) The *deva* Śrīdhara and his wife.
(b) King Suvidhi and his wife Manoramā.
(c) Disgusted with worldly life Suvidhi received *dāksṃā* from a sage.
6. (a) Achyutendra and his wife.
(b) King Vajranābhi and his queens.
7. (a) Vajranābhi's minister Dhanadeva-śreṣṭhi going in a palanquin.
(b) Aparājita riding an elephant.
(c) Vaijayanta and Jayanta riding an elephant.
8. (a) Subāhu and Mahābāhu riding a chariot.
(b) Piṭha on elephant-back.
(c) Mahāpiṭha and Vijaya riding horses.

a

b

c



5

6

a

b

a

b

c



7

8

a

b

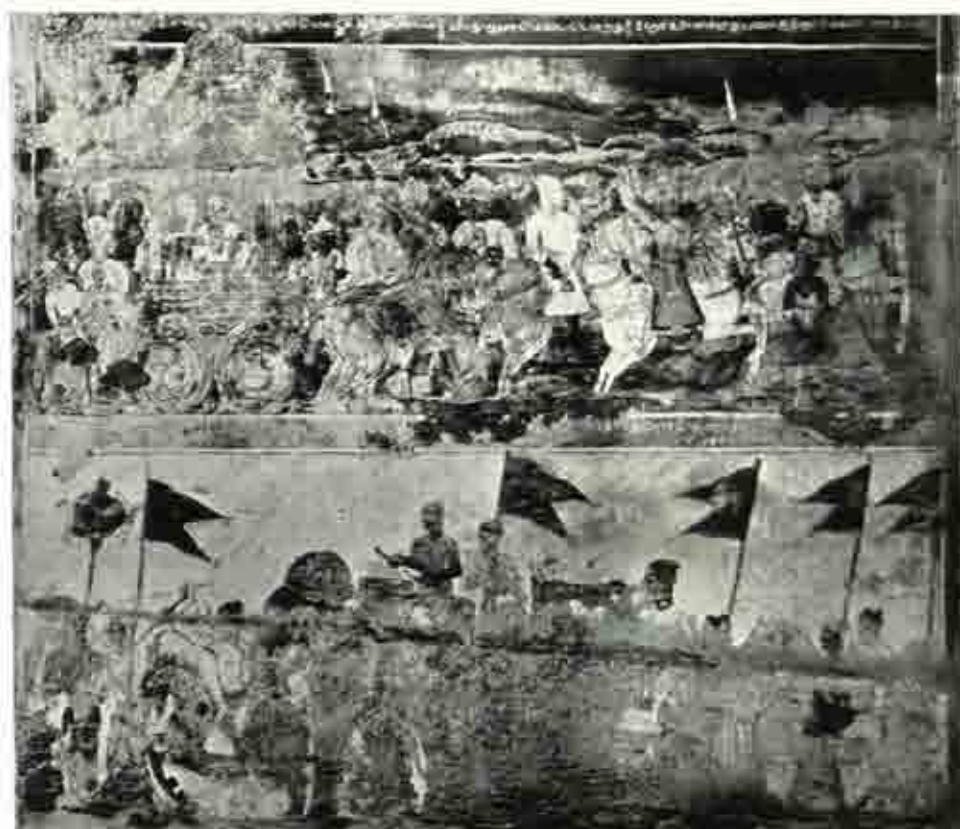
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SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF RISHABHADEVA.

PLATE X.

Scenes from the life of Rishabhadeva—

9. Vajranābhi going with his brothers and merchant-friend to Vajrasena Tīrthāṅkara to hear from the latter an exposition of *dharma*.
10. Do, do, do.
11. (a) Vajranābhi receiving *dīkṣā* at the hands of Vajrasena Tīrthāṅkara.
(b) Vajranābhi born as an *Ahamindra-deva*, in the heaven Sarvārthasiddhi.
12. The king's brothers and merchant-friend also born as *Ahamindra-devas*.
13. The ten *kalpaka-vṛkṣas* or "wish-trees."

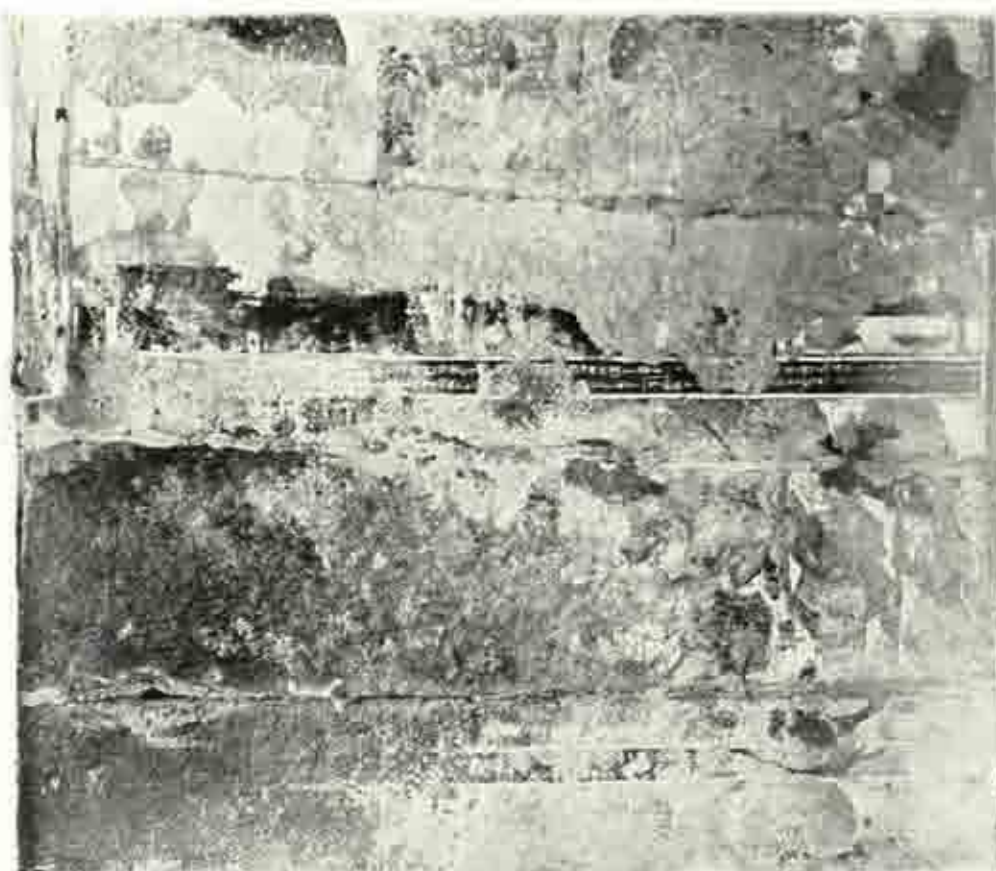


9

10

a

b



11

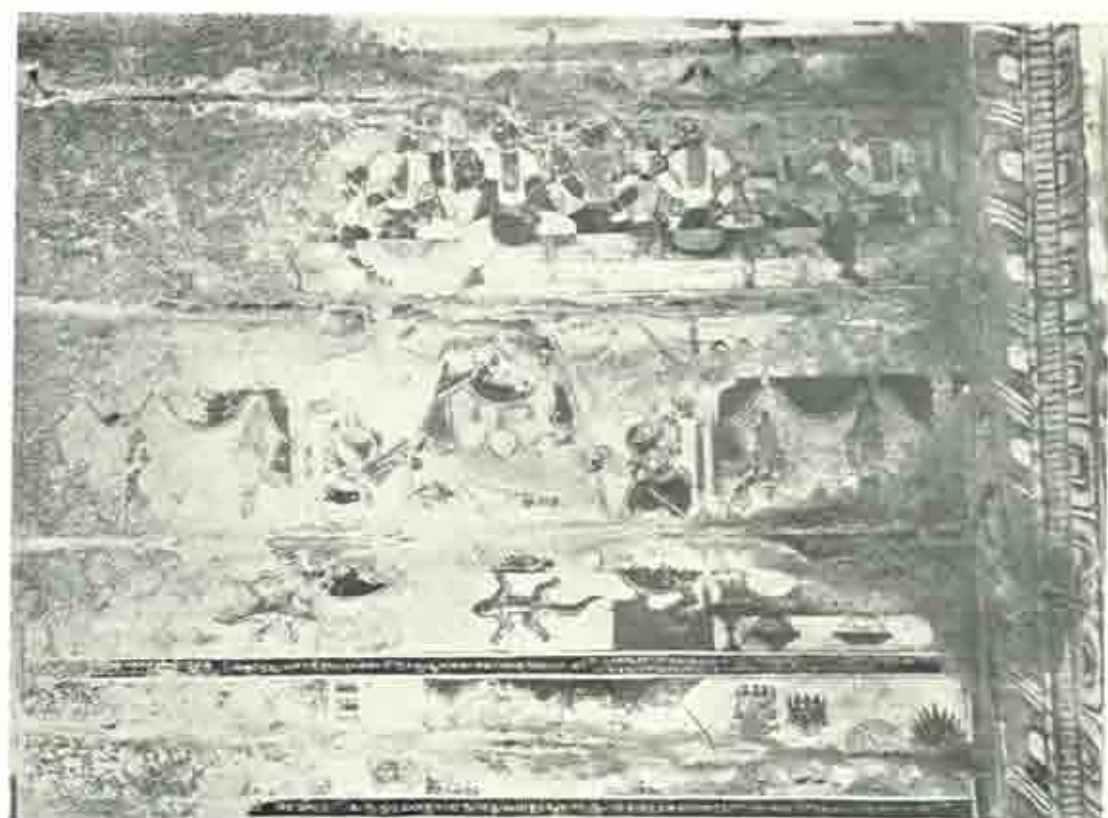
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13

PLATE XI.

Scenes from the life of Rishabhadeva—

14. The Manus.
15. The fourteenth Manu Nābhi Mahārāja and his wife Marudevī.
Marudevī dreaming.
Nābhi explaining to her the significance of her dreams.
16. Marudevī's dreams.
17. (a) Celestial ladies (*devīs*) attending on Marudevī.
(b) Birth of Rishabhadeva.
(c) Removal of the child by Śacī for *Janmābhisheka*.
18. The procession to *Pāṇḍuka-vana* for *Janmābhisheka*.



14

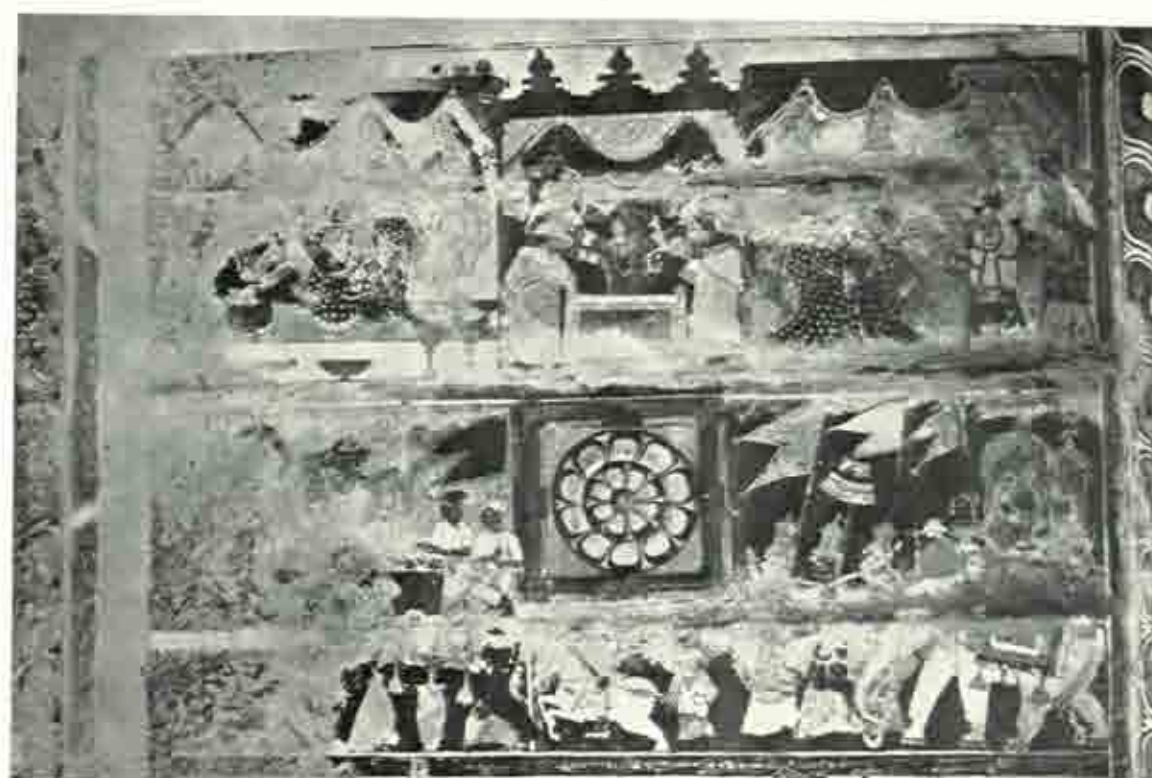
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16

a

b

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17

18

SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF KISHABHADEVA.

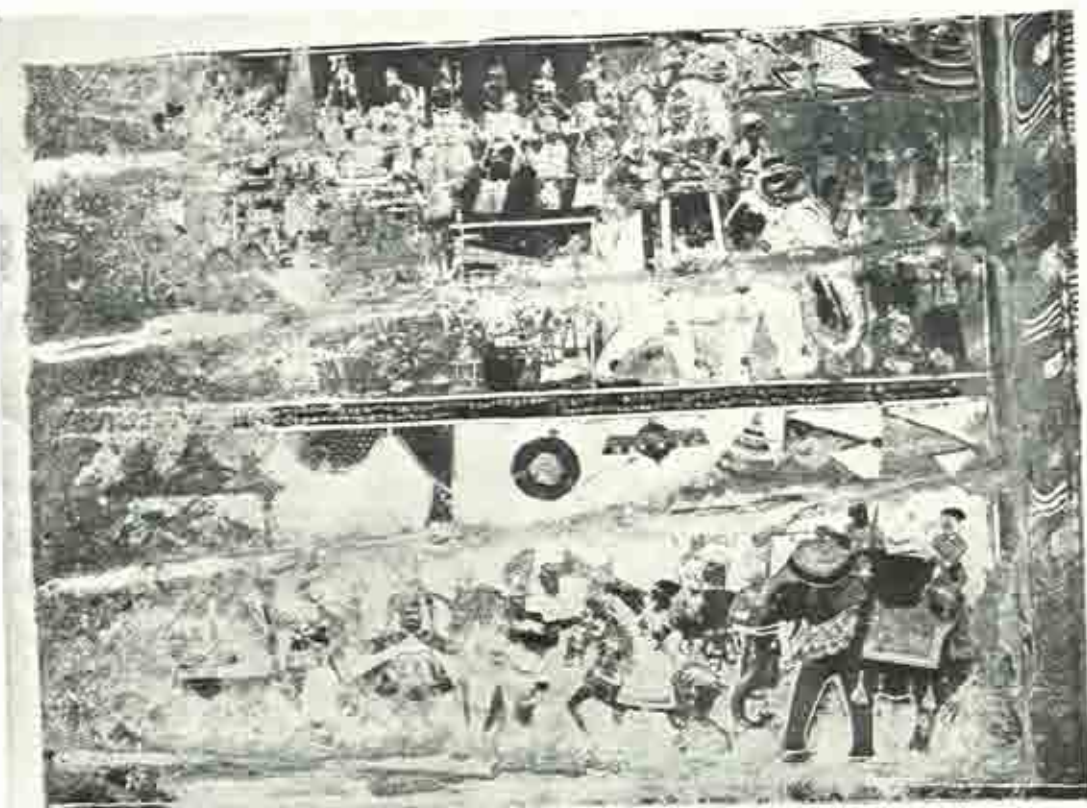
PLATE XII

Scenes from the life of Rishabhadeva—

19. (a) The *Janmābhisheka* ceremony.
(b) Return of the party from *Pāṇḍuka-vana*.
20. Return of the party to the city and Saudharmendra dancing, after placing Rishabhadeva on a throne.
21. (a) Nābhi requesting Rishabhadeva to marry.
(b) Rishabhadeva walking in procession with his brides.
22. Marriage of Rishabhadeva with the two Vidyādhara brides.

a

b

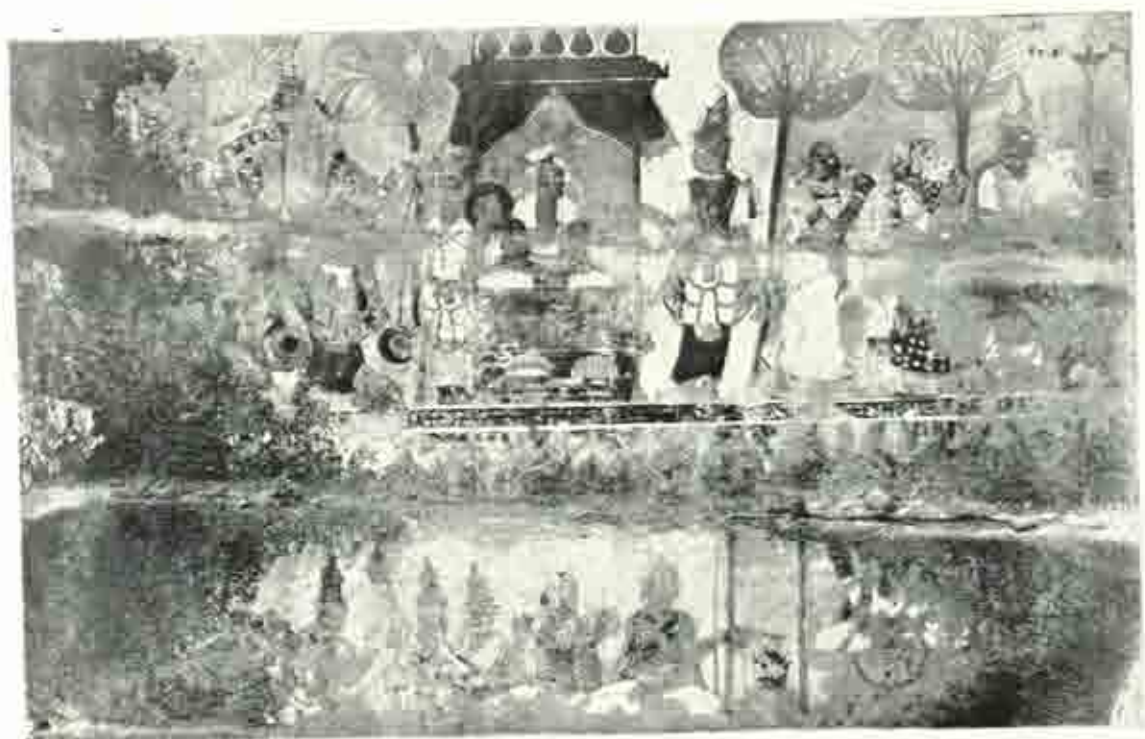


19

20

a

b



21

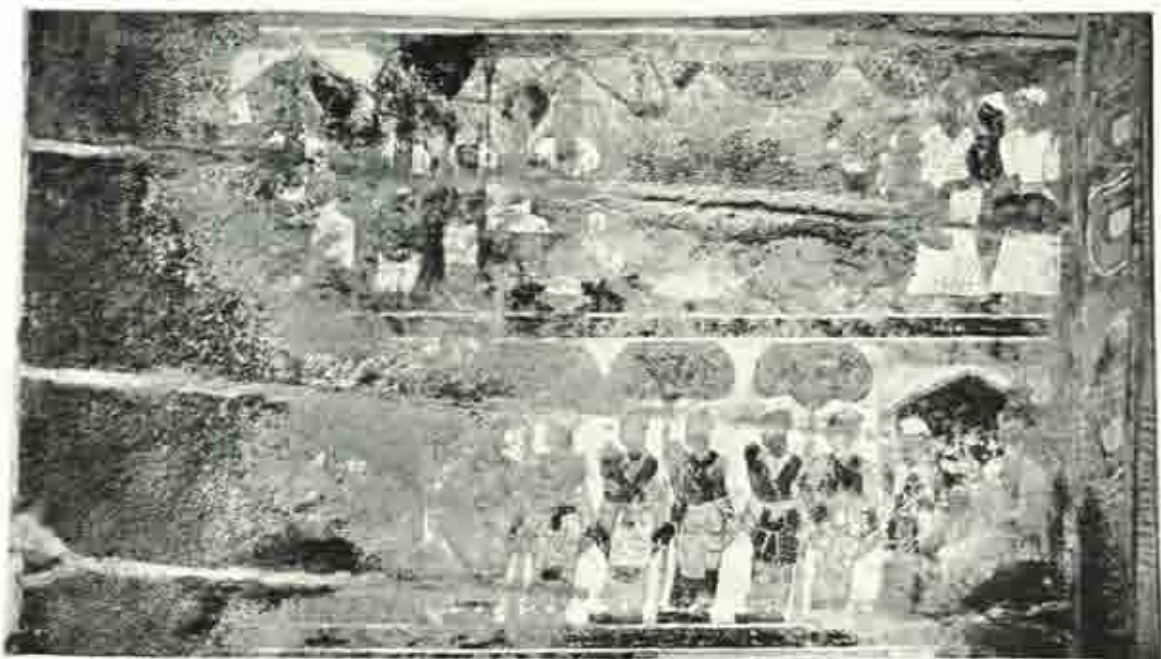
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SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF RISHABHADRYA.

PLATE XIII.

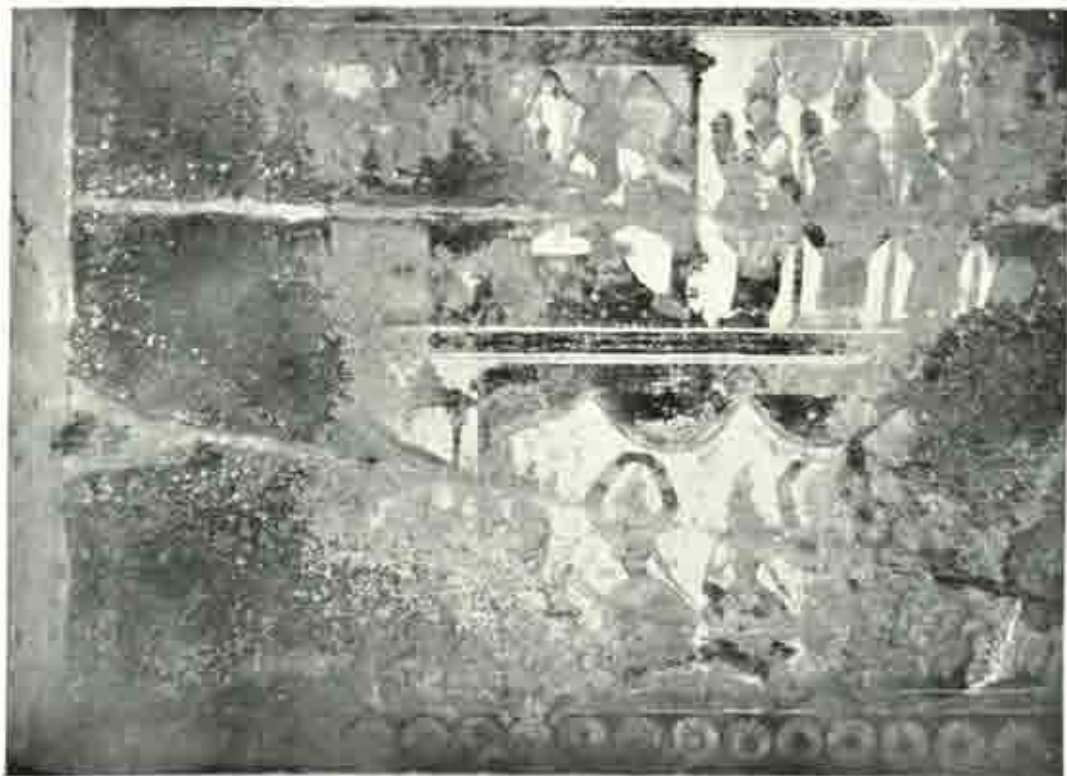
Scenes from the life of Rishabhadeva—

23. Marriage-festivities and entertainments.
24. Rishabhadeva teaching the world professions, trade, agriculture and the like and classifying people into castes after their respective professions.
25. (a) Coronation of Rishabhadeva as king.
(b) Classification of dynasties or families (*vamsas*).
26. The dance of the celestial nymph Nīlāñjana.



23

24



25

26

SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF RISHABHADEVA.

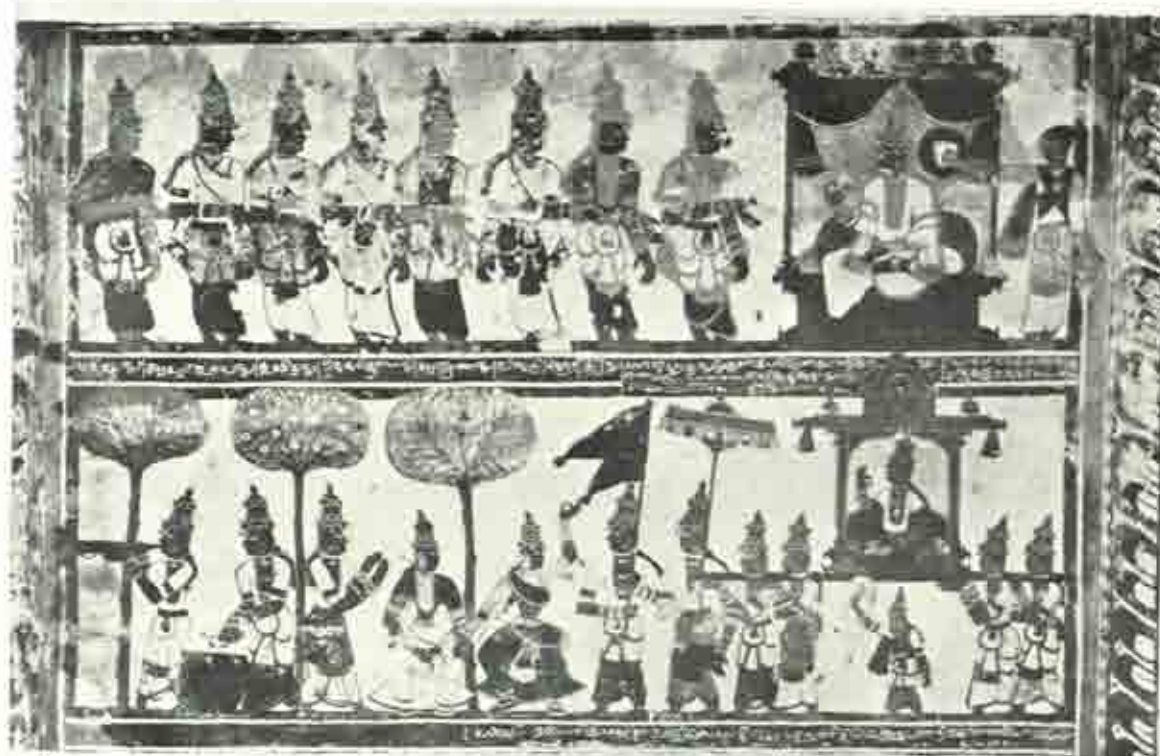
PLATE XIV.

Scenes from the life of Rishabhadeva—

27. (a) The *Laukātika-devas* reminding Rishabhadeva that it was time for *dikshā* and his renunciation.
(b) Rishabhadeva disgusted with worldly life.
28. Rishabhadeva proceeding for *dikshā* in a palanquin called Sudarsana.
29. (a) The *dikshā* ceremony.
(b) Kachchha, Mahakachchha and others trying to imitate Rishabhadeva in his *dikshā*.
(c) Unable to bear cold they clothed themselves; and unable to bear hunger they fed themselves with forest-products such as fruits and roots.
30. (a) Nami and Vinami approaching Rishabhadeva, who was then in meditation, for their share in the distribution of his kingdom.
(b) Dharanendra in human form advising them.
(c) Then assuming his *nāga*-form Dharanendra takes them in his *vimāna* and starts for Mount Vijayardha.

a

b



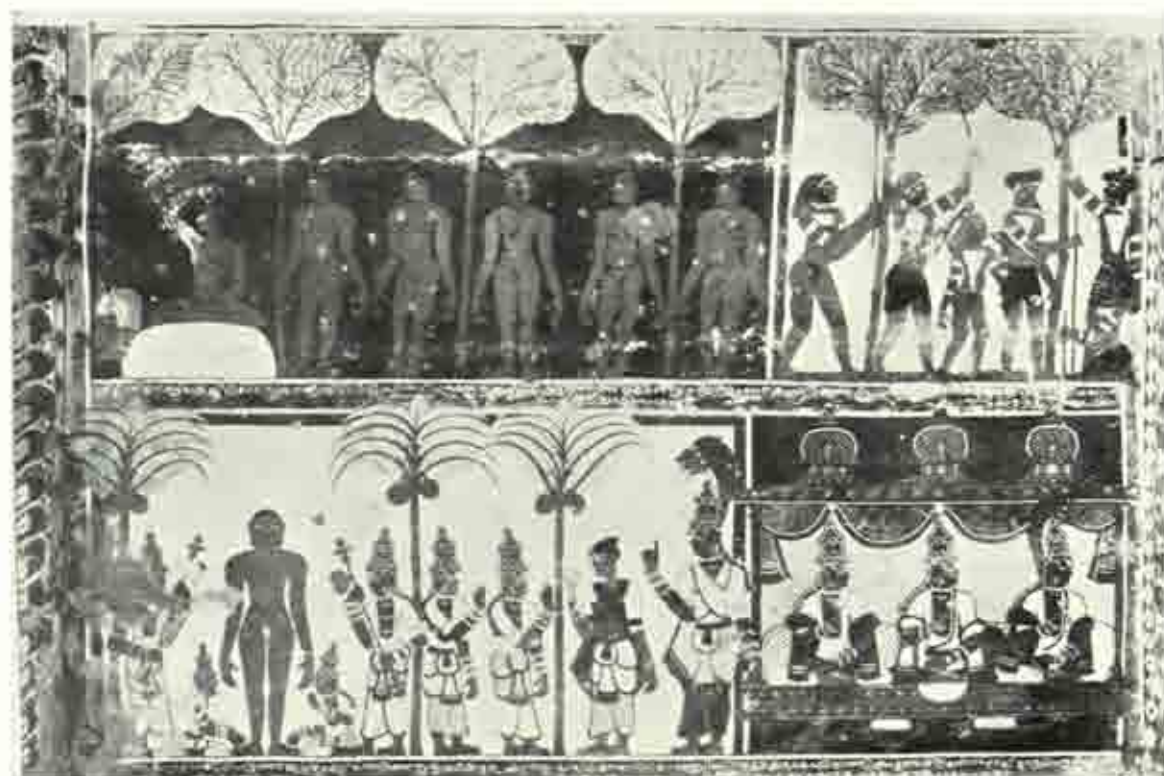
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28

a

b

c



29

30

a

b

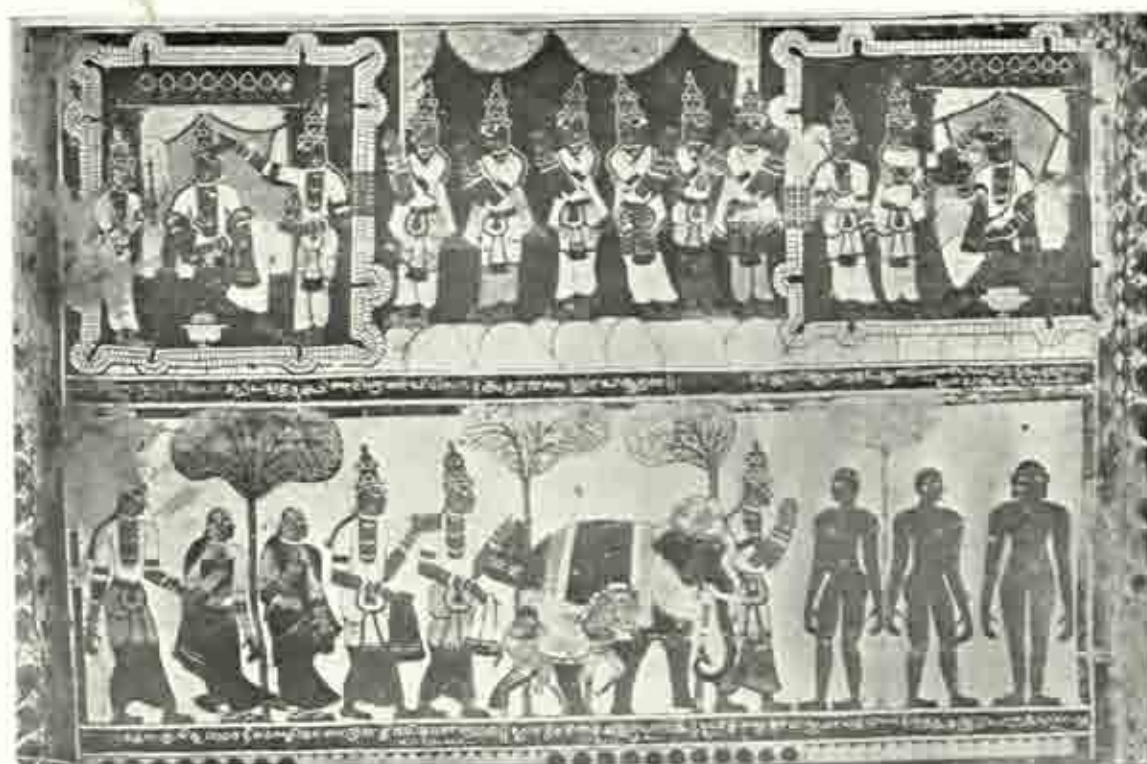
c

SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF VISHNUIHARISHADEV.

PLATE XV.

Scenes from the life of Rishabhadeva—

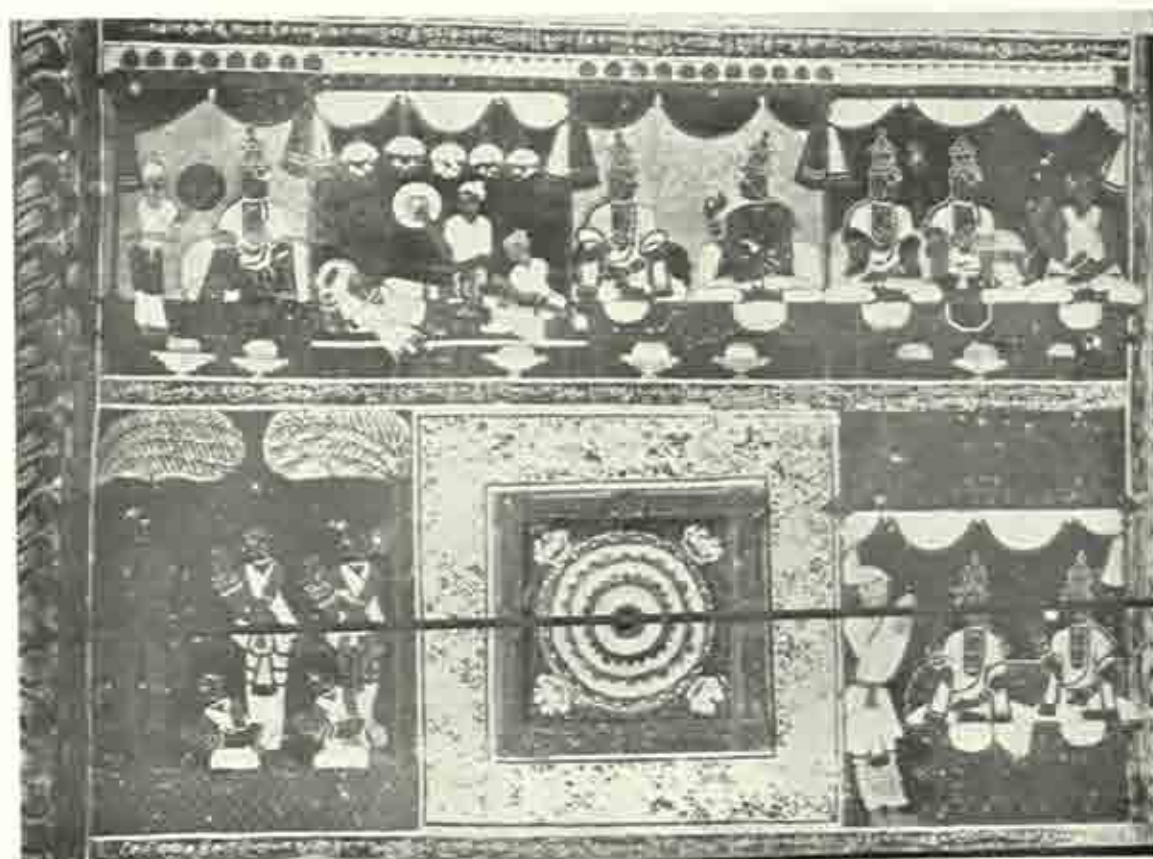
31. Dharapendra performing the coronation ceremonies of the brothers, of Nami on the left and of Vinami on the right.
32. (a) When Rishabhadeva went to the city for his first *charyā*, the kings of the land presenting him with elephants, horses, etc., in fact with everything else than what he actually required.
(b) His return to the forest without doing his *charyā*.
33. (a) Somaprabha.
(b) Śreyānkumāra dreaming.
(c) Do. narrating his dreams to his brother Somaprabha.
(d) The family priest explaining to them the significance of the dreams.
34. (a) A messenger informing Śreyānkumāra that Rishabhadeva was coming to their city for *charyā*.
(b) Śreyānkumāra receiving Rishabhadeva.



31

32

a b c d



33

34

b

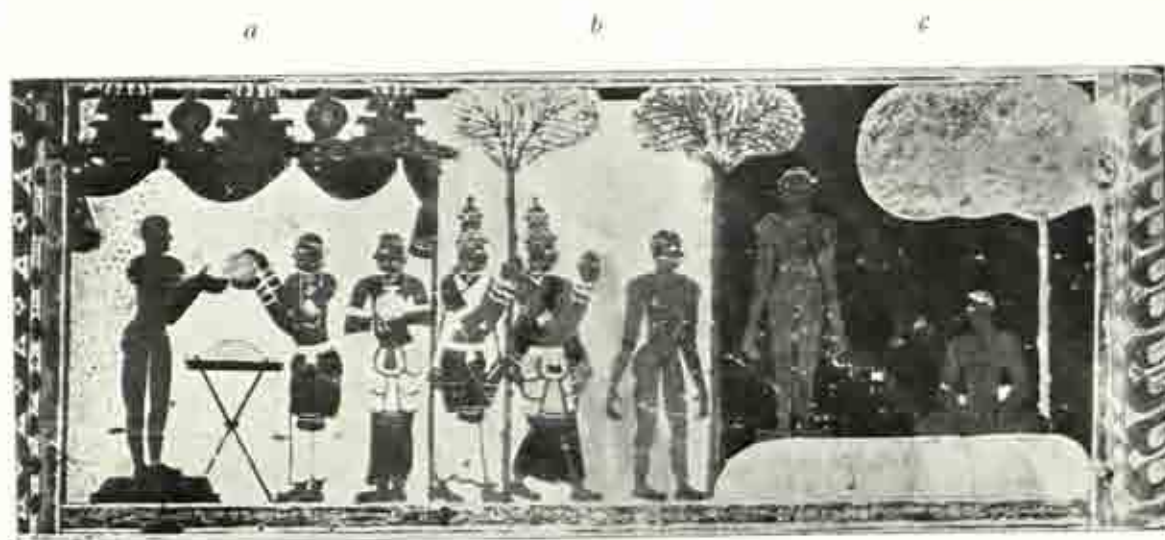
a

SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF RISHABHADEVA.

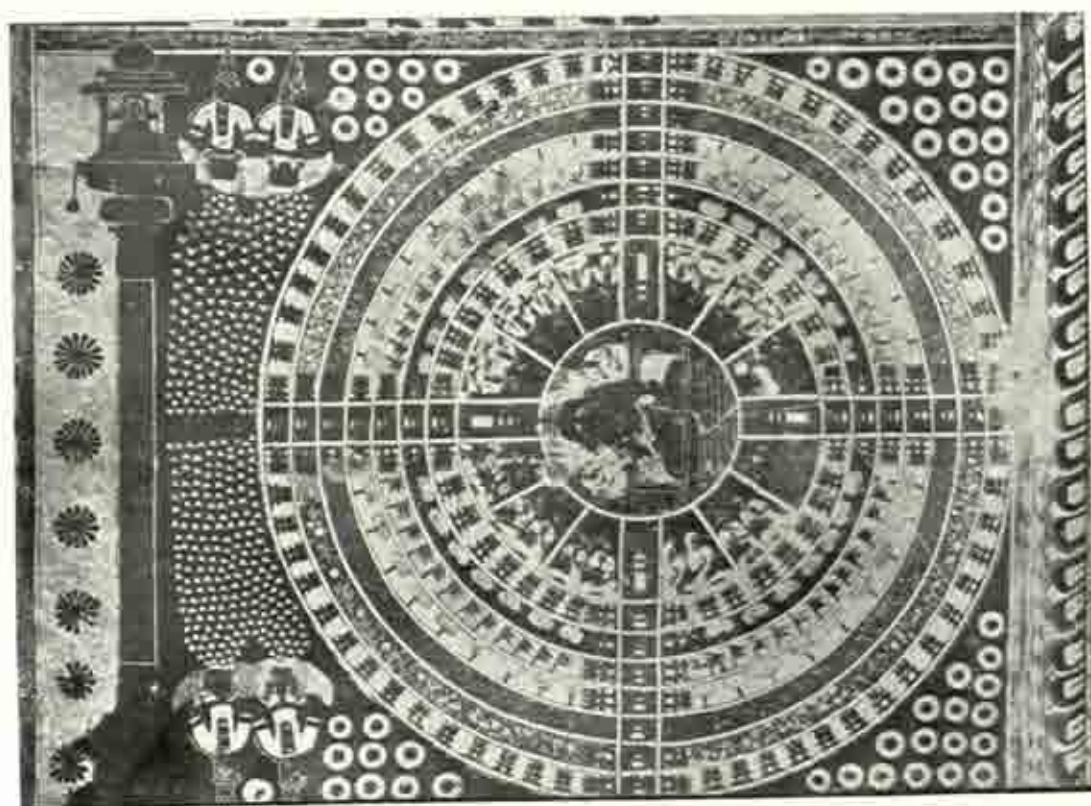
PLATE XVI.

Scenes from the life of Ṛishabhadeva—

35. (a) Śreyānkumāra offering food to Ṛishabhadeva.
(b) The departure of Ṛishabhadeva after his *charyā*.
(c) Ṛishabhadeva spending all his *karma*.
36. The *Samavasarana*.



35



36

SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF RISHABHADEVA.

PLATE XVII.

Scenes from the life of Rishabhadeva—

37. Saudharmendra's dance at sight of the *samavaśarāṇa*.

Scenes from the life of Vardhamāna, the 24th Tirthaṅkara—

38. (a) King Siddhārtha and his wife Priyakārinī.

(b) Priyakārinī dreaming.

(c) do. narrating her dreams to her husband.

(d) The family priest explaining their significance.

39. (a) Sacī, the wife of Saudharmendra removing the child (Vardhamāna) for *janmā-bhisheka*.

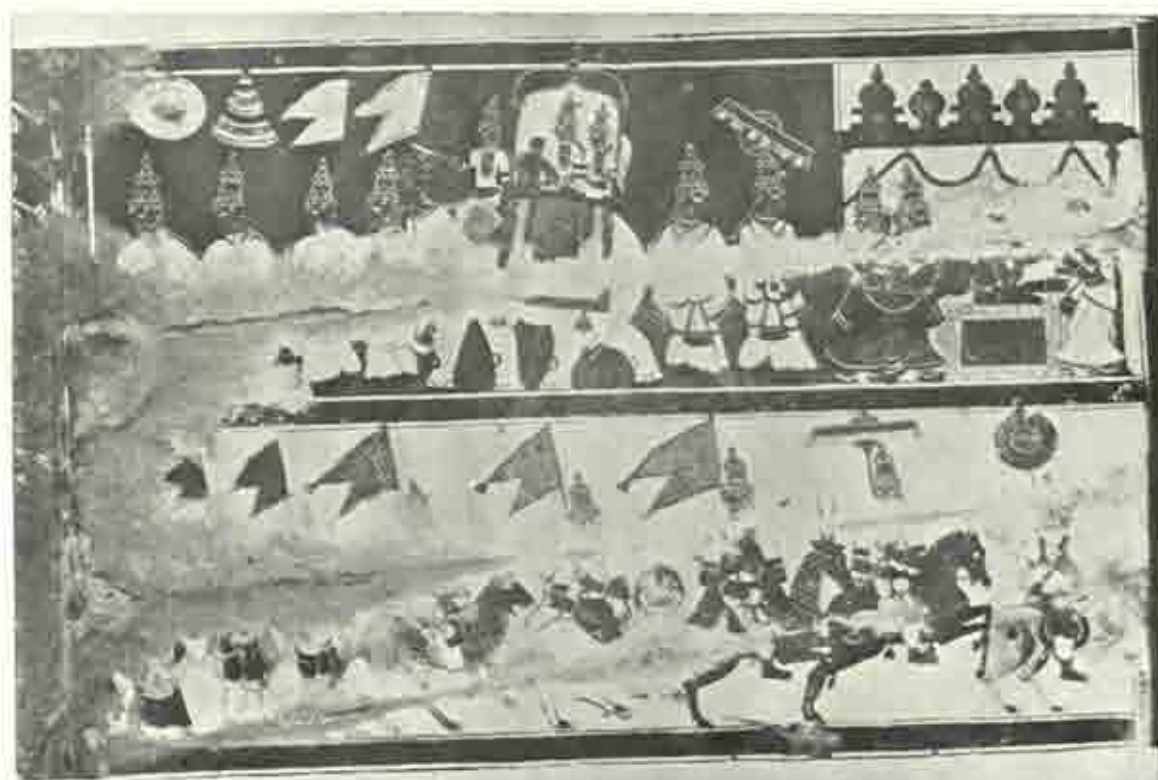
(b) The *devas* placing the child on the back of Airāvata and proceeding to Mount Mahā-Meru in a procession.

40. The procession.



37

38

*a**b**c**d**b**a*

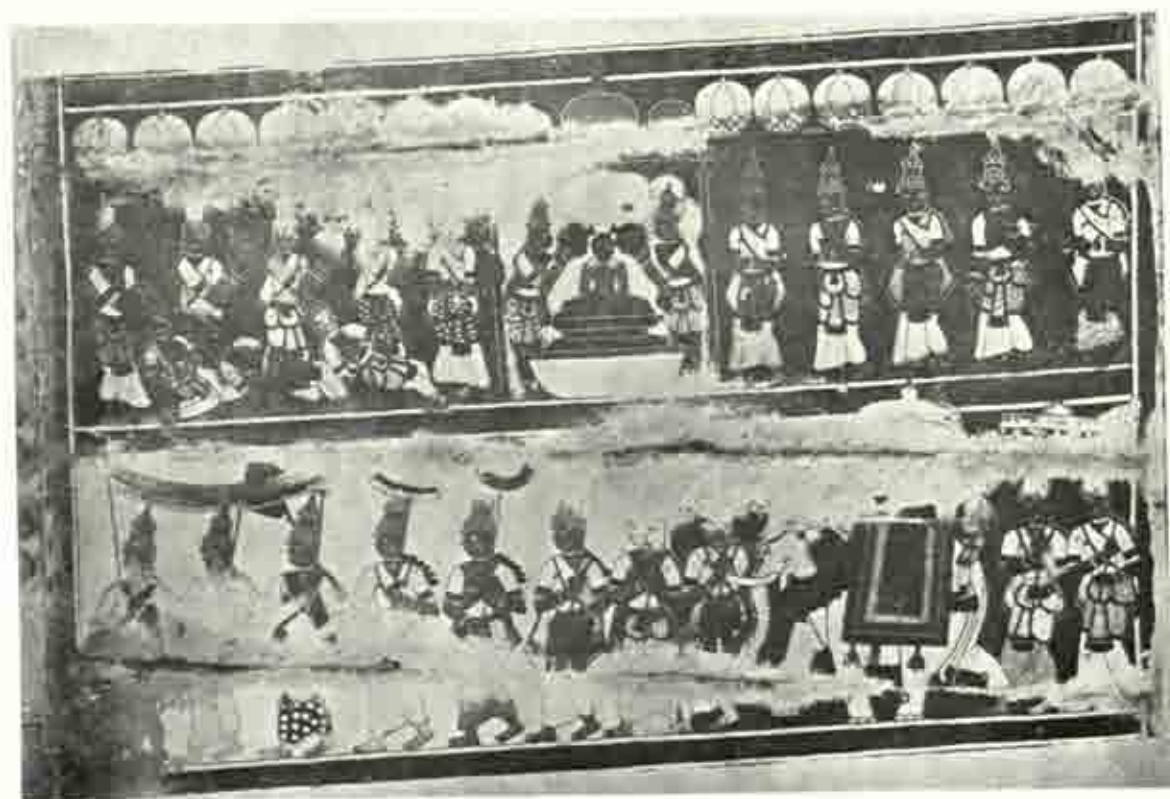
39

40

PLATE XVIII.

Scenes from the life of Vardhamāna—

41. The procession (*cont.*).
42. Do. do.
43. The anointment or the *janmābhisheka* ceremony. The fall of the doubting *devas*.
44. Return of the party to the city after *janmābhisheka*.

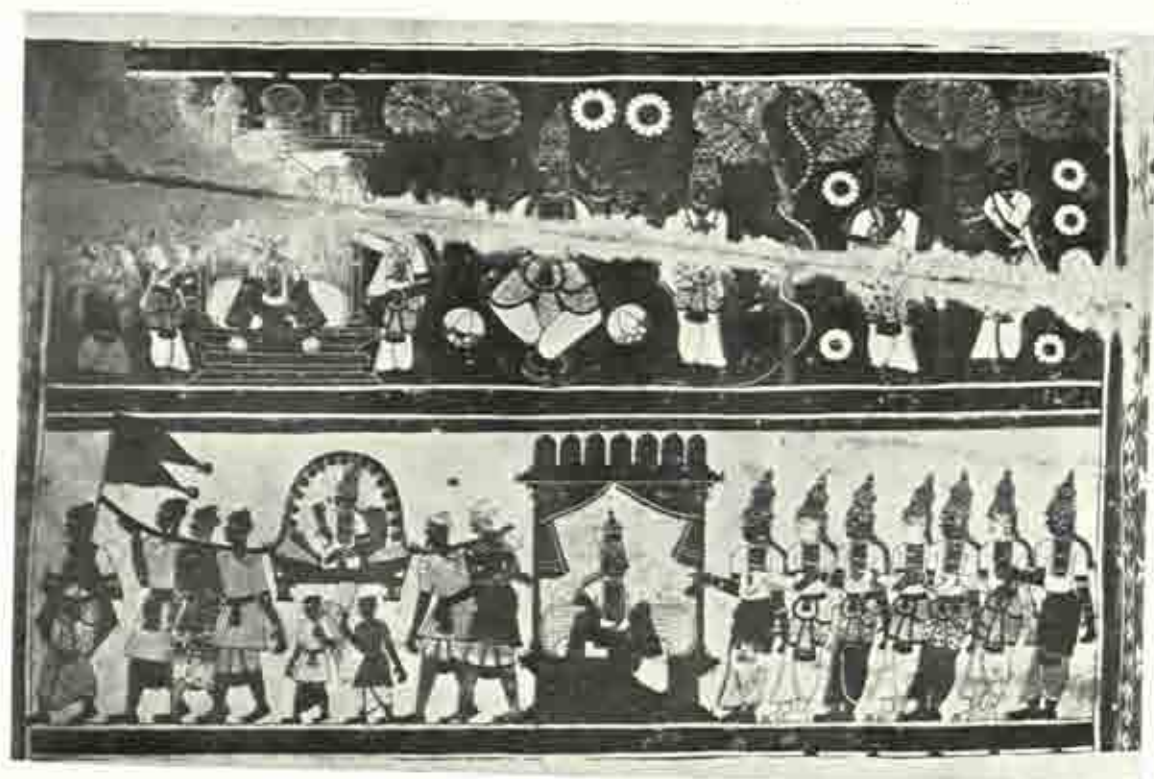


SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF VARUHAMĀNA.

PLATE XIX.

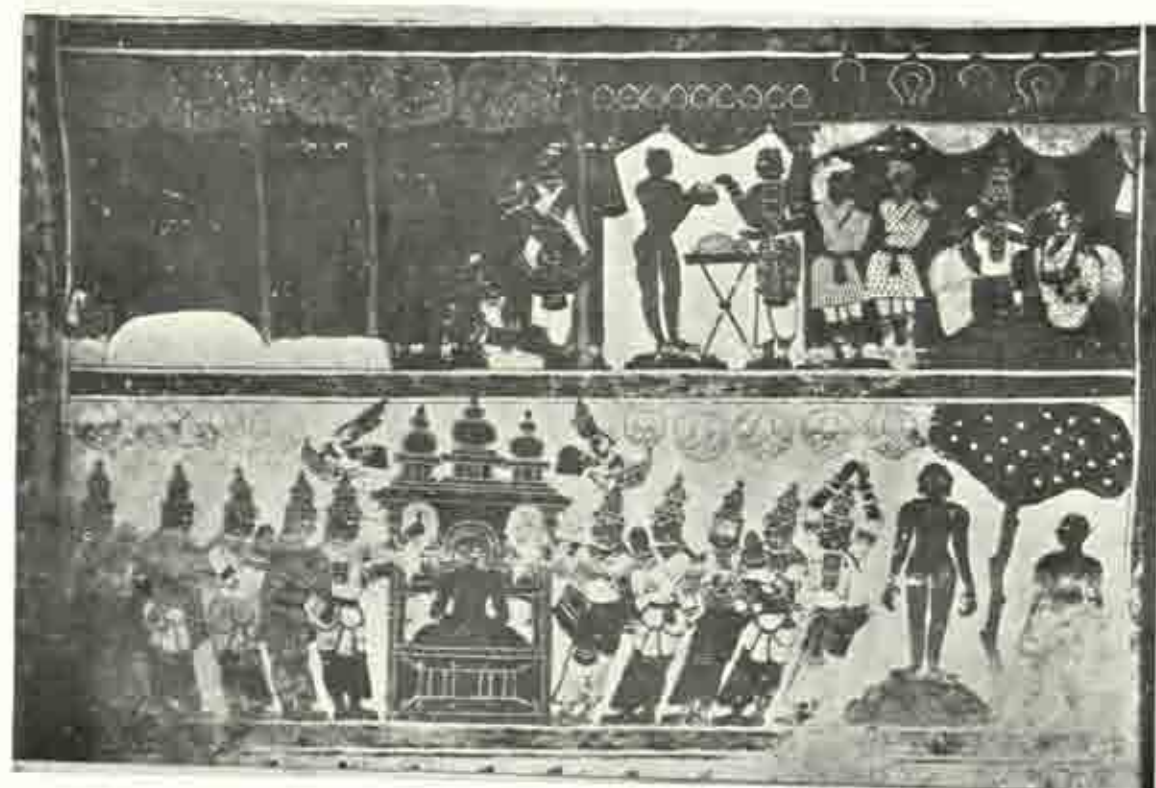
Scenes from the life of Vardhamāna—

45. (a) Saudharmendra placing Vardhamāna on a throne and dancing out of joy.
(b) The humiliation of Saṅgama.
(c) The humiliated Saṅgama seeking Vardhamāna's pardon.
46. (a) Vardhamāna getting the spirit of world-flight (*vairāgya*) and the *Laukāntikas* appearing before him just then and reminding him that it was time for him to renounce the world and take to *dīkshā*.
(b) Vardhamāna proceeding to the forest for *dīkshā* in a palanquin.
47. (a) Vardhamāna performing *dīkshā*.
(b) do. do. do.
(c) do. going out for *charyā* and partaking of food offered by King Kūla of Kūlagrāma.
48. (a) Vardhamāna spending all his *karma* and doing penance to obtain *Kevala-Jñāna*.
(b) do. becoming a *kevalī* and the *devas* worshipping him after the event in the *Gandhakūṭi*.



45

46



47

48

PLATE XX.

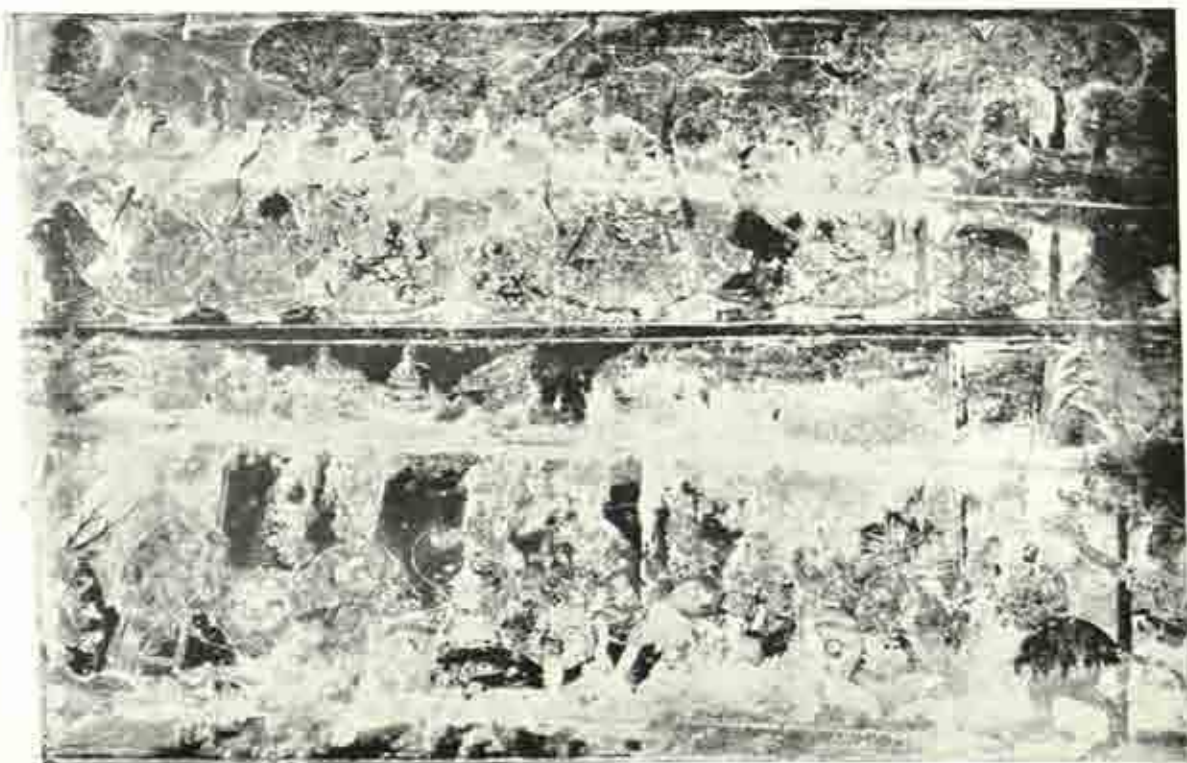
Scenes from the life of Vardhamāna—

49. Men and *devas* marching towards the *samavasaraṇa* structure to hear the Tirthaṅkara's discourse.
50. March of *devas*.
51. March of *devas*—(cont.)
52. Celestial ladies holding eight emblems of honour (*aṣṭa-maṅgalas*) and proceeding to the *samavasaraṇa* structure.



50

49



52

51

SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF VARDHAMANA.

PLATE XXI.

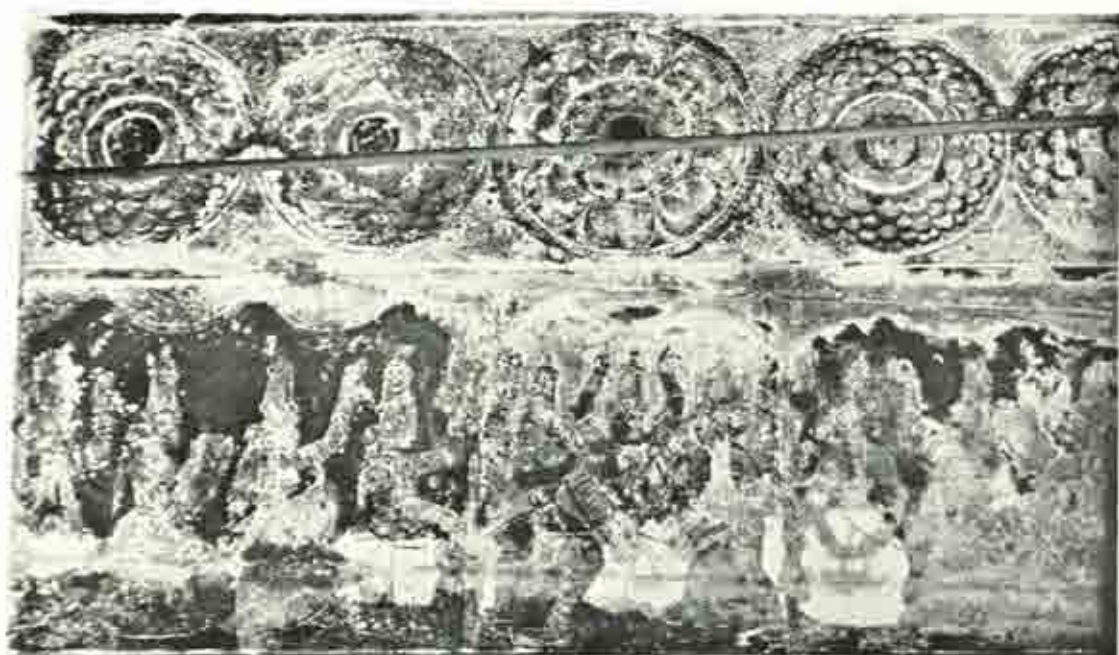
Scenes from the life of Vardhamāna—

53. Celestial ladies dancing.

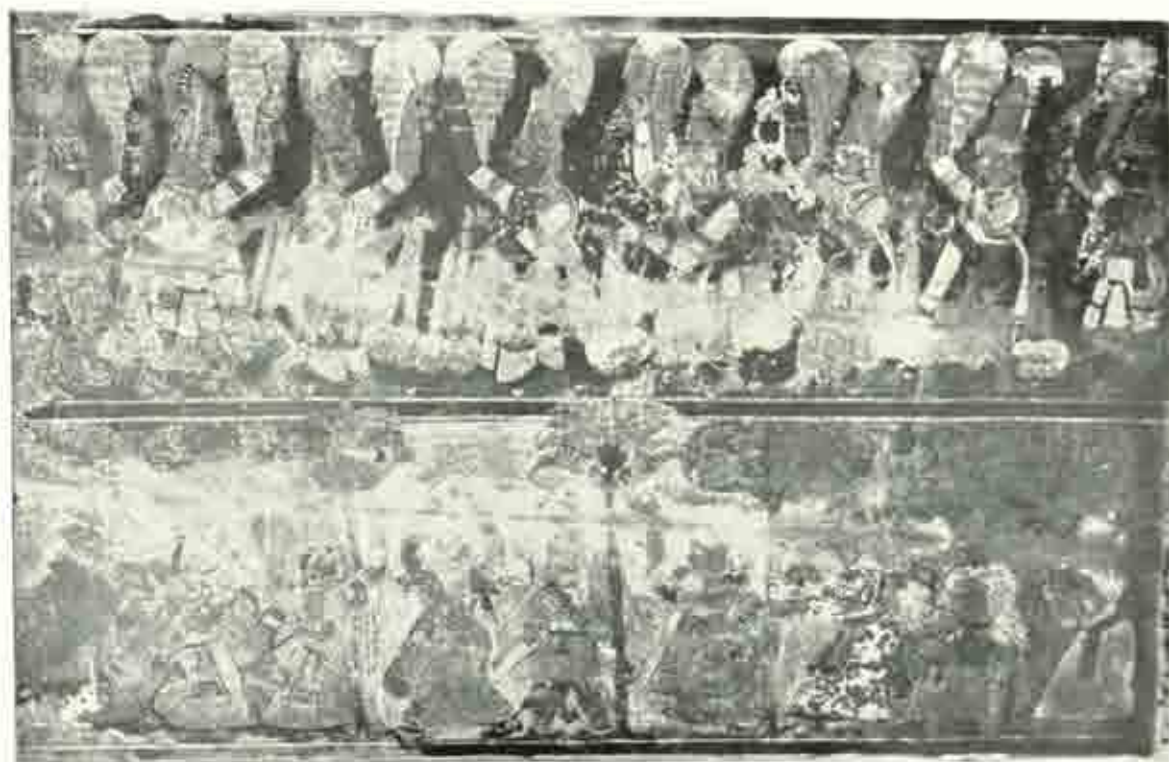
Row of rosettes.

54. Nautches of the human world.

55. Nāga-kumāras with *chāmaras* in their hands marching to the *saṃavasaraṇa* structure.



53



55

54

SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF VARDHAMANA.

PLATE XXII.

Scenes from the life of Vardhamāna—

56. Other classes of the *Bhavanavāsi-devas* marching to the *śamavasāra* structure.
57. Celestial ladies performing *kōlāttam*-dance.
58. Celestial ladies dancing in groups.
59. Celestial ladies carrying in their hands materials of honour.



57

56



59

58

SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF VARDHAMANA.

PLATE XXIII.

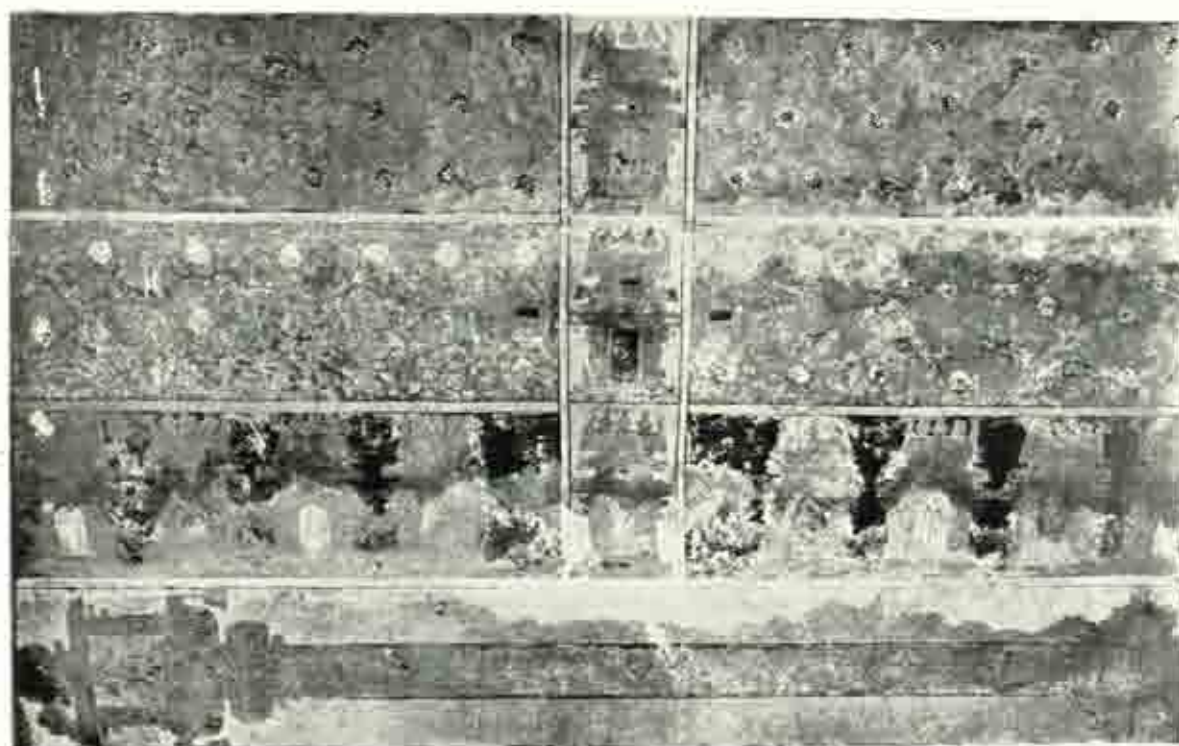
Scenes from the life of Vardhamāna—

60. *Devās*, with emblems of honour (*aṣṭa-maṅgalas*) in their hands, marching to the *samavasaraṇa* structure.
61. The presiding deities over the nine treasures (*nidhis*) including *Śaṅkha* and *Padma*, dancing.
62. The *samavasaraṇa* structure : the first three regions with the *mānastambha*.



61

60



62

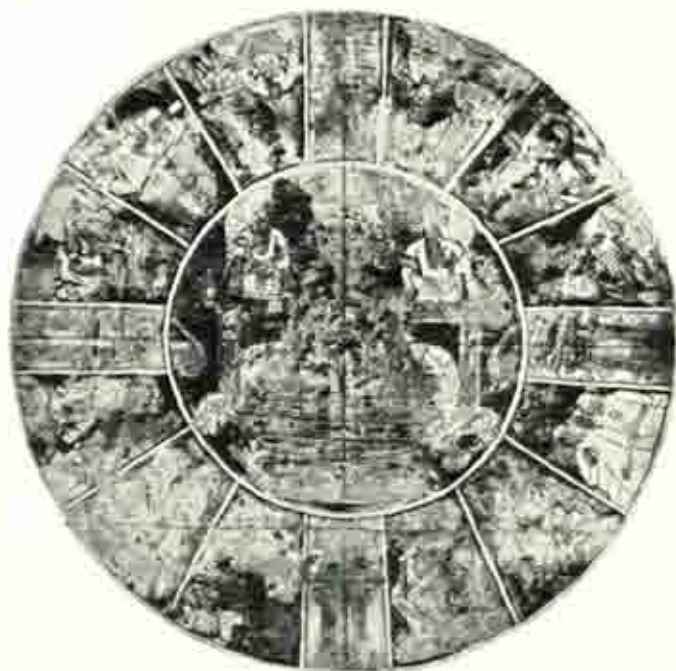
SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF VARIHAMANA.

PLATE XXIV.

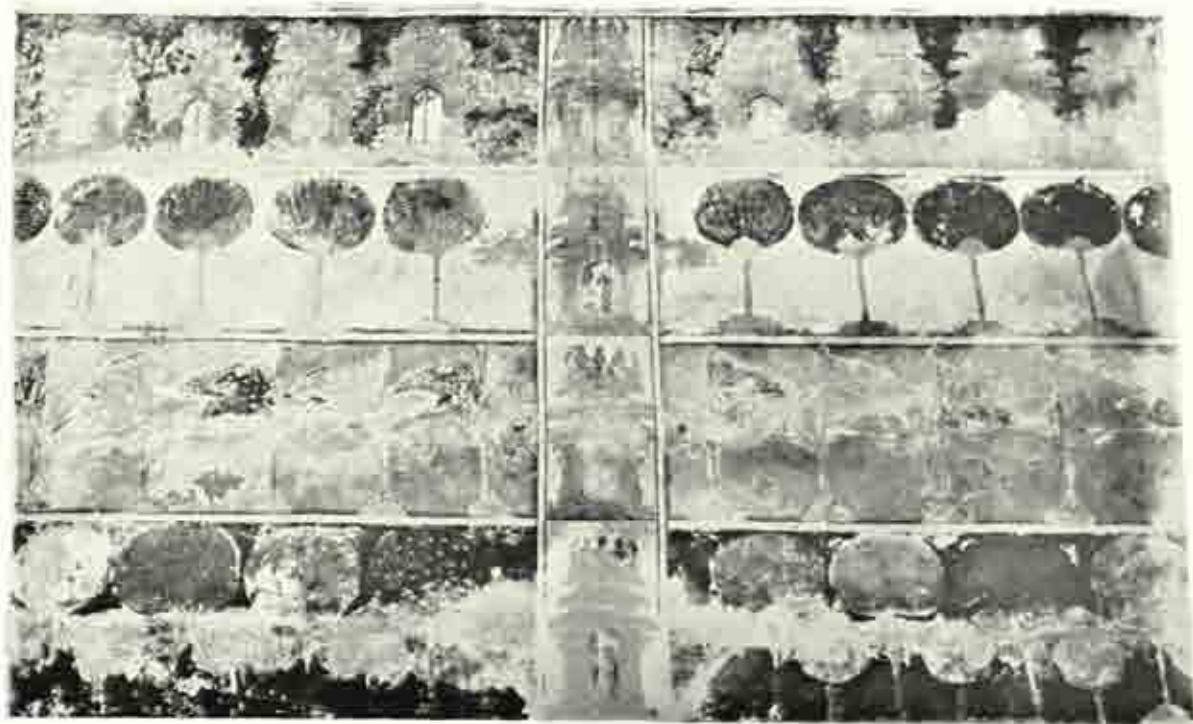
Scenes from the life of Vardhamāna—

63. The *samavasarana* structure (*cont.*) ; the remaining four regions.

64. Do. do. ; the *Lakshmivara-maṇḍapa* with the *Gandhakuti* in the centre.



64



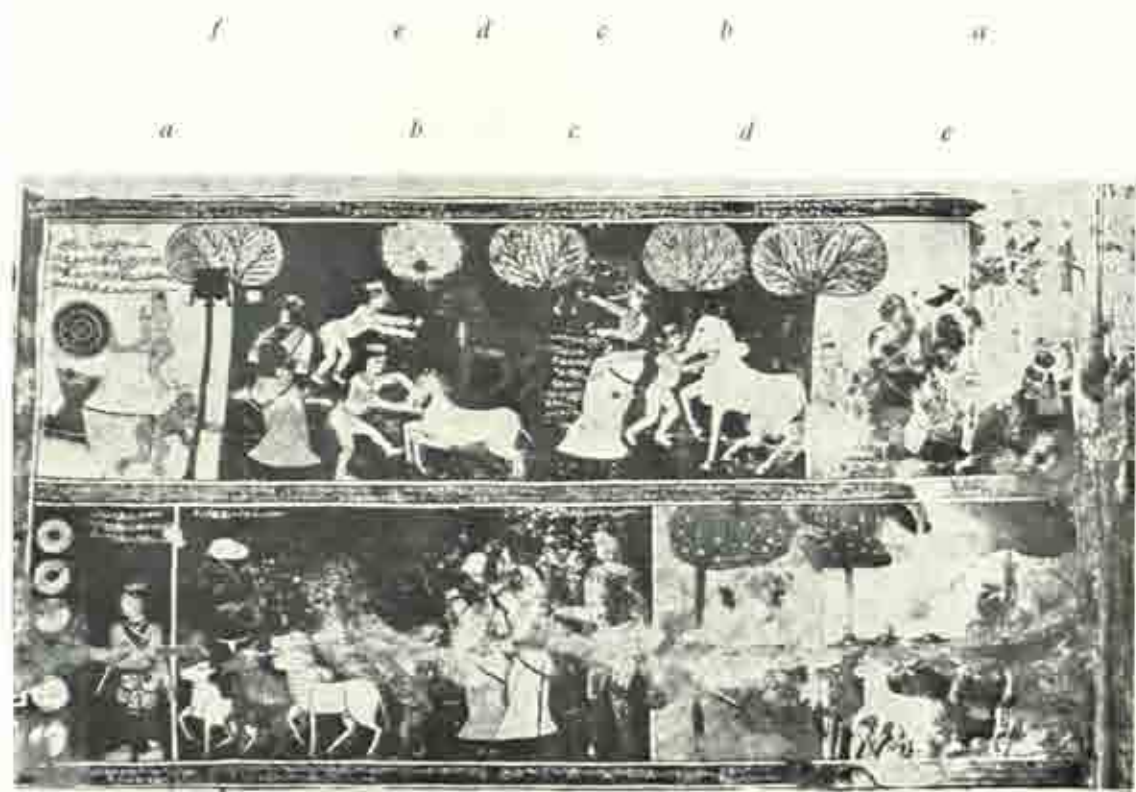
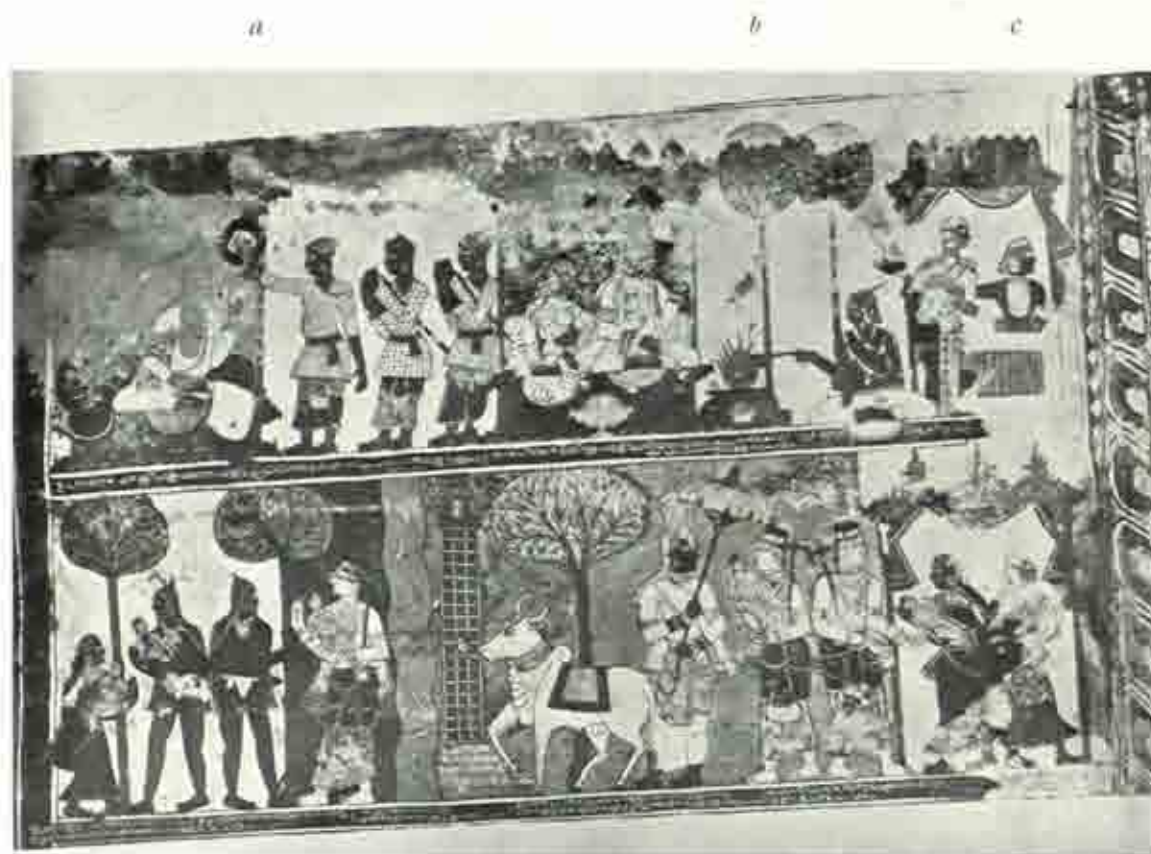
63

SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF VARDHAMANA.

PLATE XXV.

Scenes from the life of Kṛishṇa, the cousin of Neminātha—

65. (a) Kamsa and his consort Jivadyāśa.
(b) Kamsa's sister Devakī being given in marriage to Vasudeva.
(c) Birth of child Kṛishṇa to Devakī.
66. (a) Baladeva removing the child from the chamber of nativity.
(b) Vasudeva holding a white umbrella over the child.
(c) The presiding deity of the city, in the form of a bull, showing Baladeva the way.
(d) The city gate opened of its own accord.
(e) The river Jumna divided and gave him the way.
(f) Baladeva delivering the child unto the care of Nanda Gopa, and the latter's wife receiving the child from her husband.
67. The sports of child Kṛishṇa and the annihilation of seven evil spirits sent by Kamsa—
 - (a) One of the evil spirits that came in the form of a wheel. Two other evil spirits that came in the form of trees and stood in hisway as he was dragging the mortar to which he was tied by his foster-mother.
 - (b) Three more evil spirits that came in the forms of a palmyra tree, a horse and an ass respectively.
 - (c) The seventh evil spirit that came as a woman offering Kṛishṇa milk from her breasts smeared with poison.
 - (d) Subjugation of the *deva* Arishta, who came as a bull to test Kṛishṇa's strength.
 - (e) Devakī, Baladeva and Vasudeva arriving just then on the scene, and Devakī admiring her son with motherly love, milk flowing out of her breasts spontaneously.
68. (a) Kṛishṇa raising up Mount Govardhana.
(b) Kṛishṇa doing *trivikrama*.
(c) Nanda's flight from the village with his cowherds and cattle out of fear for Kamsa.
(d) Kṛishṇa assuring Nanda of his strength by lifting on the way a huge stone column, thus prevailing on him to return to the village.



SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF KRISHNA.

PLATE XXVI.

Scenes from the life of Kṛishṇa—

69. (a) Kṛishṇa plucking a lotus-flower from a tank guarded by a *nāgā*, after subduing the latter.
(b) Kṛishṇa subjugating an infuriated elephant set up against him by Kamsa.
(c) Baladeva informing Kṛishṇa, while wrestling with the latter, that the time was opportune for killing Kamsa.
(d) Kṛishṇa vanquishing a wrestler set up against him by Kamsa.
(e) Kṛishṇa killing Kamsa.
(f) Public wrath appeased by Baladeva, Vasudeva and others narrating the parentage of Kṛishṇa to all assembled.
70. (a) Ugrasena and his wife Padmāvatī.
(b) Vasudeva and Devakī.
(c) Samudravijaya and his wife Śivadevī.
(d) Kṛishṇa's victory over Mahābala, one of Jarāsandha's sons.
71. (a) The battle between Kṛishṇa and Aparājita, another son of Jarāsandha and the latter's death in the battle-field.
(b) The ruse employed and the return of Kālayava, another son of Jarāsandha, without ever encountering Kṛishṇa.
72. (a) The flight of the Yādavas under the leadership of Kṛishṇa.
(b) Kṛishṇa fasting and doing penance.
(c) Kṛishṇa dreaming of the *deva* Gautamā, who offered to take Kṛishṇa on his back as a horse and to find for him a new land.
(d) The realization of the dream.
(e) The finding of the city of Dvārāvātī, and Kṛishṇa, Baladeva, Vasudeva and Devakī being in the palace.

a *b* *c* *d* *e* *f*



d *e* *b* *a*

a *b*



e *d* *c* *b* *a*

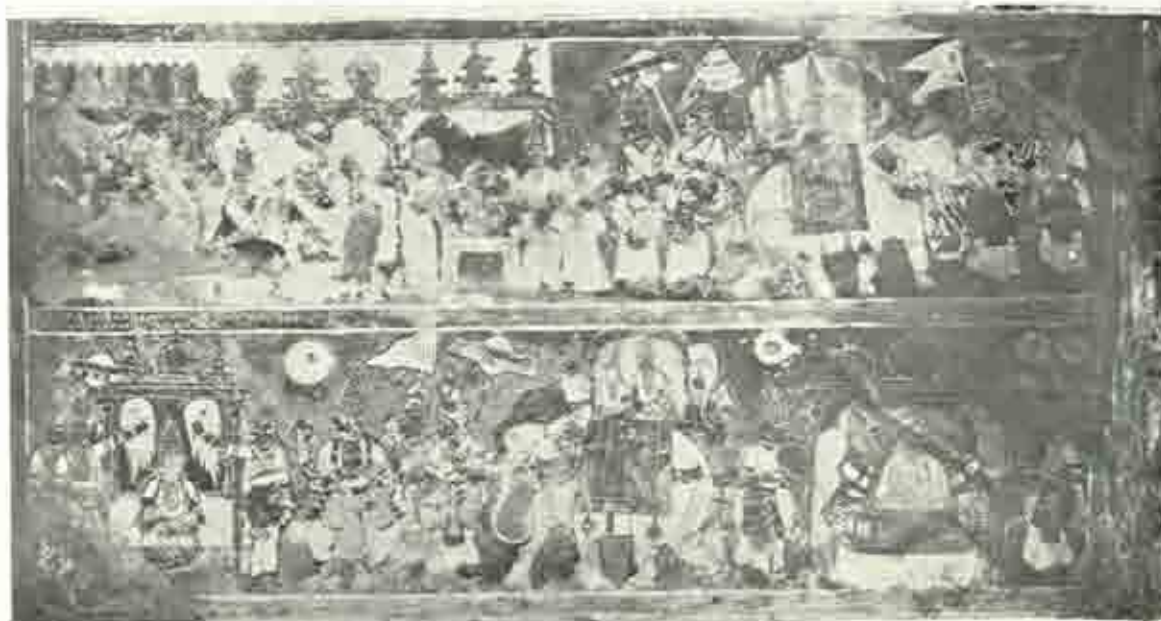
SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF KRISHNA.

PLATE XXVII.

Scenes from the life of Neminātha—

- 73. (a) Samudravijaya and his wife Śivadevī,
(b) Śivadevī narrating her dreams to her husband,
(c) Birth of Neminātha,
(d) The *Devās* placing the child on the back of Airāvata and proceeding to Mount Mahā-Meru to perform the *janmābhisheka* of the child.
- 74. (a) The *Janmābhisheka* ceremony,
(b) Return of the party to the city,
(c) Devendra dancing after installing the child on a throne.
- 75. (a) Kṛishṇa requesting Neminātha to look after the city of Dvarāvātī during his absence away on war with Jarāsandha,
(b) Fight between Kṛishṇa and Jarāsandha.
- 76. Kṛishṇa crowned as a *chakravartin*.

a *b* *c* *d*

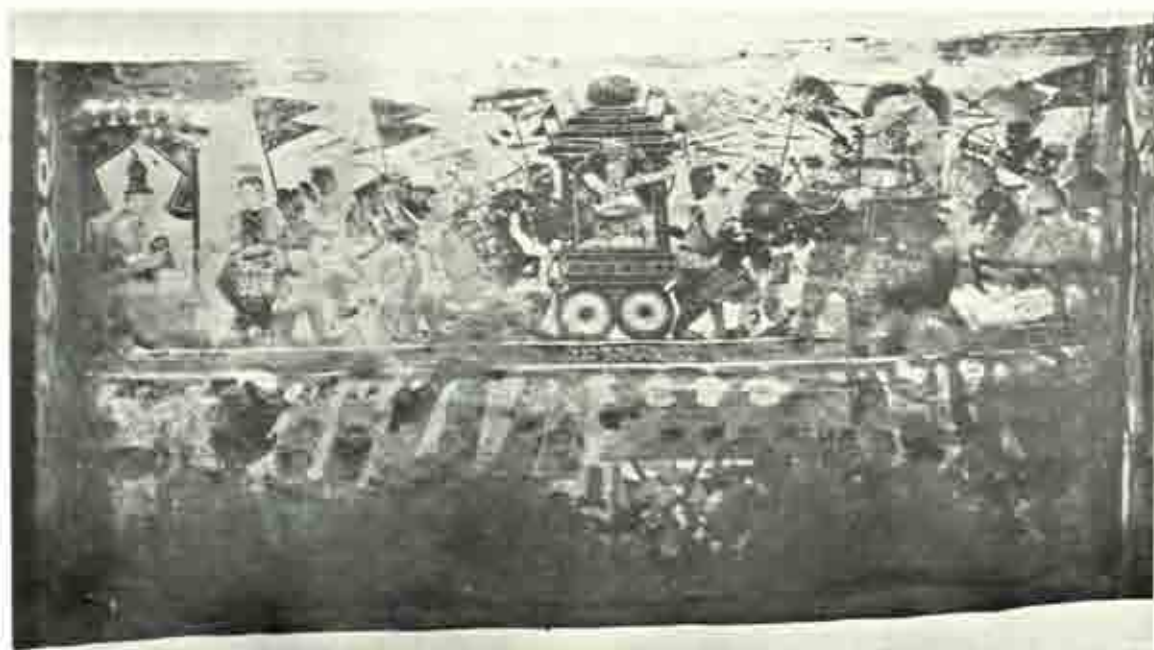


73

74

c *b* *a*

a *b*



75

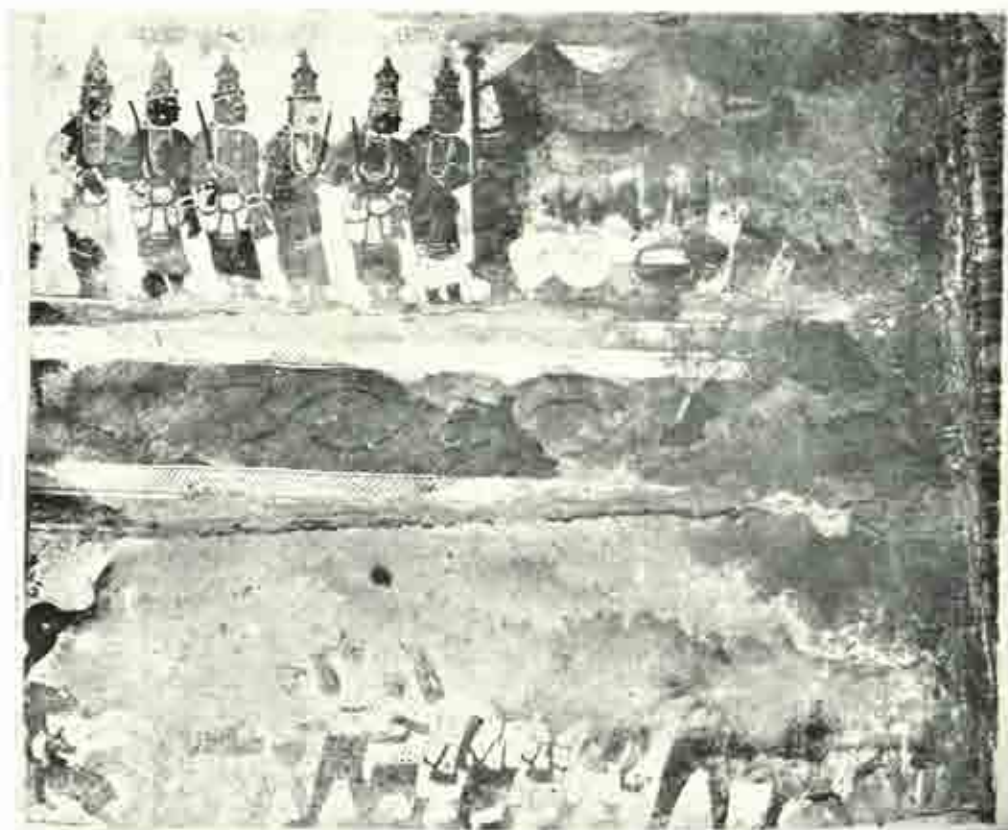
76

SCENES FROM THE LIVES OF NEMINATHA AND KRISHNA.

PLATE XXVIII.

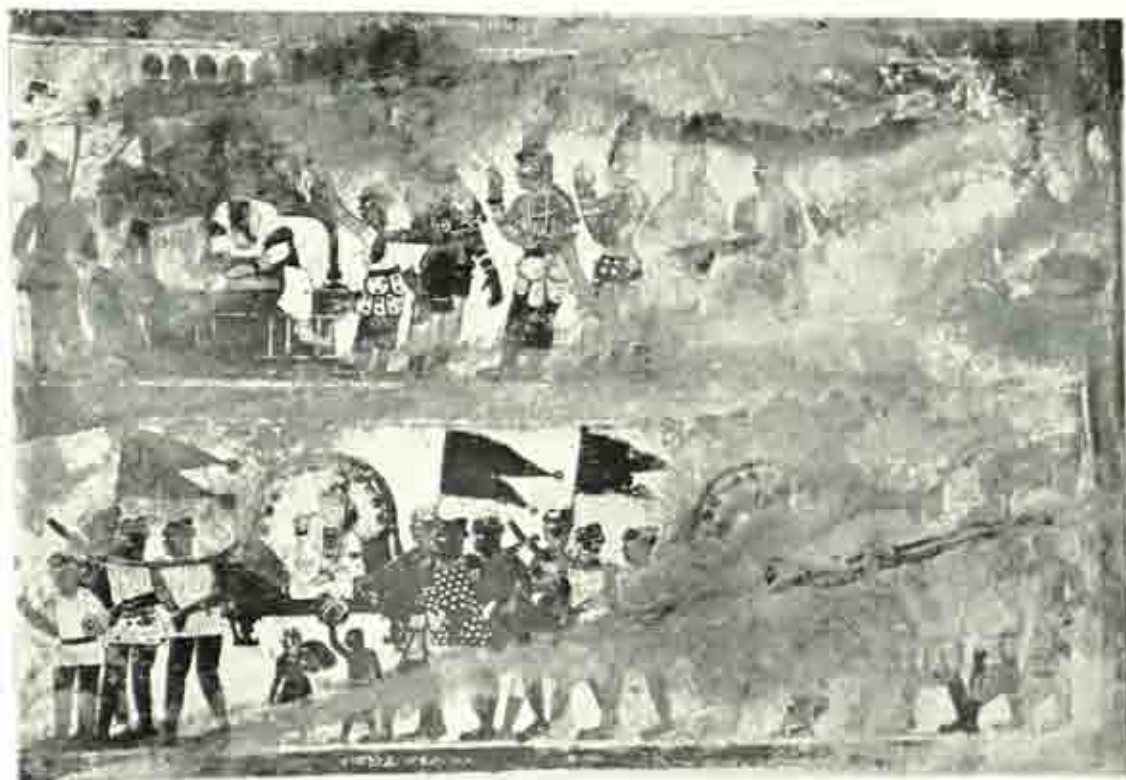
Scenes from the life of Neminātha—

77. Kṛishṇa in court, when he heard the blast produced on the conch by Neminātha.
78. The marriage procession of Neminātha and the spectacle of the sickly and frightened animals.
79. The *Laukāntika-devas* reminding Neminātha that it was time for *dīkshā*.
80. Neminātha proceeding in a palanquin for *dīkshā* to the garden *Sahasrāmravana*.



77

78



79

80

SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF NEMINATHA.

PLATE XXIX.

Scenes from the life of Neminātha—

81. The *dikṣhā* ceremony, and subsequent penance.

82. (a) The first *charyā* of Neminātha.

(b) Do. do.

(c) Neminātha's departure to the forest.

(d) Neminātha doing penance.

(e) Neminātha being worshipped in the Gandhakūṭi when he had become a *kevali*.

Scenes from the life of Agnīlā (Ambikā) or Dharmadevī—

83. In five panels from left to right—

Somaśarman and Agnīlā.

Agnīlā and her sons.

Agnīlā inviting Varadatta for food.

The offering of food.

Varadatta departing after partaking of Agnīlā's offering.



81



82

e *d* *c* *b* *a*



83

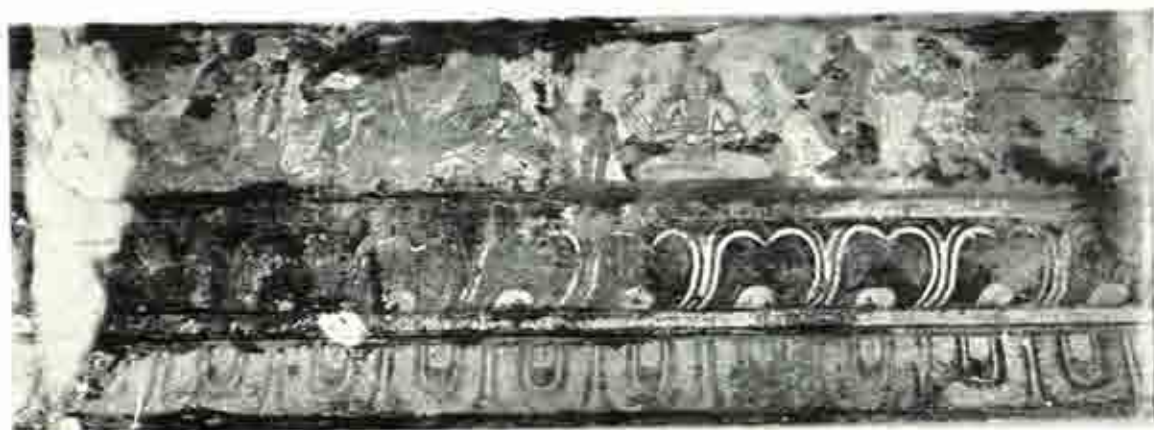
SCENES FROM THE LIVES OF NEMINATHA AND AGNILA (ĀMBIKĀ).

PLATE XXX.

Scenes from the life of Agnilā (Āmbikā) or Dharmadevī—

84. The transformation of Agnilā into the Yakshī Āmbikā or Dharmadevī.

L. The Gopura, Vardhamāna temple.



84



I

SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF AGNİLĀ (AMBIKĀ); GOPURA, VARDHAMĀNA TEMPLE.

PLATE XXXI.

1. Brahma Yaksha with his consorts Pūrṇā and Pushkalā.
2. Padmāvatī Yakshīnī.
3. Representation of Nandīśvara in metal.
4. Do. do. In stone.



1



2



3



4

BRAHMA YAKSHA WITH CONSORTS, PADMAVATI AND NANDIVARA.

PLATE XXXII.

1. Sarvāhṇa Yaksha.
2. Dharaṇendra Yaksha with Padmāvati Yakshini.
3. Dharmadevi Yakshini.



1

SARVAMĀTĪ



2

DHARANENDRA AND PADMĀYATĪ



3

DHARMADEVĪ



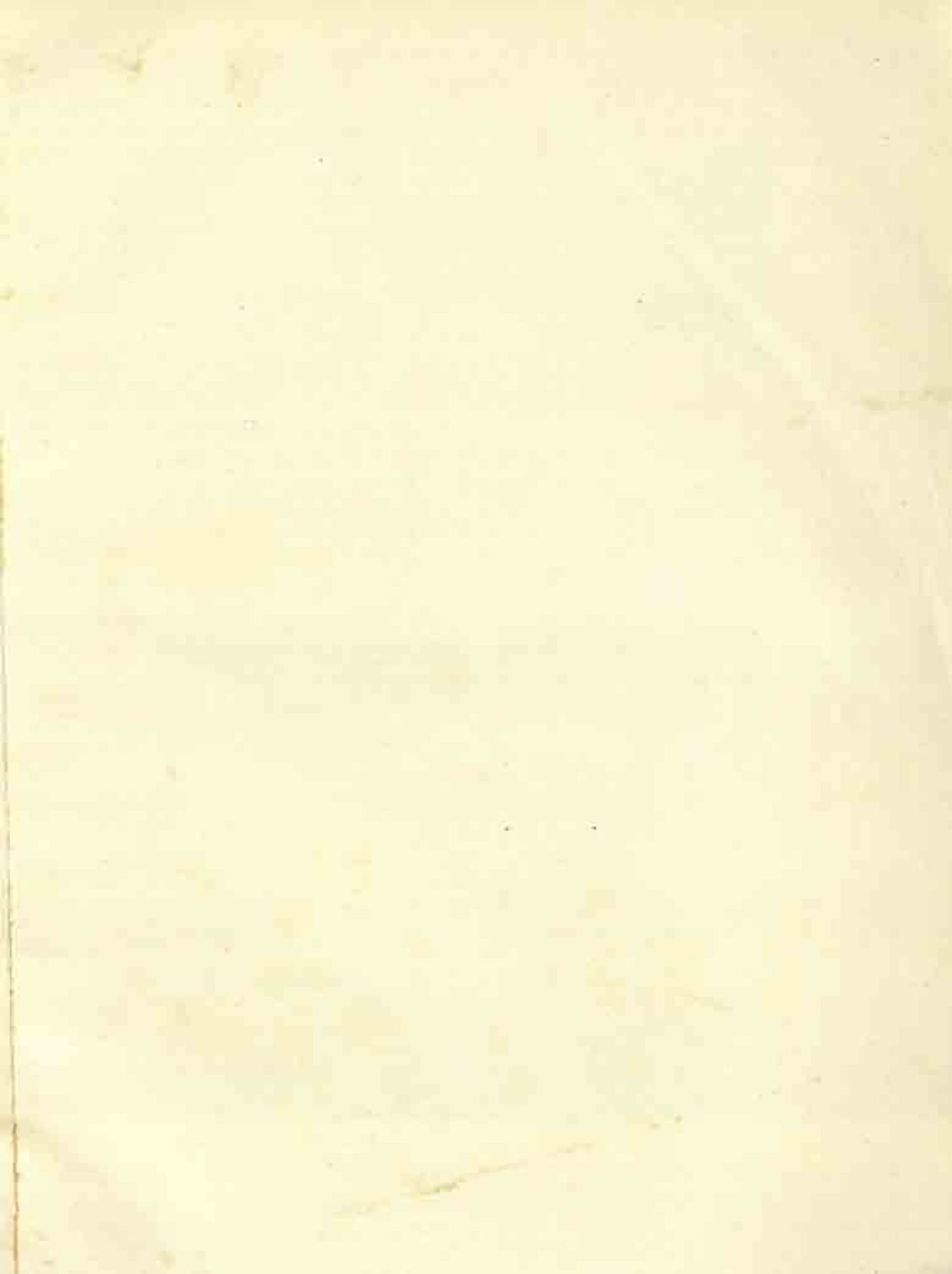
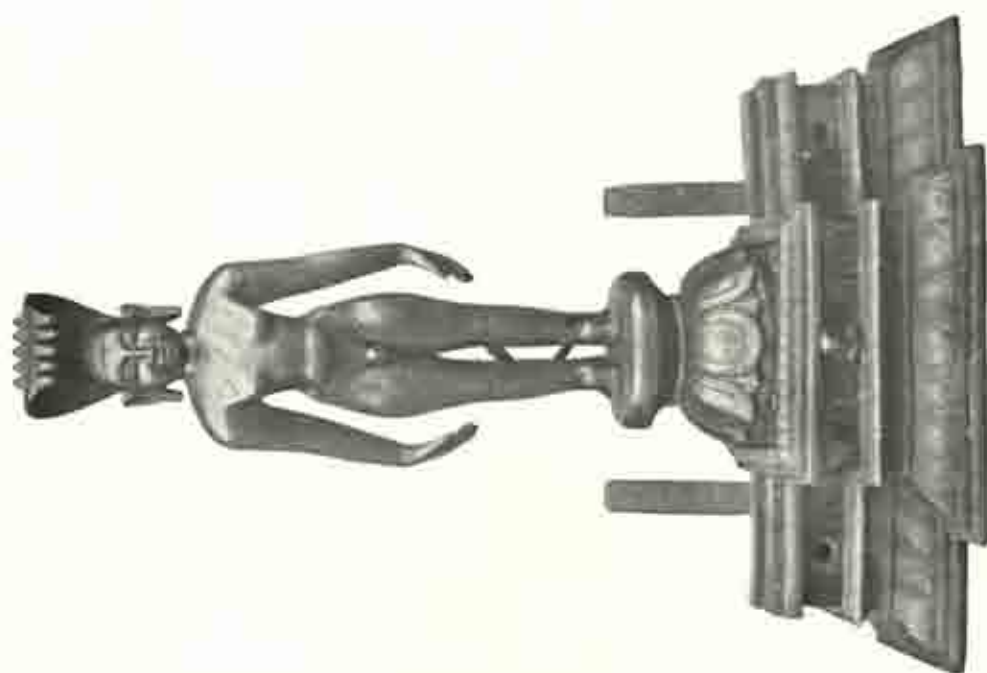


PLATE XXXIII.

1. Dharapendra Yaksha.
2. Pārśvanātha.
3. Padmavatī Yakshinī.



1
LOHARĀNENDRA.



2
PĀRVANĀTHA.

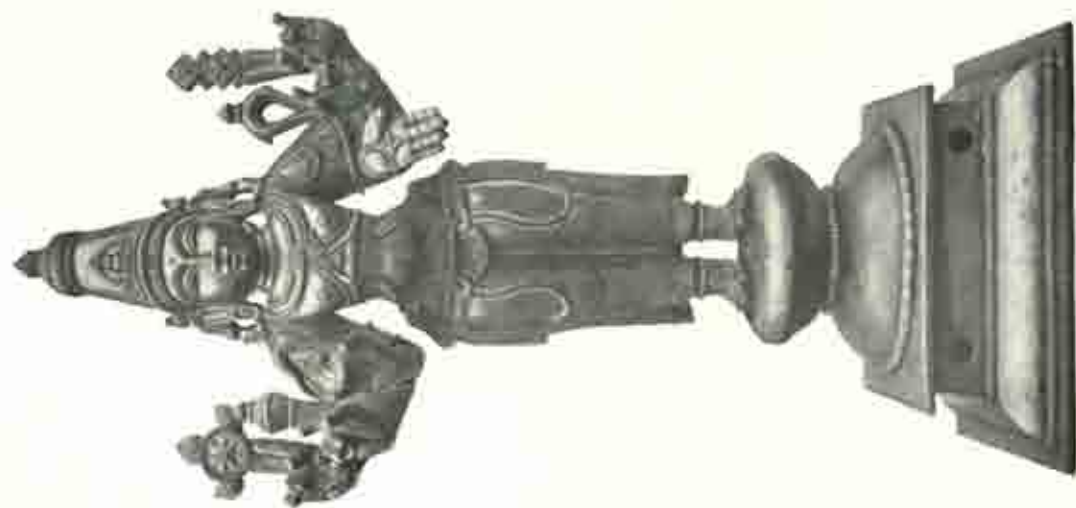


3
PADMĀVATĪ.



PLATE XXXIV.

1. Mātanga Yaksha.
2. Vardhamāna.
3. Siddhayint Yakshini.



1

MĀTANGA.



2

VARDHAMĀNA.



3

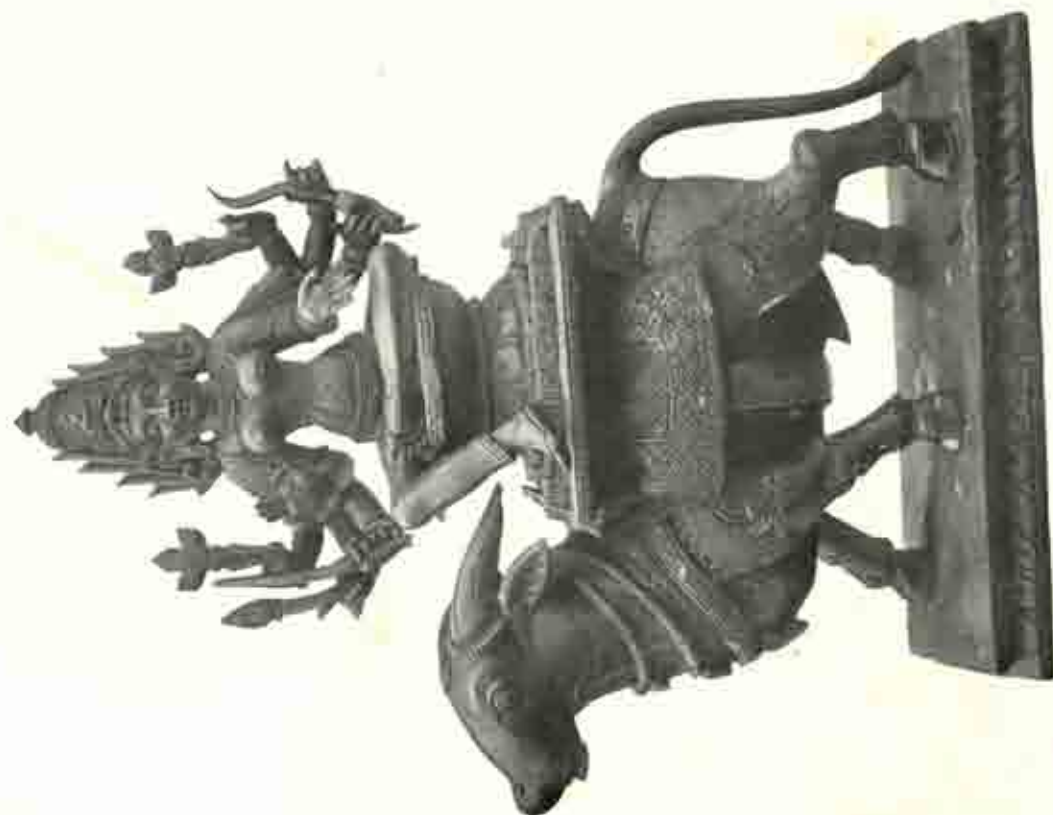
SIDDHĀVASTĪ.

PLATE XXXV.

1. Jvālamālinī.
2. Sarasvatī.



2
SARASVATI



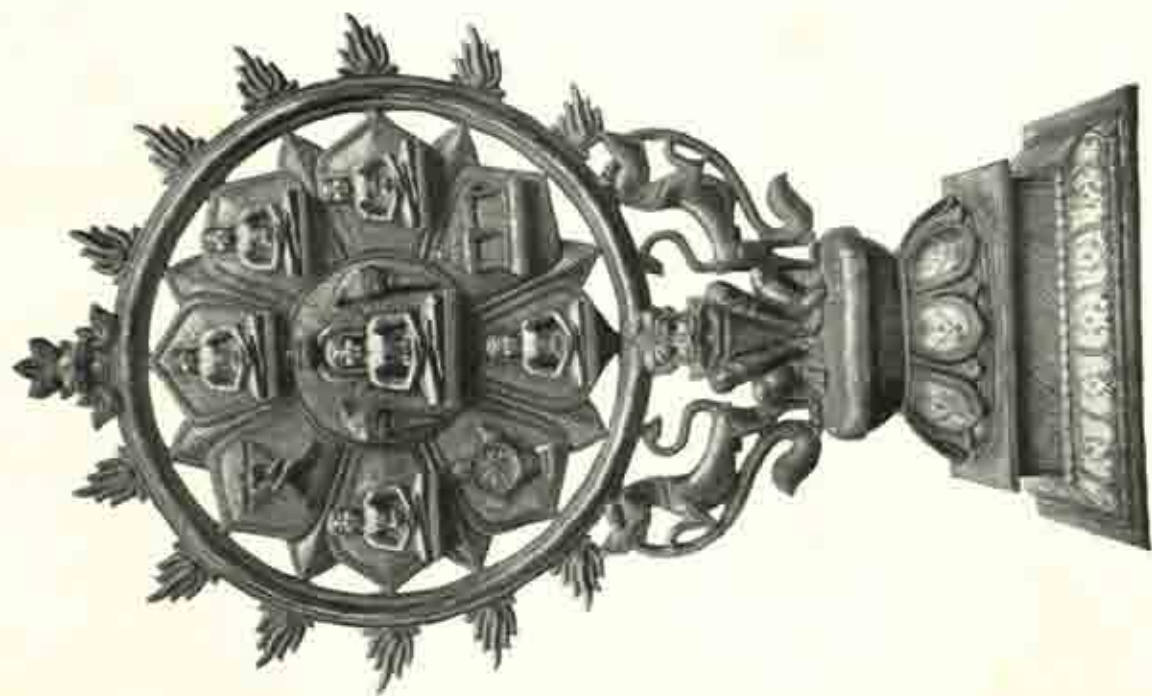
1
PARVATI

PLATE XXXVI.

1. Bāhubali.
2. *Pañchāpurameśhthī* or *Nava-devatā*.
3. Anantanātha.



3
ANANTANATHA.



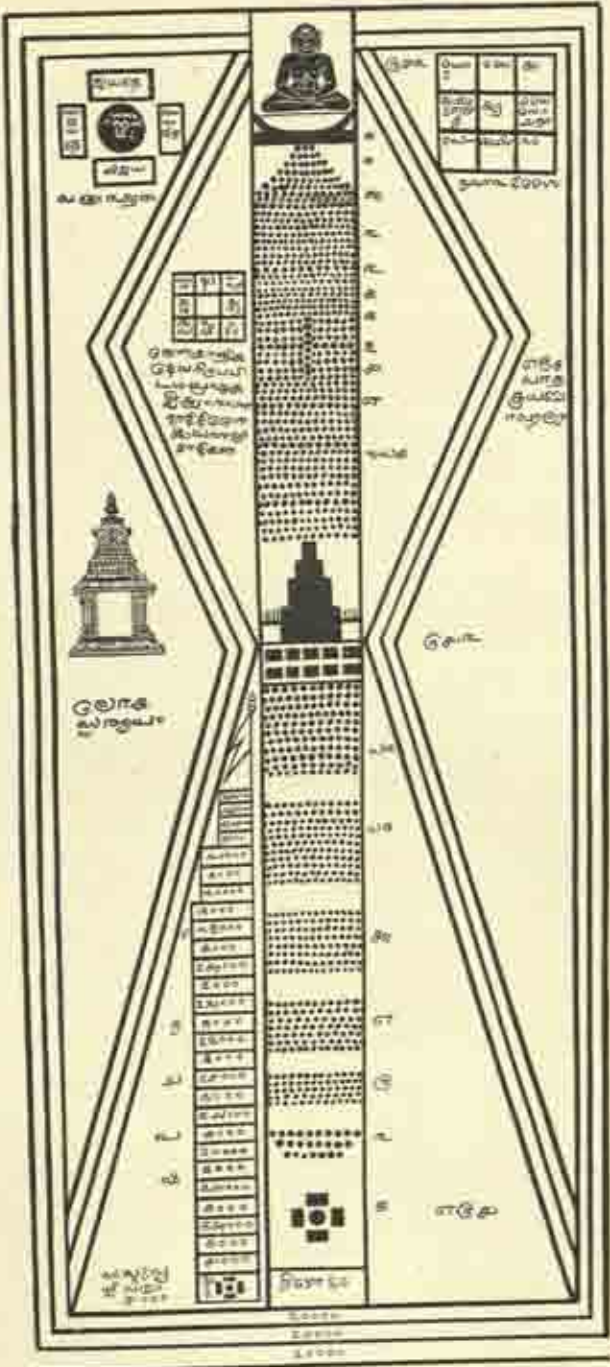
2
NAVA-DEVATĀ.



1
BAHUBALI.

PLATE XXXVII.

Diagram illustrating Jaina Cosmology from a picture in the Vardhamāna temple.



JAINA COSMOLOGY.

24

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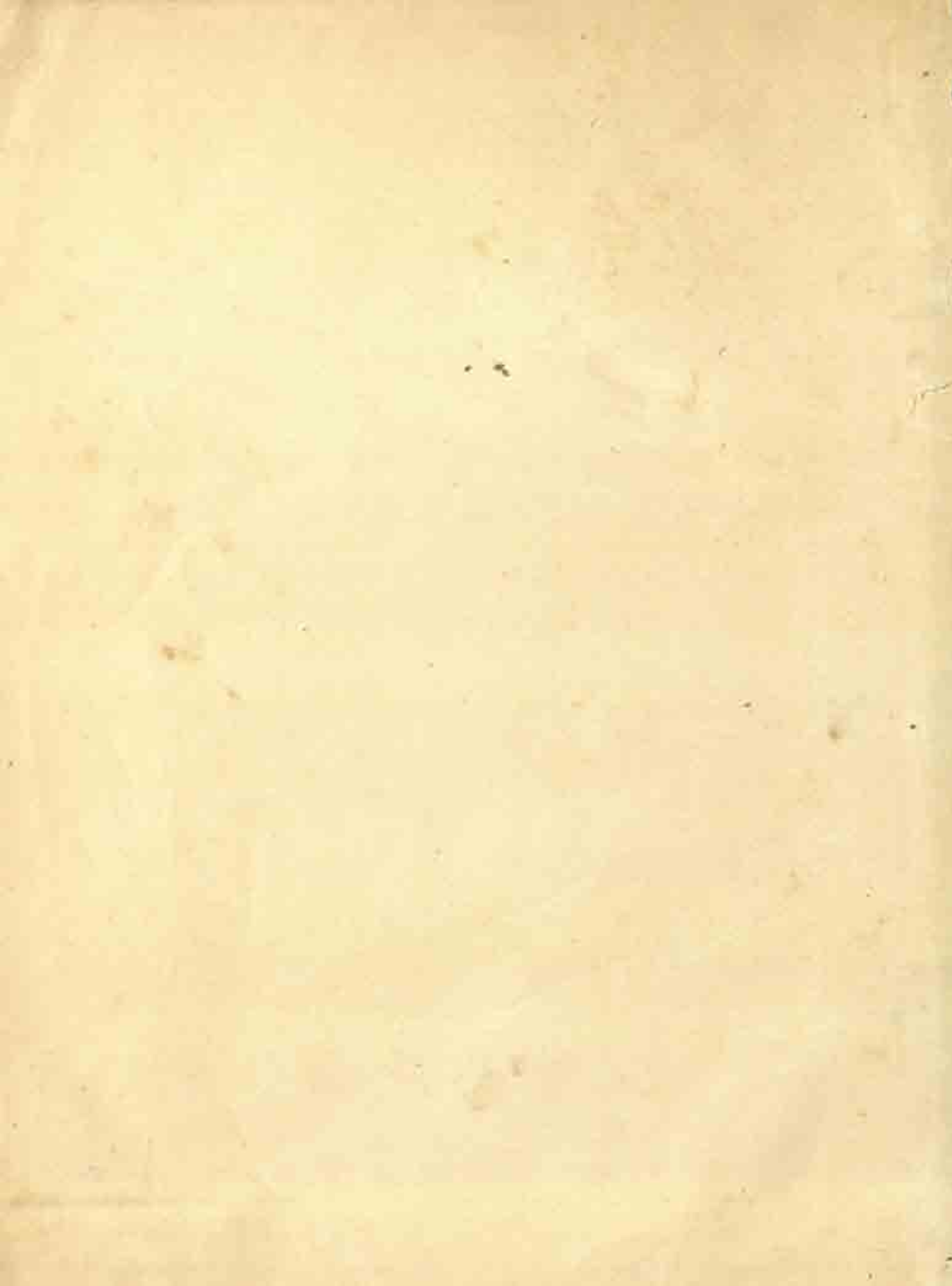
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WITH APPENDICES ON JAINA UNITS OF MEASUREMENT
AND TIME, COSMOLOGY AND CLASSIFICATION OF SOULS

BY

T. N. RAMACHANDRAN, M.A.

Government Museum, Madras

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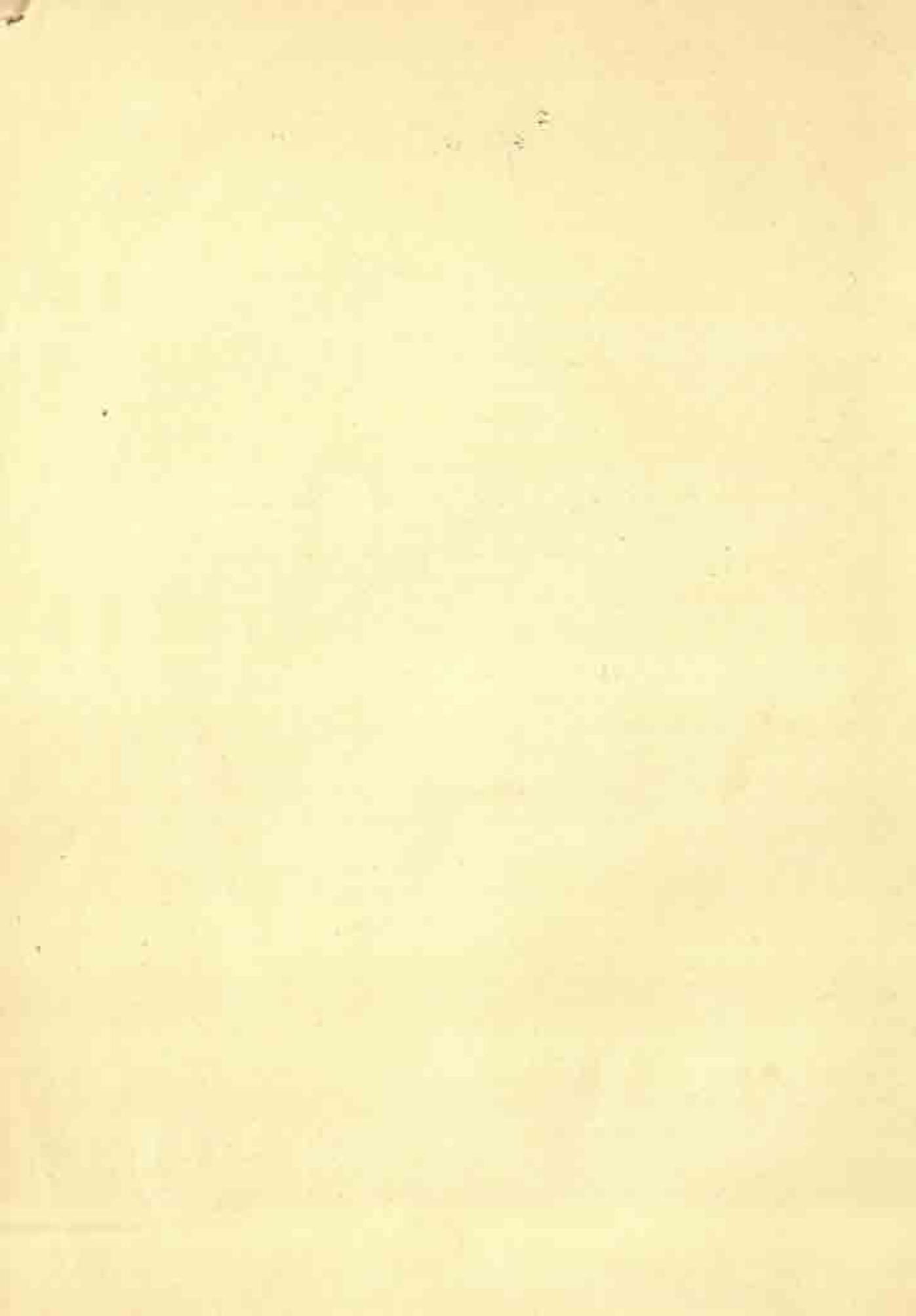
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AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

In the village of Tiruparuttikunram on the outskirts of Conjeevaram is an enclosure containing two Jaina temples. The smaller of them is in late Pallava style, the larger early Chola with a *mandapa* in Vijayanagara style. They thus supply an epitome of the main features of the chronological development of Dravidian temple architecture which so far as is known is found nowhere else in so concise and well-balanced a form.

The evidence of architectural style is supported by evidence contained in inscriptions in which the larger temple is particularly rich. And the ceilings of the *mandapa* and veranda of this temple are adorned with paintings illustrating Jaina mythology, a row of which has been published by Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy in his *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, pl. LXXX, fig. 256. It will thus be seen that these temples, though small, are of quite exceptional interest and deserving detailed study.

This has therefore been attempted in the following pages. It led at once to the identification of Tiruparuttikunram with Jina-Kāñchī of the temple inscriptions, Nos. 19 and 21. It also necessitated a study from Jaina manuscripts and texts of Jaina iconography, mythology, cosmology, etc., from the Digambara standpoint. As the insertion in this paper of a convenient and clear account of these will be most appropriate to explain many details arising from the study of the paintings not explained under their descriptions, a summary is given in Appendices I-III. The authorities consulted are:—

1. The *Śrī Purāṇa*, 2. *Ādi Purāṇa* and 3. *Punyāsrava-kathā*, obtained from the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library; 4. *Merumandara Purāṇa* obtained from Mr. T. Appavu, Tiruparuttikunram; 5. *Vardhamāna Purāṇa* from the Adyar Library; 6-10. Four palm leaf manuscripts, two relating to the iconography of the *Yakshas* and *Yakshīs*, one relating to *Punyāhavachana* and the fourth relating to *Āchārya-praśasti* obtained from the temple priest, as also a printed copy of Āśādhara's *Pūjavidhi* obtained from the same source; 11-12. Hemachandra's *Trishashṭiśalākāpuruṣa-charitra* (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. LI) and *Abhidhāna-chintāmaṇi*; 13-14. Nemichandra's *Trilokasāra*, and Umāsvāmi's *Tatvārthādhigama-sūtra* (edited by J. L. Jaini) obtained from Mr. Mallinath, editor of the *Jaina Gazette*, besides other printed

books and English publications such as C. R. Jain's *Rishabhadeva*, J. L. Jain's works on Jainism and papers in Journals such as the *Indian Antiquary*, etc.

My thanks are due to the temple trustees of Tiruparuttikunram, more particularly to Mr. T. Appavu Jain, Honorary Magistrate of Conjeevaram, for facilitating the preparation of this work. I acknowledge with pleasure the generous assistance rendered by the temple priest Mr. Purushottama Upadhyaya, who not only placed at my disposal the manuscripts necessary for my study and explained several passages in them from out of his experience of temple rituals and other Jaina matters, but also evinced a zealous interest in my work throughout.

I am under a deep debt of obligation to Dr. F. H. Gravely, the Editor, for much helpful criticism and valuable suggestions. My thanks are no less due to Mr. C. S. Mallinath, Editor of the *Jaina Gazette*, Madras, not only for procuring for me the necessary literature but also for his kindness in reading through my manuscript and for incidental criticisms.

T. N. RAMACHANDRAN.

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ERRATA.

Page	Line	For	Read
4	Footnote 2, line 6	Śvetāmbaras	Śvetāmbaras
7	29	Vaishṇvism	Vaishṇavism
14	5	mentions this	mentions this
27	34	}	}
28	6		
28	41	ii-B	i-B
41	25	<i>konḍai</i>	<i>konḍai</i>
47	36	Hima śītala	Hima-śītala
57	19	Conjeeveram	Conjeevaram
57	33	<i>nṛpatih</i>	<i>nṛpatih</i>
58	40	<i>Māvandūr</i>	<i>Māvandūr</i>
60	31	<i>T</i>	<i>I</i>
66	38	<i>Jayate</i>	<i>Jāyate</i>
74	8 and 28	<i>lion</i>	<i>tiger</i>
80	8	<i>mahārājagum</i>	<i>mahārājagum</i>
87	31	<i>-mandapa</i>	<i>-mandapa</i>
100	7	Dharanendran	Dharanendran
119	33	Piryakāriṇi	Priyakāriṇi
120	Footnote 1, line 23	<i>asttaḥ</i>	<i>stataḥ</i>
120	Footnote 1, line 35	Anats	Ānata
150	22	<i>dev</i>	<i>div</i>
155	Footnote 1, line 3	devine	divine
169	1	Utsarpiṇi	Utsarpiṇi
172	30	<i>Asipat</i>	<i>Asipata</i>
183	21	Anata	Ānata
188	Footnote 2	<i>aṅga</i>	<i>aṅga</i>
193	41	Dharaṇī	Dhāraṇī
195	39	Aryadinna	Āryadinna
210	3	Pārsvayaksha	Pārsvayaksha
212	Footnote 3, line 2	Śaṅkha-	Śaṅkha-
221	35	<i>Nārāyaṇa</i>	<i>Nārāyaṇa</i>
226	23	centemporaneous	contemporaneous
243	23	Vantarās	Vyantarās
243	26	Jivandara	Jivandhara
244	4	<i>Jyotiśchakra</i>	<i>Jyotiśchakra</i>
248	11	Aryadevi	Āryadevi
250	17	Padma Sri	Padma Śrī

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<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	<i>For</i>	<i>Read</i>
250	21	Attakāla	Atitakāla
250	4	Patrā-	Patra-
251	35	Pratishṭhāpana	Pratishṭhāpana
254	20	Śrībhadrā	Śrībhadrā
254	21	Śrīchandra	Śrīchandra
255	32	Subhāṅkara	Subhāṅkara
255	48	vimāka	vimāna
255	12	Sukra	Sukra
256	5	-dvīpa	-dvīpa
256 {	42 }	Syāmavara-	Syāmavara-
256 {	43 }		
256	38	-mandapa	-mandapa

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

A.R.S.I.E.	...	...	...	Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy.
Bombay Gaz.	...	...	...	Bombay Gazetteer.
Ep. Car.	...	...	...	<i>Epigraphia Carnatica.</i>
Ep. Ind.	...	...	...	<i>Epigraphia Indica.</i>
Hist. Sket. Anc. Dekh.	...	...	...	Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekhan, by K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar.
Ind. Ant.	...	...	...	Indian Antiquary.
J.A.O.S.	...	...	...	Journal of the American Oriental Society.
Jour. Univ. Bombay	...	...	...	Journal of the University of Bombay.
M.E.R.	...	...	...	Madras Epigraphy Report.
Q.J.M.S.	...	...	...	Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore.
S.I.I.	...	...	...	South Indian Inscriptions.
S.L.A.	...	...	...	Sewall's List of Antiquities.

TIRUPARUTTİKUNRAM (JINA-KĀNCHĪ) AND ITS TEMPLES.

BY T. N. RAMACHANDRAN, M.A.

Government Museum, Madras.

A regular colony of Jains seems to have been settled in Kāñchīpuram (Conjeevaram) from ancient times and the locality where they lived was styled "Jina-Kāñchī" or that part of Kāñchī occupied by the Jains. In the Conjeevaram taluk, Jaina vestiges are found at Tiruparuttikunram, Ārpakkam, Māgarai, Āryaperumbakkam, etc. Of these Tiruparuttikunram, about two miles from Conjeevaram, situated on the right bank of the river Vegavattī is popularly known as "Jina-Kāñchī" to-day and formed part of Conjeevaram from very ancient times.¹ The Jaina temple here is the biggest in the taluk² and of great interest, both architecturally and on account of its paintings illustrating the lives of some of the Tīrthaṅkaras.

The Digambara Jains of Mysore speak of four seats of learning (*Vidyāsthānas* or *Chatus-simhāsanas*), these being Kollāpura, Jina-Kāñchīpura, Penukoṇḍa and Dehli.³ Burgess suggests that Jina-Kāñchīpura is perhaps the present Chittānūr in South Arcot District.⁴ But the local tradition associating the name of Jina-Kāñchīpura with the village of Tiruparuttikunram, the high repute of Conjeevaram as a seat of learning from very early times⁵, and the reference in many other Jaina texts and traditions to Kāñchīpura as one of the *Vidyāsthānas*,⁶ warrant the identification of the present village of Tiruparuttikunram with Jina-Kāñchī. This identification receives additional strength from the inscriptions⁷ found in one of the local temples, the one dedicated to Vardhamāna, the twenty-fourth Tīrthaṅkara.

Inscriptions, numbers 19 and 21⁸ prove beyond any manner of doubt that Jina-Kāñchīpura or Jina-Kāñchī stands for Tiruparuttikunram and not for Chittānūr. The latter which is dated in the seventh regnal year of the Chola⁹ king Rajarāja III.

¹ E. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar, *Hist. Sket. Acc. Decc.*, p. 70.

² *A.R.S.I.E.*, 1922-23, p. 129.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. xxii, p. 460.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. viii, p. 34.

⁶ *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. 9, pp. 247 and 255. "Account of the Jains (collected from a priest at Mulgeri)"—

"At this time, the Jains have four Mathādhipas, or chief Pontiffs, at the following places: (1) Penukoṇḍa or Pennakoṇḍa, (2) Cāñchī or Conjeevaram, (3) Kollāpur, (4) Delhi. . . . Their Sunnyasis, for a long time back, have resided in these places, with power over all those professing their religion; these pontiffs teach their laws, duties and customs; and if they observe any irregularities among their flocks, punish them according to the nature of the offence."

⁷ See *below*, Nos. 7, 19 and 21 of our list, pp. 57, 60 and 61; *A.R.S.I.E.*, No. 97 of 1923, pp. 70 and 129; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. vii, p. 116.

⁸ See *below*, pp. 60 and 61.

⁹ Diacritical marks on popular words like Chola, Pandya, etc., are avoided in this paper.

(1223 A.D.) refers to Tiruparuttikunram by both its names, Jina-Kāñchipura and Tiruparuttikunram, and the former, which on palaeographical grounds should be assigned to about 1600 A.D., disarms all doubts on the point by referring to this place distinctly as Jina-Kāñchipura and omitting the name Tiruparuttikunram. There are other inscriptions also in this temple, ranging from 1200 A.D. to 1400 A.D., numbers 7, 14, 16 and 17¹, in which the place is referred to as either Jina-Kāñchipura or Kāñchi or Kachchi or Jina-Kāñchi. Further we can hardly look for a Jina-Kāñchi anywhere but in Kāñchi itself, for the term means nothing more than that part of Kāñchipura occupied by the Jaina residents of the place.

The name Tiruparuttikunram seems to have been derived from the fact that the cultivation of "parutti," the Tamil name for cotton, was once carried on here on a large scale². In proof of this fact it is now pointed out that the image of Chandraprabha in the small temple at Tiruparuttikunram³ is placed on the second floor at a height of about twelve feet from the ground in order that it may not be hidden amidst the cotton cultivation. It may be suggested however that we have perhaps in the name Tiruparuttikunram a corruption of the name *Śēmporkunram* or *kunru*, meaning the "Beautiful golden hill", the name by which the place is referred to in inscription number 1.⁴ "Tiru" may be taken as an equivalent of "Śēn" in that it means also "beautiful". Thus Tiruparuttikunram is a corruption of *Śēmporkunru* or *Śēmporkunram*, or of *Tiruporkunram*, if we replace "Śēn" by "Tiru." This suggestion receives strength from the fact that the locality where inscriptions numbers 22—24⁵ are incised on the *samādhi* stones of some of the sages that lived at Tiruparuttikunram is now called *Arunagiri-mēdu*, or "the elevation called Arunagiri." *Arunagiri* is the Sanskrit for *Śēmporkunru*. This locality being only within a hundred yards of the temples it may be seen that the old name "*Śēmporkunram*" is even now in current use.

Unlike Madura, Uraiyūr and Cranganore, the capitals of the Pandya, Chola and Chera kings, Conjeevaram, which was once the capital of the Pallavas, abounds in structural monuments dating from the remote past and containing a large number of inscriptions which help the building of the city's history. More than 283 lithic records were collected from the city by Sir Walter Elliot as early as 1882 and, according to him, they do not exhaust the number of epigraphs in the place.⁶

The place is called, both in inscriptions and in early works in Tamil and Sanskrit, Kachchi, Kāñchi, Kāñchi, and Kachchipēdu. Appar, Tirujñāna Sambandha and other Śaiva saints among the *Nayanmārs* and Tirumanāgai and other Ājvārs have sung hymns on the Conjeevaram temples. The Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsiang, who visited Conjeevaram in about 640 A.D. calls the city "Kin-chi-pulo" and says that it was the capital of "Talo-pi-cha," i.e., Drāviḍa (the Tamil country) and was 30 *li* round⁷. From early records

¹ See *below*, pp. 37, 39 and 60.

² See *below*, p. 12.

³ See *below*, pp. 61 and 62.

⁴ *A.R.S.I.E.*, 1922-23, p. 120.

⁵ See *below*, pp. 49 and 50.

⁶ *S.I.A.*, Vol. 1, pp. 178-187.

⁷ *Beal*, *Si yu shi*, Vol. 2, p. 228.

It is evident that the name of the country in which the city was situated and of which it was then the capital was *Tundaka-vishaya*, the several variants of which are *Tondira*, *Tundira*, *Tondā* and *Tondai*.¹ The Tamil equivalent of "*Tundaka-vishaya*" is "*Tondai-maṇḍalam*" which still remains in use. At the beginning of the reign of the great Chola king *Rajarāja I* (985-1013 A.D.), the name "*Tondai-maṇḍalam*" was changed into "*Jayamkonda-chōla-maṇḍalam*" after one of the surnames of *Rajarāja* himself, and "it was by this latter name that the territory was known for several centuries, i.e., until the *Vijayanagara* times."² In inscriptions earlier than the time of *Rajarāja I* it is the term "*Tondai-maṇḍalam*" that is used. The term "*Jayamkonda-chōla-maṇḍalam*" appears, therefore, to come into use in the latter part of the reign of that king.³ Strangely however the older name alone has survived.

The history of *Conjeevaram*, from the earliest times to the beginning of the 13th century A.D., is elaborately dealt with by Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar, in his book "*Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekkhan*" under Book I. The city was the capital of the *Pallavas* from perhaps the second century A.D. to almost the end of the ninth century A.D. At the beginning of the ninth century it fell into the hands of the Western *Chalukya* king, *Vikramāditya II*, who did not hold it long. In the third quarter of the tenth century the *Rāshtrakūtas* became its lords but only for a short period (945-970 A.D.).

Leaving out of consideration these short occupations, we can say that the *Cholas*, who obtained possession of the city in the last quarter of the ninth century A.D., continued as its lords till the middle of the thirteenth century, when the *Kakatiyas* of *Warangal* and the *Telugu-Chola* chiefs from the north took their place "but found competent rivals in the rising *Pāndya* kings of *Madura*." The history of *Conjeevaram* for a few years from then is confused and the city was affected seriously by several feudatory families revolting against the imbecile later *Chola* kings and asserting their independence, and by the invasions of South India by the iconoclast *Muhammadans*, chief among whom was *Malik-Kafur*. Fortunately for South India these *Muhammadan* invaders were only actuated by "plunder and lust, not dominion." When they left *Conjeevaram* the *Vijayanagara* kings took possession of it in about 1377 A.D. and retained it till the beginning of the seventeenth century A.D.,⁴ during which period the city enjoyed prosperity and peace and witnessed the growth of some more structural monuments.

Its monuments bear testimony to the fact that the city was a stronghold of people of various religions from very early times. Buddhism, Jainism, Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism, each in its turn, had powerful hold over the city and have left unmistakable marks of their influence. According to *Huen Tsiang*, who visited *Conjeevaram* in about 640 A.D., "*Kāñchī* is as old as *Buddha*, *Buddha* converted its people, *Dharmapāla* *Bodhisattva* was born there, and *Aśoka* built several *stūpas* in its neighbourhood."⁵ He further states that

¹ *S.I.L.*, Vol. I., p. 146.

² K. V. S. Ayyar, *Hist. Sket. Anc. Dekh.*, p. 5.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 63, 71 and 72.

I.A

⁴ *Bombay Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 328.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 5.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, p. 222.

the "Jainas were very numerous in his day, and that Buddhism and Brahmanism were about on a par."¹

In the early stages * Jain influence existed side by side with that of Buddhism. The *Sthalapurdna* of nearly every temple in Conjeevaram confirms the belief of the people that "Conjeevaram was for ages a Buddhist and afterwards a Jaina town."²

This takes us to the very interesting question of the history of Jainism in South India which, according to Mr. S. R. Sharma "is the history of a partial attempt to Aryanise the Dravidian races."³ This attempt may be said to commence when Chandragupta Maurya accompanied Bhadrabāhu I to the south a few years before 297 B.C. This was followed by other missions to the south, such as that of Kalakāchārya, a preacher of the Śvetāmbara sect who "found his way to the court of the king of Penthā in the Deccan," and who was probably an Āndhra king or chief ruling from Paithan, and of Viśakhachārya, a Digambara preacher who "with a group of emigrants penetrated the Choja and Pandya countries." The spread of Jainism and the dissemination of Jaina ideals in the Tamil country received sufficient impetus on the advent of Kundakundachārya⁴ "evidently a Dravidian and the first in almost all the genealogies of the southern Jainas"⁵ and is attested to by literary works such as the *Kura* of Tiruvalluvar, *Maṇimekalai* and *Śilappadikāram*. The spread of Jainism in the Tamil country is in no small measure due to "the patronage it obtained at the courts of Kāñchi and Madura." At the time of the visits of Hiuen Tsiang to these cities, the former had a number of *Deva* temples of which "the majority belonged to the Digambaras,"⁶ and the latter had in it living a number of Digambaras.⁷

Whatever may be the controversial views entertained by historians to-day on the question of "the antiquity of Jainism" and the existence of "a Jaina period in the History of India" it is accepted on all hands that from the beginning of the Christian era down to the epoch-making conversion of the Hoysala Vishṇuvardhana by Rāmaṇuja in the twelfth century, Jainism was the most powerful religion in the South."⁸

Though we do not possess to-day the names of kings in South India who were Buddhists, we have fortunately preserved for us the names of some that adopted Jainism.⁹

¹ *S.E.A.*, Vol. I, p. 176.

² According to a Jaina tradition, also recorded in the Śravastī Belgoja inscription, Bhadrabāhu I (see *Appendix III*, pp. 215, 216) the last *Śruti-Kṛanti*, led the northern Jainas, 12,000 in number to South India in the time of the Mauryan emperor Chandragupta. Chandragupta is said to have joined the migrating party. Professor Jacobi determines the date of this migration as probably a few years before 297 B.C. Bhadrabāhu died on the way at Chandragiri hill before the migration was completed. This fact of the Jaina migration to the south is important inasmuch as it is really the starting point for an account of South Indian Jainism. The division of the Jainas into Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras, which according to Leumann is the initial fact of Digambara tradition, starts from here.

³ *Chingleput Manual*, p. 109.

⁴ See *Appendix III*, pp. 216, 218.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 229-30.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, p. 214; *A.E.S.I.E.*, 1922-23, p. 129.

⁷ *Jour. Univ. Bombay*, Vol. I, part I, p. 177.

⁸ *Watters, Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 226.

⁹ *Jour. Univ. Bombay*, Vol. I, part I, p. 183.

Some of the Pallava kings of Kāñchi, chief among whom was Mahendravarman I (600-30 A.D.),¹ a few Pandya, Western Chālukya, Gaṅga, Rashtrakuta, Kalachurya and Hoysala kings were staunch Jainas, and it is said of some of them that they persecuted other religionists.

The early faith of Kūṇ-Pandya or Neḷumāraṇ, a great Pandya king who lived in the eighth century, was Jainism, from the "clutches" of which, it is said, he was saved by Tiruñāna Sambandha, another Śaivite saint. The Kadamba kings of Banavāsi in Kāñchi, though themselves Hindus, were "systematically eclectic and favoured Jainism as the religion of many of their subjects."² They are, to mention a few, Kākusthavarmā (430-450 A.D.), Mṛigeśavarman (475-490 A.D.), Ravivarman (497-537 A.D.) and Hari-varman (537-547 A.D.).³

The Western Chālukyas or the early Chālukyas as they are more often called, were also patrons of Jainism. Jayasimha I, the first king of the dynasty appears to have patronised three Jaina Āchāryas, Guṇachandra, Vasuchandra and Vādirāja.⁴ Pulakeśi I (550 A.D.) made endowments to a Jaina temple at Ālaktanagara and Kirtivarman I (566-597 A.D.), his son, gave a grant to "the temple of Jinendra," while Pulakeśi II, the latter's son (609-642 A.D.) patronised Ravikīrti, the Jaina poet who composed the Aihole inscription in which he says:—"This stone temple of Jinendra . . . was constructed by Ravikīrti, who had acquired the greatest favour of that same Satyāśraya (Pulikeśi), whose commands were restrained by the three oceans."⁵ Niravadya-panḍita or Udaya-deva-panḍita as he is also called, house-pupil of Pūjyapāda, who belonged to the *Deva-gaṇa* of the *Mūla-saṅgha*,⁶ i.e., of Digambara Jainas, is spoken of as a spiritual adviser of Jayasimha II,⁷ and of Vinayāditya (680-697 A.D.).⁸ He is said to have received at the hands of Vijayāditya (696-733 A.D.), the son of Vinayāditya, a village for the maintenance of a Jaina temple. Vikramāditya II (733-747 A.D.), the son of Vijayāditya, repaired a Jaina temple and gave a grant in connection with it to a Jaina ascetic Vijaya-panḍita by name.⁹

¹ According to tradition he was later on converted to Śaivism by the Śaiva saint Appar, himself a Jaina in the beginning of his life when he was called Dharmasena. Strangely enough there is a Jaina tradition which the temple priest at Tiruparuttikūṣṭam narrated as being included in one of their *purāṇas* called *Dharmasena-purāṇa*, which says that Appar returned to his old faith in the latter part of his life for which he was ill to death by some Śaivites. See also *Studies in South Indian Jainism*, part I, p. 153, note 2.

² *Jour. Univ. Bombay*, Vol. I, part I, p. 178.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 178—"Kākusthavarmā ends one of his inscriptions by reverencing Śiṣabhaḍḍa, one of the Jaina Tīrthāṅkaras. His grandson Mṛigeśavarmā gave some fields at Vaijayantī 'to the divine supreme Arhat' . . . upon another occasion divided the village of Kālavāṅga into three parts and distributed them as follows: The first he gave 'to the great god Jinendra', the second for 'the enjoyment of the sect . . . called Svetapātha (Svetāmbaras)', and the third 'to . . . the Nirgranthas' (Digambaras). Ravivarman granted a village so 'that the glory of Jinendra . . . should be celebrated regularly every year' at Pālāṅka (Halsi). Harivarman also made several grants to the Jainas."

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 179.

⁵ See below, p. 41.

⁶ *Bombay Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 191.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Jour. Univ. Bombay*, Vol. I, part I, p. 179.

⁹ *Ibid.*, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 197; Vol. XI, p. 214.

But the "golden age of Jainism" in Kārṇāṭaka was under the Gangas, who, it is said, made Jainism their "state religion." It is said of the great Jaina Āchārya Simhanandi that he was not only instrumental in laying the foundation of the Gāṅga kingdom but acted also in the capacity of an adviser to Koṅṣaṇivarman I, the first Gāṅga king.¹ While Maḍhava II (540-565 A.D.) made grants to the Digambaras, Durvīṇṭa (605-650 A.D.) sat at the feet of Pōjyapāda and Durvīṇṭa's son Mushkara (650 A.D.) made Jainism the "state religion." Gāṅga kings, who came subsequently, were zealous patrons of Jainism. It is said of Mārasiṃha III (961-974 A.D.), whose general Chāmuṇḍa Rāja erected the colossal statue of Bahubali at Śravaṇa Belgōḷa, that he "crowned his life with the highest sacrifice a Jaina may offer to his faith, viz., death by *sallekhana*, or slow starvation."² Rājamalla I (817-828 A.D.) founded a Jaina cave at Vallimalai in North Arcot District.³ Nītimārga I, his son, was a Jaina.

Among the Rāshtrakūṭas, who were also patrons of Jainism, the best known is Amoghavarsha I (814-15-877-78 A.D.), though we know also that his father Govinda III (798-815 A.D.) gave a grant to a Jaina teacher Arikīrti, "for removing the evil influence of Saturn from Vimalāditya of the Chāḷukya family."⁴ It is said of Amoghavarsha I that he sat at the feet of the great Jināsena,⁵ who was the preceptor of Guṇabhadra and wrote beside the Jaina *Harivaṃśa*, the first recension of which was completed in 783-4 A.D. in the time of Govinda III, a portion of the *Ādi-purāṇa*, which was part of the Jaina *Mahā-purāṇa*, while Guṇabhadra completed the *Ādi-purāṇa* by writing the *Uttara-purāṇa* or the second part of the *Mahā-purāṇa* in 897 A.D., in the reign of Amoghavarsha's successor, Kṛṣṇa II (880-911-12 A.D.). Among Jaina works that were written at the Rāshtrakūṭa capital, mostly under the patronage of Amoghavarsha I, mention may be made, besides *Harivaṃśa*, *Ādi-purāṇa* and *Uttara-purāṇa*, of *Akalāṅka Charita*, *Jayadha-valatika*, a work on Digambara philosophy by Virasenāchārya, a mathematical work called *Sārasaṃgraha* or *Gaṇitasārasaṃgraha* by Virāchārya, and a treatise on moral subjects entitled *Prasānottara-ratnamālīkā*, the authorship of which is attributed to Amoghavarsha himself.⁶ In short it is said of Amoghavarsha I that he was the greatest patron of Digambara Jainism and that he adopted the Jaina faith.⁷ In the reign of Kṛṣṇa II his subjects and tributary chiefs either built or made grants to Jaina temples already built, doubtless under his patronage,⁸ and the Jaina *purāṇa* (*Mahā-purāṇa*) was consecrated in Śaka 820 by Lokasena, the pupil of Guṇabhadra.

The Chāḷukyas of Kalyāṇi who succeeded the Rāshtrakūṭas in 974 A.D. after the last Rāshtrakūṭa was defeated by Taila II (973-997 A.D.) were not so favourable to Jainism "and at times persecuted them." Śaiva opposition was getting stronger and the kings themselves were slowly coming under the sway of Śaivism. Thus, for instance,

¹ For details of Jainism in Gāṅṇavāḍi see *Q.J.M.S.*, Vol. XXIV, No. 1, pp. 49-52.

² *Jour. Univ. Bombay*, Vol. I, part I, p. 179; see below, p. 41.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 120.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, pp. 114-15.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 201.

⁶ *Jour. Univ. Bombay*, Vol. I, part I, p. 179.

⁷ *Bombay Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, pp. 200-1.

⁸ *Ibid.*

Jayasimha II (1018-1042 A.D.), the successor of Vikramāditya V (1009-1018 A.D.) and grandson of Taila II, is said to have persecuted the Jainas after being himself converted from Jainism to Śaivism at the instance of his wife Suggaladevi. The story of such persecution is narrated in the *Basava Purāṇa* and in the *Chenna Basava Purāṇa*. But his successor Āhavamalla Someśvara I (1042-68 A.D.) appears to have been a good patron of Jainism as evidenced by an inscription at Śravana Belgola which states that "the Jaina teacher Swāmi won the title of *Śabda-chaturmukha* at the hands of King Āhavamalla."¹

It has been more often supposed that the Chola kings persecuted the Jainas. This does not appear to be generally true as will be seen from a study of the Chola inscriptions in the Jaina temples at Tiruparuttikunram detailed below (pp. 49-57 and 61).

Tribhuvanamalla Bijjala (1156-67 A.D.), the founder of the Kalachurya dynasty, who was himself a Jaina to start with and had in his grants the figure of a Tirthankara, came under the evil influence of his minister Basava, the founder of the Lingayat sect, who prevailed on his master to persecute and even exterminate the Jainas. When Basava found that Bijjala did not fully agree with him in his campaign of hatred nor approved of the methods that he had adopted to persecute the Jainas he had the king murdered stealthily. This was followed by a period of terror and bloodshed "that spread as far as the kingdom of the Cholas and the Hoysalas."²

The Hoysalas, whose kingdom included modern Mysore, were staunch Jainas. Vinayāditya II (1047-1100 A.D.), the first historical person of this dynasty, owed his rise to power to a Jaina ascetic named Śāntideva. Śāntaladevi, the wife of Viṣṇuvardhana alias *Bitti* (1111-1141 A.D.), was a lay disciple of a Jaina teacher, Prabhāchandra, while Viṣṇuvardhana's minister Gaṅgarāja and Hulla, a minister of Narasimha I (1143-73 A.D.) are specifically cited as "two out of three very special promoters of the Jain faith."³ Thus there seems to be no doubt that the early Hoysalas were Jainas and that the later Hoysalas from Bitti onwards were converted to Vaiṣṇavism mainly because of Rāmānuja's personality. Bitti, who was perhaps the greatest ruler of the dynasty, was "a fervent militant Jaina down to the time when he was converted to Vaiṣṇavism by Rāmānuja," an event which came to happen by a miracle as Vaiṣṇava literature has it. Much reliance cannot be placed on the traditional account that the new convert persecuted the Jainas, being directed to do so by Rāmānuja, for we learn that his wife Śāntaladevi remained a Jaina and continued to make grants to the Jainas with the king's consent, and that Gaṅgarāja, his minister, whose services for Jainism are well known, continued to enjoy the king's favour. Moreover he himself is said to have endowed and repaired Jaina temples and to have afforded protection to Jaina images and priests. It is claimed for Viṣṇuvardhana—the name adopted by him after his conversion—that his reign was one of great toleration that continued even during the reigns of his successors.⁴

¹ *Jour. Univ. Bombay*, Vol. I, part I, p. 180.

² *Bombay Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 491.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Jour. Univ. Bombay*, Vol. I, part I, p. 181.

His successors, though themselves Vaishnavites, are said to have built Jaina temples (*bastis*) and to have protected Jaina *Āchāryas*. Such are for instance Narasimha I (1143-73 A.D.), Viraballala II (1173-1220 A.D.) and Narasimha III (1254-91 A.D.)¹

The Vijayanagara kings were always noted for their highly tolerant attitude towards religions and were therefore patrons of Jainism too. Bukka I (1357-1377-8 A.D.)², is spoken of for the Jaina-Vaishnava compact that he was able to effect during his reign³. This by itself speaks for the patronage that Jainism received at the hands of the early kings of Vijayanagara⁴. Bīmadevi, the queen of Deva Rāya I, is said to have been a disciple of a Jaina teacher Abhinava-Chārurkīrti-Paṇḍitāchārya and to have installed an image of Śāntinātha at Śravaṇa Belgōla. [We shall have occasion to speak of the faith of Irugappa, the general of Bukka II (1385-1406 A.D.)⁵ and of the toleration of the greatest of the Vijayanagara kings, Krishnadeva Rāya (1510-1529 A.D.) when describing the Var-dhamāna temple at Tiruparuttikupram⁶.] Almost all the rulers down to Rama Rāya made grants to Jaina temples and were tolerant enough⁷.

Such has also been the attitude of the feudatory and minor rulers under the Vijayanagara kings and of the ruling house of Mysore towards Jainism, an attitude which luckily continued down to the present day. It is said that some of the minor powers like the rulers of Gersoppa and the Bhairavas of Kārkāl "professed the Jaina faith and left monuments of importance in the history of Jaina art."⁸

It will thus be clear that whatever dynasty was master of Conjeevaram, Jainism was likely to receive support from it. There seems, however, to be no evidence of such continuous support to Buddhism. The fall of the Kalachurya dynasty in the Dekkhan was perhaps a death-blow to South Indian Jainism. But we find that it continued to flourish even after that in the Tuluva country. It has been rightly contended that for well nigh a millennium and a half, Jainism was "quite alive and active" and that "even now, unlike Buddhism, it has a considerable number of followers in the South, no less than in the North."⁹

Though both Buddhism and Jainism appear to have prospered in South India for a few centuries along with Śaivism and Vaishnavism, being tolerated by the kings, the

¹ *Jour. Univ. Bombay*, Vol. I, part I, p. 181.

² The dates available for Bukka I are: 1336-1377-8 A.D. Of these, his brother Harihar I ruled from 1336-1356. The latter made Bukka his *yuvārāja* about 1344 A.D., from which date we have Bukka's inscriptions, though he ascended the throne only in 1357 A.D.

³ He settled a dispute between the Jainas and the Vaishnavas by issuing a decree most favourable to the Jainas which he concluded as:—"For as long as the sun and the moon endure the Vaishnavas will continue to protect the *Jaina-darśana*. The Vaishnavas and the Jainas are one (*bheda*); they must not be viewed as different."⁴

⁴ *A.R.S.I.E.*, 1922-3, p. 129; *Studies in South Indian Jainism*, part I, p. 117.

⁵ Bukka II appears to have been given considerable power even during the life time of his father Harihar II (1377-1404 A.D.), as is evident from his assuming imperial titles even while his father was reigning.

⁶ See *ibid.*, pp. 23 and 58.

⁷ *Jour. Univ. Bombay*, Vol. I, part I, p. 183.

former appears to have received a check not only from Hindu reformers, but also from Jaina teachers, who seem to have been numerous in the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries. Both Tamil and Sanskrit literature clearly point to the triumph of the Jainas over the Buddhists.¹ Without proper leaders and with the withdrawal of royal support, Buddhism seems gradually to have declined after the seventh and eighth centuries A.D.² The rise of the Śaiva saints, Appar, Tirujñāna Sambandha, Maṅkiyavāchaka and Sundaramūrti to mention a few, and of the Vaiṣṇava Ālvārs, Nammālvār, Madhurakavi and Tirumaṅgai to mention a few, and of the Advaita philosopher Śaṅkarāchārya, and the establishment of mutts (*maṭhas*) in various parts of the country by Appar, Sambandha and Śaṅkara and a few of the Ālvārs, effectively removed the remnants of Buddhism almost from South India and greatly checked the growth of Jainism. Thus Buddhism disappears in South India in a manner "unparalleled in the history of any country or time,"³ while Jainism continued to survive especially in Mysore, though it received further setbacks from the Lingāyat rising and the advent of Rāmānuja in the 12th century A.D.⁴

In the light of what has been narrated above it is surprising that Jainism was not extinguished in the storm of persecution and reformation which swept Buddhism out of India. Mrs. Stevenson supplies the answer by saying that "the character of Jainism, however, was such as to enable it to throw out tentacles to help it in its hour of need."⁵ Then too among its chief heroes it had found niches for some of the favourites of the Hindu pantheon, Rāma, Kṛishṇa, Baladeva or Balarāma and the like. Though it denies the existence of a creator and of the Hindu *Trimūrti* it believes in many of the Hindu minor gods.⁶ Thus for instance, according to the Jainas, Indra or Devendra (Saudharmendra) "belongs specially to them, but has been stolen from them by the Brahmans."⁷ Another instance, more telling than any other, is the inclusion by the Jainas of the Hindu *avatār* Kṛishṇa in their list of the future Tirthaṅkaras of whom Kṛishṇa is to become the 12th, Amama by name. The fact that they were inclined in early days to absorb popular Hindu mythology is proved by their including in the list of future Tirthaṅkaras not only Kṛishṇa's brother, Baladeva, who is to become the 14th Tirthaṅkara Nishipulāka, but also Kṛishṇa's mother, Devaki, who becomes the 11th Tirthaṅkara Munisuvrata, Baladeva's mother, Rohiṇī, who becomes Chitragupta, the 16th Tirthaṅkara, the Hindu ascetic Dvalpāyana, who set fire to Dvārakā and Kuṇika, who in his past life was Javakumāra.

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 215.

² *Ibid.*, p. 216.

³ The latest Census Report (1931) gives the number of Jainas for the Madras Presidency as 31,237, Madras City and South Kanara, Chingleput and Arcot (South and North) districts alone containing 25,976, the majority of the number quoted. Though Jaina traditions are fast dying and the number of Jainas is decreasing, the memory of the sickening struggle between Jainism and Brahmanism is kept alive even to-day in the fresco-paintings on the ceiling of the *maṇḍapa* of the Golden-lotus tank of the Mṇākhaḥ temple at Madura, which illustrate scenes of impaling and tortures to which the Jainas were said to have been subjected at the instance of Tirujñāna Sambandha. It is sad to note that this humiliation, in the shape of a mock-persecution and mock-impaling, is made an item in five out of 12 annual festivals at the Madura temple. For details see *Studies in South Indian Jainism*, part I, p. 79.

⁴ *The Heart of Jainism*, p. 18.

⁵ See Appendix III, pp. 186, 191-195, 200, 202-204 and 207.

⁶ Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, p. 26 ff.

The former becomes Yaśodhara, the 19th Tīrthaṅkara and the latter becomes Vijaya, the 20th Tīrthaṅkara.¹ An examination of the details given in Appendix III (pp. 185-235) under iconography and classification of souls will give many more instances of what Mrs. Stevenson styles as "Hindu influence."

These elements of "Hindu influence," it should be understood, cannot have been forced on Jainism but must have been absorbed either deliberately or unconsciously. Interpolations embodying Brahmanical ritual, like the observance on the part of the Jaina of the sixteen kinds of ceremonies² known to the follower of the Vedas³ and the recognition of the Brahmana class as an integral part of the Jaina caste system⁴ appear to have been made to soften Brahman opposition and to "placate the Brahmanical hatred and win them over to protect the Jainas against bitter persecution at the hands of their co-religionists (Hindus)."⁵ Probably this was the only means left under the then existing conditions of preserving the Faith so dear to them. They gave some of the minor gods of the Hindu pantheon places in their own and the gods thus included came to be called *Kṣhetrapālas* or protectors of the place and they "certainly protected the temples from Hindu fury."⁶ When, therefore, storms of persecution swept over the land, Jainism found it easy to take refuge in Hinduism⁷ "which opened its capacious bosom to receive it and to the conquerors it seemed an indistinguishable part of that great system"⁸ (i.e., Hinduism). Jaina monuments such as those forming the subject of this paper have therefore been allowed to exist side by side even with such important Hindu temples as those of Kāñchi.⁹

THE TEMPLES.

The two temples at Tiruparuttikūṅgam are among the oldest temples of the district. The older of the two is a small shrine dedicated to Chandraprabha, the eighth Tīrthaṅkara. The other, which is later, is larger, being in fact the largest Jaina temple in the Conjeevaram taluk. It is dedicated to Vardhamāna, the twenty-fourth Tīrthaṅkara, popularly known as Mahāvīra and locally as Trailokyanātha. The history of these

¹ Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, p. 277; see below, pp. 212-213.

² E.g., *Garbhādāna*, etc.; for details see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 460-461.

³ *Ariatū Researches*, Vol. 9, p. 247.

⁴ C. R. Jain, *Śīkhahādava*, p. 102—"The recognition of the Brahmana class as an integral part of the Jaina caste system is attributed by some Jaina authorities to Bharata, the son of the first Tīrthaṅkara, who, it appears, on being apprised of it, condemned his son's action in 'undisguised language.' But most Jainas are agreed in saying that it was the work of some interested persons probably about the time of the author of *Ādi Purāṇa*."

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 102.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. VIII, see below, pp. 202-204.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II, p. 199—"... in some points they considered it advantageous to approach the Brahmanas, probably in order thereby to escape being persecuted by them."

⁸ Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, p. 19.

⁹ By an irony of fate, indeed, a few secluded places of considerable importance to the Jainas, like the ones under description, a few scattered shrines, statues and sculptures (some of these are now in the Madras Museum) of their Tīrthaṅkaras and martyrs and other gods, and a few books and manuscripts alone remain to-day to testify to the "high purposes, the comprehensive proselytising zeal and the political influence" that Jainism should have inspired in "her fiery votaries of old."—*Studies in South Indian Jainism*, p. 80.

temples is clearly recorded in their styles of architecture and in the inscriptions found in them. It is for this reason, and on account of a series of paintings in the larger of them, that they are specially interesting. Local tradition says that they owe their existence to a Pallava king and that he built them at the instance of two Jaina teachers, who lived in the village.¹ The first of the tradition is in accordance with the style of architecture of the earlier of the two, but the second part does not agree with inscriptions in the later temple which show that the two teachers mentioned were not contemporaneous with the Pallavas, but flourished some six centuries after them, *i.e.*, in the 14th century.

THE CHANDRAPRABHA TEMPLE (Pl. i, fig. A; pl. iii, fig. 1).

The small temple dedicated to Chandraprabha lies to the north of the larger temple and is situated in one corner of a garden attached to it. The entrance, which faces east, leads into a narrow transverse passage bounded on the opposite side by a wall. Two Pallava pilasters (pl. i-B, 2) flank the entrance, one on either side of it, with their inner sides (*i.e.*, the sides facing the entrance) flat. The lintels over them form part of a row of sunk bands placed at equal intervals, giving thereby no room for the assumption that the entrance was built in the wall later than the time of the wall itself. Thus the entrance made on the wall is as originally designed. The wall on the inner side of the passage is 10' 1½" × 8' with the corbels of the pilasters at either end flat as in the case of the pilasters flanking the entrance. The northern end of the passage is occupied by a flight of steps. These steps have been clearly inserted after the temple was built. The inner wall bears six pilasters of the Pallava type as found on the outer walls of the temple (pl. i-B, 2). The first two from each end have shallow spaces between them, while the spaces between the rest are deep. The space between the central pair forms a niche in the centre of the wall opposite the door. Presumably, therefore, the wall extended on its left to the same extent as on its right. The deep sunk central niche is 4' high and 1' 6½" wide. The first pilaster from the left has its southern side, now covered partially by a narrow wall blocking the gap between it and the outer wall of the temple, cut like the sixth, *i.e.*, the corresponding one at the right hand end of the wall. This suggests that a passage about the width of the opening now occupied by the stairs, 2' 9", must have gone round the inner shrine as in the Vaikunthanātha or Vaikunthaperumāl temple at Conjeevaram. The Vaikunthanātha temple, being larger, has this passage 3' in width. The blocking of the southern end of the transverse passage has been done irregularly, the joints becoming apparent on examination. The inner wall has been so very thickly plastered with undressed chunam above the pilasters that any ornamentation it may have had here is no longer visible. Over it are placed granite beams irregularly, suggesting a later age for the superstructure. The plinth of this inner wall shows two mouldings with a sunken band between them as in the Kailāsanātha, Vaikunthanātha, Matañgeśvara and Mukteśvara temples of Conjeevaram.

¹ *A.R.S.I.E.*, 1922-23, p. 4.

The wall under discussion is somewhat puzzling. Presumably it must either have formed the eastern wall of a shrine resembling the *Mahendravarmanśvara-Griha* in the Kailāsanātha temple, but with its opening on its west wall or have been intended to screen the inner part of the temple from public view through the doorway. If the former surmise be admitted then the present passage would have been a vestibule corresponding to the small entrance court of the Kailāsanātha temple in front of the *Mahendravarmanśvara-Griha* shrine, and the shrine itself would be a subsidiary one with its opening on the west, doubtless facing another bigger shrine which opened on the east. This would lead one to assume that the whole temple was planned on the model of a Viṣṇu or Śiva temple, with the sanctuary and the small shrine for Garuḍa or Nandi, the *vāhanas* of Viṣṇu or Śiva facing it. The temple under discussion is at present Jaina and we know of no Hindu temples later converted into Jaina ones. Neither, however, do we know of any Jaina temple with two shrines, one for the main god, say a Tirthaṅkara, and the other for some attendant god of his like, a Yaksha. Therefore, if the present temple did contain two shrines and originated as a Jaina one, it was probably designed in imitation of say, a Śiva temple consisting of the Śiva shrine and the Nandi shrine, the latter facing the former. There is, however, also the possibility that the inner wall of the transverse entrance passage was not the back of a subsidiary shrine, but just a simple screen. In either case the main shrine would have served as the basis on which the present *garbhagriha* of the Chandraprabha shrine above has arisen, when it was closed. The latter's present measurements are probably the former's original measurements. A processional path about 3 feet wide, can be seen on three sides of the shrine above, the *antarāla* occupying its front, where the fourth side could be expected. This path indicates that it arose over a similar processional path below, now closed. The walls of the temple that we see from outside, standing in the garden, would thus be the *prākāras* or outermost walls, as in the case of the Kailāsanātha temple.

The steps at the right hand end of the transverse passage lead to an upper floor where the present Chandraprabha shrine is situated. It is built at a height of about 12 feet from the ground. It is said to-day that such a construction was necessitated, owing to the fact that cotton cultivation was once extensively carried on here, from which the village came to be called "(Tiru)paruttikunṇam" or "the hill of cotton" and that the image had to be placed on the second floor in order that it might not be hidden. The Jains of the locality call this temple by such names as "Ērvāna-sthālam," and "Malayanār-kōyil," names which are associated with this temple probably because of its elevation.

The upper floor (pl. iii, fig. 1) consists of the sanctuary (*garbhagriha*) with the usual *antarāla* attached to it in front, a small *maṇḍapa* (this is probably intended to answer the *ardha-maṇḍapa*) in front of the *antarāla*, and the narrow processional path already alluded to, which goes round the shrine. A *vimāna*, of brick and mortar, has been put up over the sanctuary, the workmanship of which is clearly recent.

While both the *garbhagriha* and the *antarāla* are of brick, the ceiling of the latter is of granite and sandstone slabs, combined irregularly, the latter probably removed from

the old structure. These are arranged one above the other in the form of an octagon. The *ardhamandapa* in front of the *antarāla*, to which the steps from below lead, has two pillars standing on a modern brick flooring and supporting an equally modern chunam ceiling.

The sanctuary contains a big image (now coloured) of Chandraprabha, of stucco, repaired some thirty years ago, which is the principal image, and two other smaller images, one of Kunthunātha, the seventeenth Tirthāṅkara, made of white marble, and the other of Vardhamāna made of granite. All the three are seated in the *paryāṅka* attitude, i.e., with the legs crossed and the palms placed one over the other on the lap. Two *Devas*, also of stucco, with *chāmara* in hand, stand behind, one on either side of the Chandraprabha image and like the latter are coloured over. The history of the Chandraprabha image seems to be unknown. The images of Kunthunātha and Vardhamāna are recent additions, that of the former being a present made by Mr. Bapu Jain of Perambur, near Madras. The image of Vardhamāna was bought in 1922 from Mr. Bhujanga Rao of Conjeevaram by the temple authorities who considered its acquisition for their temple as a work of deep merit. About 15 years ago this image was found as treasure trove under an old cocoanut tree blown down by a strong wind in the vicinity of the Kāmākshī Amman temple in Conjeevaram.¹ The image is in a good state of preservation and represents Vardhamāna in the *paryāṅka-āsana*, with the *bhā-maṇḍala* or the halo over his head in the form of a semi-circle. Service has been conducted in this temple only since the arrival of this image. On the pedestal of the other image, which as we have said represents Kunthunātha, the seventeenth Tirthāṅkara, are incised the following letters in modern Grantha script:—

"Kunthunāthāya namaḥ" meaning "Salutation to Kunthunātha."

In the *garbhagriha*, on its two side walls, some modern paintings, recently white-washed over, show six *Devis* or attendant goddesses of half life-size, three on each side. All the six are standing, with conical crowns (*kirita*) on their heads, and are turning towards the god whom they have come to worship. The first, on the northern wall (i.e., the one farther away from the god) holds in both her hands a tray (*tambālam*), the second a garland with a lotus at each end, and the third (i.e., the one nearer the god) a similar garland in her right hand while her left hangs down. The three on the southern wall are engaged as follows: the first (i.e., the one farther away from the god) holds in both her hands a tray (*tambālam*), the second a garland in her left hand while her right hangs down, and the third (the one nearer the god) with both hands holding something not clear, but probably a garland.

Attempts were made to find out what lay inside the lower shrine by doing trial diggings from above, i.e., from the upper shrine and from the *antarāla*, but only sandy mud was revealed as far as the eye could see or the crowbar could reach. It is evident that the lower room is completely filled with this sand.

¹ I am indebted to Mr. Parvānath, one of the Temple Trustees, for this information.

The temple itself shows certain architectural details that place it among the temples that are said to have been built by the later Pallava kings beginning with Narasimhavarman II *alias* Rājasimha. Dr. Jouveau Dubreuil, while speaking of the later Pallava antiquities, divides them into two:—(1) Those without inscriptions and (2) Those with inscriptions.¹ He mentions this temple among the former and assigns it on grounds of architectural details to a period ranging from 720-903 A.D. He does not appear to be right in classifying this temple under those without inscriptions, for there are inscriptions all along its lower plinth and the base. Unfortunately the temple was built with the same kind of sandstone with which the Kailāsanātha temple and the Vaikunthanātha temple and the other Pallava temples in Conjeevaram were built, and it has been crumbling and peeling off layer after layer as in the other temples, carrying with it the inscriptions it once contained on its surface. While it is true that I could not trace any inscription in the Pallava Grantha script either on the base or on any other part of the temple it is impossible to conclude that there were no Pallava inscriptions here. The base, where one should look for the earlier inscriptions, is badly weathered and has received many chunam coatings during the periodical repairs done by the temple authorities as in most of the other temples in Conjeevaram. Also it is submerged in the earth to a great extent.

The plinth has two rectangular mouldings, one above and the other below, with a sunk band between them. The lower moulding is of the same sandstone as that of the rest of the temple, while the moulding above is of granite. Inscriptions are found on both, but while those on the granite one are in a fairly good condition and are confined to parts of its upper side, those on the lower one are fragmentary, owing to the stone having fallen out layer after layer in many places, and run the entire length of the plinth round the temple. The inscriptions on the upper moulding appear to be two, both of the same king, Rājendra Chola I. One of them, commencing from the right of the entrance on the eastern wall of the temple runs due north and turns west running the entire length of the temple's northern wall (No. I, see *below*, p. 49). It is a fairly complete *prasasti* or glorification of Rājendra Chola's and is unfortunately incomplete. After a stage the letters become faint gradually owing to the stone getting smooth and the long line of inscription disappears.

The moulding on the eastern wall of the temple and on the left of the entrance which at once catches the eye as we face the door of the temple contains the other inscription, which consists of a few letters running in a single line from the south to the north (No. II, see *below*, p. 49). The letters are so very faint that they can hardly be read satisfactorily. Also the latter part of the inscription has been permanently hidden from view by a flight of steps, of brick and mortar, built against the plinth in front of the entrance. This is unfortunate as to read the rest of the inscription one would have to demolish the

¹ G. J. Dubreuil, *Pallava Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 9.

steps. The few words that can be read constitute the beginning of the *praśasti* or glorification of Rājendra Chola I (1012-1044 A.D.).

The inscription on the lower moulding, which we have said is hopelessly fragmentary, appears to commence on the north wall of the temple and runs all along the base of the north wall and of the western and southern walls too. While, however, a few letters are clearly seen on the northern wall which help to make out the sense, those found on the western and southern walls are so completely lost (No. III, see *below*, p. 49) that what remain convey no sense. The few words that can be deciphered also appear to constitute the *praśasti* or glorification of Rājendra Chola I.

It is unfortunate that all these inscriptions are incomplete and tell us nothing regarding what Rājendra Chola I did for this temple. The portions that contain the subject matter are badly damaged, the stone having peeled off in those places. Though none of these inscriptions appear to date earlier than Rājendra Chola I, who succeeded Rājārāja I in 1012 A.D. and ruled the Chola kingdom till 1044 A.D., and no Pallava letters have yet been found, the inscriptions indicate that the temple was built earlier than the time of the adjoining Vardhamāna temple, where, as we shall see while describing that temple, the earliest inscription is that of Kulottuṅga I (1070-1120 A.D.)—a hypothesis confirmed by its architecture, which is in Pallava style.

The corners of the walls bear pilasters with rearing lions at the bottom (pl. iii, fig. 1).¹ The corbels above these pilasters, show a curved profile suggesting the extremity of a joist and are ornamented with horizontal mouldings called by Dr. Jouveau Dubreuil "rollers," a motif which is exclusively Pallava "very probably borrowed from the art of the carpenter." The niches (*koshtas*) (pl. i-B, fig. 1) on the walls are simply outlined, not deeply sunk as are those of Chola times. This is also the case with niches found on the walls of the Vaikuṇṭhanātha or Perumā temple and the southern wall of the Maṭaṅgeśvara temple at Conjeevaram.² An interesting feature of the niches both here and in the Vaikuṇṭhanātha and Maṭaṅgeśvara temples is that the lintel, which is otherwise plain, has a handle-like projection in its centre pointing downwards and marking the central line of the niche below. The *torana* which we find in the Pallava monuments of Mahendra Varman I,³ of Narasimha Varman I (Māmalla) at Mahabalipuram⁴ and later on in monuments of the Chola period such as the Tanjore and Chidambaram temples is absent here. This is strange, especially when we remember that this type of niche has to be placed, in point of time, between the niches of the Mahendra-Māmalla and early Chola epochs. So when we are expecting to find in the later Pallava niches *toranas* of more ornate and developed form leading into the early Chola type⁵, it is surprising to find here that they have disappeared. No explanation

¹ Longhurst, *Pallava Architecture*, Part III, pls. IV c, d; VII a.

² *Res.*, *Pallava Architecture*, pls. XIV, XV and XVII; Longhurst, *Pallava Architecture*, Part III, pls. VII a, VIII b.

³ Longhurst, *Pallava Architecture*, Part I, pl. II b.

⁴ *Ibid.*, part II, pls. VI b, X a.

⁵ G. J. Dubreuil, *Dravidian Temple Architecture*, pp. 44-45, figs. 33 (a) and 33 (b).

for this sudden disappearance is readily available; but the similar absence of this feature in the Vaikunthanātha temple suggests that the two are likely to date from about the same period. As the construction of the Vaikunthanātha temple is established on epigraphical grounds to fall within the reign of the later Pallava King Paramēśvara Varman II, the son and successor of Rājasimha to whom the Kailāsanātha temple is attributed,¹ we may safely assign the Chandraprabha temple also to this period.

In this connection it will be useful to quote the opinions of three scholars that deal with the subject of Pallava Architecture; they are Rea, Longhurst and Dubreuil. The first says that the Chandraprabha temple "is a small building with few architectural details, and no sculptures worthy of note. A peculiarity about it, due to modern additions, is the blocking up of the original shrine on the ground floor, and constructing another in the upper storey of the tower with a stair leading up to it. The temple seems of late Pallava date."² The second has the following words:—" . . . and at Tiruparuthikundram, a hamlet three miles from the city, there is a Jaina temple built in the Rājasimha style and known as the Varthamāna temple.³ It contains a number of mural paintings which although of no particular artistic merit are interesting from an iconographical point of view. This temple is still in use as a place of worship."⁴ Dubreuil assigns this temple definitely to Nandivarman Pallavamalla, the successor of Paramēśvara Varman II, who built the Vaikunthanātha temple, and his words on this point are:—"Certain temples that do not bear any Pallava inscription, perhaps belong to the time of the Nandivarman dynasty. Such are . . . the Jaina temple of Varthamānasvāmī⁵ at Tirupparuttikunru near Conjeevaram."⁶ While all the three are agreed on assigning this temple to the later Pallava period, the last named writer goes a step further and definitely places it in the reign of Nandivarman Pallavamalla. In his book dealing with this subject he does not give any reasons for his conclusion but I take it that he was led to it by observing the same architectural details in this temple and on the southern wall of the Mataṅgeśvara temple which has been assigned to the Nandivarman period (800-900 A.D.) by Longhurst.⁷ To assign the Mataṅgeśvara temple to Nandivarman Pallavamalla is both easy and natural, for it is strikingly similar in plan to the Mukteśvara temple,⁸ which must be placed in the reign of Nandivarman Pallavamalla on epigraphical grounds. But it is not equally clear that the Chandraprabha temple belongs to the same period. It resembles the Vaikunthanātha temple in that the niches on its walls, instead of being occupied by figures as are those of the Mukteśvara temple, are empty, their surfaces being on a level with that

¹ Longhurst, *Pallava Architecture*, Part III, p. 16.

² Rea, *Pallava Architecture*, p. 48.

³ Dubreuil and Longhurst somehow call the temple in the Rājasimha style the Vardhamāna temple, though it is called locally Chandraprabha temple or *Ēvānathalam* or "Malaiyūr Kōyil." The real Varthamāna temple where the mural paintings are found is the bigger temple which lies to the south of the Chandraprabha temple.

⁴ Longhurst, *Pallava Architecture*, Part III, p. 9.

⁵ G. Jouveau Dubreuil, *Pallava Antiquities*, Vol. II, p. 9.

⁶ *Pallava Architecture*, Part III, p. 19.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pls. VIII (a) and (b).

⁸ *Ibid.*, pls. VIII (a) and (b).

of the wall, the lintel bearing a central downwardly-directed projection (pl. I-B, fig. 1). The same features can be found on the southern wall of the Matangeśvara temple. While it would be easy and perhaps even safe to ascribe the Chandraprabha temple to the Rājasimha period (674-800 A.D.), its close similarity to the Vaikunthanātha temple in the matter of the closed vestibule and the upper shrines, and to the *Mahendravarmeśvara-Griha* in the Kailāsanātha temple in the matter of the narrow processional path around the shrine, will warrant its being ranked as one falling in the reign of Rājasimha's sons, Mahendravarman III, the one who built the *Mahendravarmeśvara-Griha* in the Kailāsanātha temple, and Parameśvaravarman II, who built the Vaikunthanātha temple. The Chandraprabha temple, as has been observed already, presents more points of similarity with the Vaikunthanātha temple than the *Mahendravarmeśvara-Griha* and we therefore assign it to Parameśvaravarman II (715 A.D.). The fact that he has built a temple for Vishnu, thereby deviating from the path of his father and brother who have concentrated on Śiva temples, and that, though he bore the name Parameśvara, which was a name of Śiva, he was attracted to Vaiṣṇavism, would lend support to the surmise that he was probably very liberal and tolerant towards the other faiths, and may consequently have devoted a little of his attention to Jainism also.

It has already been said that the three inscriptions of Rājendra Chola I, the illustrious and tolerant son of a still more illustrious and tolerant father, Rājarāja I, are silent about what he did to the temple. Still they give rise to the question why they are found in this temple and not in the next temple dedicated to Vardhamāna, which is bigger and so close to it. But, as we shall see while describing the Vardhamāna temple, the earliest inscription there is one of Kulottuṅga I (No. 5, pp. 52-54), dated in his forty-sixth regnal year. The earlier inscriptions such as those of Rājendra Chola I are found only in the Pallava temple, while all the later inscriptions beginning with that of Kulottuṅga I (No. 5) and ending with comparatively recent ones are found in the Vardhamāna temple. This could happen only if the latter temple came into existence after the time that the records of Rājendra Chola I were incised on the Pallava temple. It is also evident from what has been said above that from the time that the Vardhamāna temple was erected the Pallava temple was completely neglected, at least so far as the inscribing of records was concerned.

Another question which is as interesting as its solution is puzzling, concerns the closing of the ground floor of the Pallava temple. When and why was it closed? Can it have been a Śiva temple, like the other Pallava temples of the neighbourhood, later closed by the Jains? This seems most unlikely, for rival sects do not close each others' temples; they usually destroy them. It can hardly have been closed merely as being unnecessary after the erection of the Vardhamāna temple, for had it still been in use at that time, it would almost certainly have remained as a subsidiary shrine hallowed by its antiquity and long usage. Presumably, therefore, the gap between the latest inscription on the Pallava temple and the earliest on the Chola temple implies a period between the closing of the former and the building of the latter. For this, only one possible cause

suggests itself—pollution such as could not well be purged. Why the Vardhamāna temple was not erected immediately is not clear—possibly because the means were not available at once. Worship must presumably have been carried on in some temporary erection. Or possibly the original shrine of the Vardhamāna temple may have been built at once and the rest added later.

THE VARDHAMĀNA TEMPLE (Pl. ii).

Adjacent to the temple of Chandraprabha and a little to the south of it, is the second and bigger temple, where several other Tirthaṅkaras are worshipped, chief of them being Vardhamāna (the twenty-fourth Tirthaṅkara) or Trailokyanātha as he is locally called, from whom the temple derives its name. Service is mainly conducted here. Crole mentions this temple on page 116 of the Chingleput District Manual¹.

The temple consists of two blocks, an inner one and an outer one, the former located in the centre of the temple and the latter attached to the compound wall of the temple. The various parts of the inner block are as follows:—

An apsidal shrine dedicated to Vardhamāna (pl. ii, 1) stands in the centre with two other shrines (pl. ii, 2 and 3), one on each side of it. The latter shrines are dedicated to Pushpadanta, the ninth Tirthaṅkara, and Dharmadevi, respectively. In front of these three shrines is a pillared hall or *ardhamandapa* which we may call the *Vardhamāna-ardhamandapa* (pl. ii, 4). To this is attached in front a *mukha-mandapa* which we shall term the *Vardhamāna-mukha-mandapa* (pl. ii, 6). Adjoining the above three shrines and to the left of them is a group of three other shrines (pl. ii, 7-9) dedicated to three other Tirthaṅkaras, Padmaprabha, Pārśvanātha and Vasupūjya, sixth, twenty-third and twelfth Tirthaṅkaras, respectively. In front of these three shrines which we shall call the *Trikūṭa-Basti* shrines is an *ardhamandapa* similar to the *Vardhamāna-ardhamandapa* (pl. ii, 10). This will be referred to as the *Trikūṭa-Basti-ardhamandapa*. As in the case of the *Vardhamāna-ardhamandapa* here also there is a *mukha-mandapa* (pl. ii, 11) attached to the *Trikūṭa-Basti-ardhamandapa* which shall be termed the *Trikūṭa-Basti-mukha-mandapa*. And in front of the *Trikūṭa-Basti-mukha-mandapa* and the *Vardhamāna-mukha-mandapa* and attached to them is a pillared hall (*kalyāṇa-mandapa*) (pl. ii, 12) which we shall call the *Saṅgīta-mandapa*, a name by which it is referred to in one of the inscriptions (No. 7, see below, p. 57).

Vardhamāna, Pushpadanta and Dharmadevi shrines.—A closed shrine in which the principal Tirthaṅkara Vardhamāna is installed, with the *Vardhamāna-ardhamandapa* attached to it in front, is what appears to be the earliest part of the temple (pl. ii, 1). There appears to be nothing left of the original shrine, the present structure being built completely of brick and mortar. Its apsidal shape, coupled with the fact that no structural temple in South India is without a shrine over which the *vimāna* arises, suggests that the earlier

¹ "Its florid architecture and the considerable artistic beauty of some of the details, notably of the sculptures in the cloistered court which surrounds it, and of the colouring of the paintings which adorn the ceilings, lead to the assumption, which is confirmed by various inscriptions on the walls, that it belongs to the period when the Chola power was at its zenith and extended even into Bengal, as well as over the entire south and Telingana and Karnata"—p. 116.

shrine, presumably of sand-stone, of which the *Vardhamāna-ardhamandapa* is also built, may have fallen owing to dilapidation and that at a very late stage the present brick-work probably came into existence. According to the temple priest a base in granite, resembling the base of the present Vardhamāna shrine, was prepared for this temple in a place about 12 miles from Tiruparuttikunram, but for some unknown reason was not removed to the temple. It was lying there for many years, ever since the priest could remember (the priest is now 60 years of age), till very recently when it was removed to the Jaina temple at Karandai, about 12 miles from Tiruparuttikunram, a place that is said to have been the seat of the famous sage called Akalan̄ka.¹ The other shrines stand, as narrated above, one on either side of the Vardhamāna shrine, one for Pushpadanta, also called Suvidhinātha, the ninth Tīrthaṅkara, to the right (pl. ii, 2), and the other for Dharmadevi, also called Āmbikā, the Yakshi of Neminātha, the twenty-second Tīrthaṅkara² to the left (pl. ii, 3). The fact that the deities to whom these two shrines are dedicated have nothing to do with Vardhamāna, who is the principal Tīrthaṅkara of the temple, and that the shrines themselves seem to have been designed so that they might be crowded into the spaces on either side of the Vardhamāna shrine suggest for them a later date than that of this shrine.

It may be suggested that the original Vardhamāna shrine was located within the *Vardhamāna-ardhamandapa* now attached to it. But there is evidence which indicates that this was not so. At the point where the present Vardhamāna shrine joins the western wall of its *ardhamandapa*, the upper moulding of the outer side of this wall bears on each side of the shrine a projection, which clearly proves that either a niche or an opening originally existed between them. That it was an opening and not only a niche is shown by the moulding on the plinth. This is obscured on the southern side by the overlapping brick moulding of the shrine itself, but can be seen on the northern, where it shows a precisely similar projection.

Thus it would appear that there was an opening on the west wall of the *ardhamandapa* in front of the present shrine of Vardhamāna. The shrines of Vardhamāna and Pushpadanta are both apsidal, that of Pushpadanta (pl. ii, 2) being smaller than that of Vardhamāna. As proof of frequent interference with these shrines till very recently by way of repairs it may be noted that a little part of the southern wall of the brick shrine of Pushpadanta is built of irregular granite pieces loosely laid.

The shrine dedicated to Dharmadevi, the Yakshi of Neminātha (pl. ii, 3), is situated on the south of the Vardhamāna shrine and is totally different from the other two shrines in that it is very small and square instead of being apsidal. According to local traditions the image of Dharmadevi appears to have been introduced into the temple, according to one version, in the thirteenth century A.D. from the Kāmākshi temple at Conjeevaram, and according to another in the ninth century A.D., soon after Śaṅkarāchārya established the *Kāmakoṭi-pīṭha* in the Kāmākshi temple, both versions regarding

¹ See Appendix III, p. 216.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 209-10.

Kāmākshī temple as having originally been a Jaina shrine dedicated to Dharmadevi, the Yakshi of Neminātha. The veracity of these two versions is much disputable as the traditions themselves are of late origin, probably two centuries old. These traditions clearly suggest that the image of Dharmadevi was a late acquisition to the Vardhamāna temple. Little care seems to have been bestowed upon the small shrine in which this image is housed nor have any of the adjoining shrines been used as its model. Like them, however, it is of brick. It has been joined to the *Vardhamāna-ardhamandapa* by making a very narrow opening in its west wall.

While the images of Vardhamāna and Pushpadanta are of wood, huge and coloured and are seated on pedestals in the *pariyāṅka* attitude, i.e., cross-legged, with the hands placed one over the other (the right over the left), the image of Dharmadevi is small, of granite and is standing on a *padmāsana* in the *tribhanga* pose, i.e., with three bends in the body. She is shown with two hands, the right holding a blue water-lily (*nilotpala*) and the left hanging down "like the tail of a cow."¹ Behind her legs a lion can be seen and on the *padmāsana*, on which she is standing, are carved in relief her two sons and an attendant woman.²

Vardhamāna-ardhamandapa (pl. ii, 4).—The *ardhamandapa* is a hall, practically dark, for light can pass in only through a door-way on the eastern wall of the hall facing the main shrine and through small windows, one on either side of the door, which hardly let in any light, being of pierced stone with a design composed of two intertwining creepers. It contains three rows of six pillars each, all of them in a simple style that originated in the early Chola period and is still in use (pl. i-B, 3). Two of these pillars are partly hidden by the walls of the Pushpadanta shrine, the front of which actually extends forwards into the *ardhamandapa*.

The outside of the north wall of the *ardhamandapa* which is visible from the processional path, is of granite in the region of its plinth and of sandstone above, as in the adjoining Chandraprabha temple, except the lowest layer of stone near the top moulding of the plinth, which is of granite. Four pilasters of the Chola type (pl. i-B, 4) are found on this wall. They support two lintels, one plain and the other curved, one above the other. Over this is the eaves (*kodūṅgai*) fitted with granite slabs designed as drooping lotus-petals. Above this is the terrace.

The eastern wall of this *ardhamandapa* is just like the northern wall described above. Granite continues for the plinth and the lowest layer of the wall above it, but diminishes in the case of the latter as we proceed south. There are six pilasters on this wall (pl. i-B, 4), of which the one in the northern corner is common to this and the northern walls. Between the middle pair of pilasters is the entrance to the *ardhamandapa*. This door-way is decorated with a lotus petal moulding above and on either side, supported by a single snake-hood ornament (*nāga-bandha*) issuing from a low pedestal. This design is also

¹ Cf. pl. xxxii, fig. 3; see below, pp. 157-160.

² For details regarding their iconography, see Appendix III, pp. 209-10.

found on the door-ways of the *Trikūṭa-Bastī*, *Munivāsa* and the store room which will be dealt with subsequently. It appears to have been in general use at the time of Kulottuṅga III and Rājarāja III¹. A pilaster on the southern corner of the wall carries a projecting Chola corbel such as we find in the various structures of the temple, suggesting that the wall originally took a turn to the west there. The two windows already noticed have been subsequently interpolated in the eastern wall, one facing the Pushpadanta and the other the Dharmadevī shrines. The later age of the latter shrines warrants a similar later date to these windows, for they were intended to show the deities in these two shrines to the faithful that could not get admission into the *ardhamandapa* and had therefore to satisfy themselves by looking from outside, as non-Jainas and Europeans desiring to see the deities have to do to-day. The lintels of this wall are two, one plain and the other above it with the lotus petal double curve so frequently found in temples of this and later dates, a motif which is also found on the lintels of the verandas and the *Trikūṭa-Bastī* shrines to be described subsequently (see *below*, pp. 23-26).

The southern wall of the *ardhamandapa* is similar to the north wall with the difference that the lower layer of the wall above the granite plinth is of sandstone like the rest of the wall above. Only three pilasters can be seen on it, the fourth being hidden by the wall of an adjoining shrine dedicated to Vāsupājya, included in the structure called *Trikūṭa-Bastī*. Even these three are partially hidden by the pillars of the *Trikūṭa-Bastī-ardhamandapa*, one of which has its top broken. On the lintels of this wall, where the wall of the Vāsupājya shrine covers it, a few lines of an inscription to be assigned to Kulottuṅga I (No. 5, see *below*, pp. 52-54), are visible, a copy of the hidden part of which is found on granite lintels of the *Trikūṭa-Bastī* shrines. Below these lines and reaching up to the plinth, the first and the second mouldings of which alone are visible, are two inscriptions dated in the reign of Vikrama Chola (No. 6, see *below*, pp. 54-57), several lines of which are now hidden by the Vāsupājya shrine wall. These two inscriptions are dated in Vikrama Chola's reign, one in his thirteenth year and the other in his seventeenth year. The former corresponds to 1131 A.D., and the latter to 1135 A.D. (see No. 6, p. 57) and both record grants and sales during the reign of the said king for the benefit of the temple. These two and the inscription of Kulottuṅga I (1070-1120 A.D.), the father of Vikrama Chola, were originally incised on the southern wall of the *Vardhamāna-ardhamandapa* when there was neither the *Trikūṭa-Bastī* nor its *ardhamandapa* to hide them from view. Here it has to be remarked that almost all the inscriptions in this temple are incised in prominent places, the idea being that the public should be able to see them, so that those benefited by them might receive their dues without any question. Thus the temple walls and other parts that show these inscriptions functioned as registration documents. The utmost care would therefore be taken by those that made additions to the temples to see that no inscriptions were removed or hidden. When this was however unavoidable it was customary to take copies of them². This practice was evidently widespread in

¹ Cf. Tridūlam temple near Madras.

² T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Chola-Varāha-Charitam*, p. 63; *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, p. 99.

South India, instances being known at Tiruvallam, Tindivanam, Tirupati, Tirukurrālam, Tirumalapādi, Kudumiyāmalai and elsewhere.

The earliest inscriptions in the temple are the three already referred to, *viz.*, one in the forty-sixth regnal year of Kulottuṅga I (1116 A.D.) and two dated in the reign of his son Vikrama Chola (1118-1136 A.D.). All these three were originally inscribed on the southern wall of the *Vardhamāna-ardhamandapa*. The existence here of Kulottuṅga's inscription of the forty-sixth year of his reign proves that the *Vardhamāna-ardhamandapa* was earlier than this date (*i.e.*, 1116 A.D.), but how much earlier we cannot definitely say.

Kulottuṅga I appears to have developed a tolerant outlook on alien faiths¹, and many of his inscriptions dated in the early years of his reign are found in Conjeevaram², in temples there that are only a couple of miles from Tiruparuttikunram. His first known inscription in this temple being dated as late as the forty-sixth year of his long reign which lasted for fifty years (1070-1120 A.D.), therefore suggests that probably till about then there was no temple here apart from the Pallava temple which has the inscriptions of Rājendra Chola I (1012-1044 A.D.). The *Vardhamāna* shrine probably came into existence between the reigns of Rājendra Chola I (1012-1044 A.D.) and Kulottuṅga I (1070-1120 A.D.), for we cannot conceive of a Chola temple without a definite shrine. But the *Vardhamāna-ardhamandapa*, on the wall of which these inscriptions are found, must be assigned to the reign of Kulottuṅga I. It has therefore to be inferred that the starting point in the history of the existing structures of this temple is little if any earlier than the forty-sixth regnal year (1116 A.D.) of Kulottuṅga I.

The visibility of these inscriptions has been affected, as already pointed out, owing to later additions made to the original structure. Later copies of them have therefore been made on separate granite slabs and inserted elsewhere. In certain cases, as we shall see presently, it has also resulted in the misplacing of these inscribed slabs (see *below*, pp. 51, 52, 60 & 61, Nos. 4 and 20). The earlier part of Kulottuṅga's record has therefore been incised on granite lintels that have been inserted in front of the three shrines that constitute the *Trikūṭa-Bastī*, while a copy of the earlier record of Vikrama Chola (dated 1131 A.D.) has been incised on the beams of the veranda (*mukhamandapa*) attached to the *Vardhamāna-ardhamandapa* so that they would still be prominently shown. Here there is another point of interest to be noted. Inscription No. 4 (pp. 51-2) which is the copy of Vikrama Chola's inscription found on the veranda beams, embodies only one inscription of Vikrama Chola, the one dated in his thirteenth regnal year, the other one, which is small consisting of 6 lines, dated in his seventeenth regnal year, being omitted. The former is a long one and the more important of the two, and it may be inferred that the latter was probably considered not worth copying. Kulottuṅga's inscription was put on the lintels within the *Trikūṭa-Bastī*, doubtless because the latter part of the inscription remained exposed at about the level of these lintels on its northern wall, which is also

¹ See Leiden grant—Burgess and Nataraj Sastri, *Tamil and Sanskrit Inscriptions*, pp. 224-7.

² *S.I.L.*, Vol. II, pp. 390-393.

the southern wall of the *Vardhamāna-ardhamandapa*. Light falls to-day on these lintels when the *Trikūṭa-Basti-ardhamandapa* door is open so that the inscription is readily seen.

Vardhamāna-mukhamandapa (pl. ii, 6).—This is a pial-like veranda, 8' 5" wide, and is attached to the *Vardhamāna-ardhamandapa* in front. It extends along the latter's entire length, which is 40'. Its base (*adhiṣṭhānam*) bears mouldings of the form that came into general use about 1200 A.D., and an inscription found on it (No. 3, p. 50) which is dated in the twenty-first regnal year of Kulottuṅga III enables us to assign the veranda to the period of the later Cholas (1070-1250 A.D.). The ceiling of this veranda which bears some paintings, now badly damaged¹ rests, on its western side, on the eastern wall of the *Vardhamāna-ardhamandapa*, and on its eastern side, on beams supported by a row of pillars. These pillars are like those in the *Vardhamāna-ardhamandapa* (pl. i-B, 3). The length of the elevated base of the veranda seems originally to have been less than the length of the eastern wall of the *Vardhamāna-ardhamandapa*. The veranda is approached by two flights of steps attached to its base, one towards its northern end and the other its southern end, both facing east. The northern one is flanked by a pair of *Śuṇi-Yali* heads, the other by an elephant balustrade. On examination it becomes clear that the present position of the steps is different from what it was originally. The structure of the floor of the veranda at either end reveals that originally the steps led up to it there. They have evidently been removed to their present positions when alterations were made to the veranda to suit later constructions in the temple, such as for instance the *Saṅgita-mandapa* in front of the *mukha-mandapa*. At the same time the veranda was extended by about 4' by filling up the places they had occupied, rather carelessly, the arrangement of the slabs found in these spaces betraying the original position of the steps. Though both ends have been filled up, the corner of the original northern end of the base still bears a lion's head projecting parallel to the wall of the *ardhamandapa* and at a distance from it that exactly agrees with that of the steps. At the southern end there was evidently another such lion's head, but it is now broken. An attempt has been made to continue on the new southward extension of the base the ornamentation found on the original base. But the change from the original to the later and inferior work is very clear, especially in the carving of the frieze of lions' heads. Another point to be noted is that an inscription of the Vijayanagara king Krishnadevarāya dated Śaka 1439² (1517 A.D.) commences on this extension while that of Kulottuṅga III (No. 3, p. 50) commences only on the old base. This supports the suggestion that the shifting of the steps took place between the reigns of Kulottuṅga III (1178-1216 A.D.) and Krishnadevarāya (1517 A.D.), probably as suggested below (p. 27) in 1387-88 A.D. when the *Saṅgita-mandapa* was built. In its present form the northern end of this veranda is closed by a wall which must also have been built not later than the time of the construction of the *Saṅgita-mandapa*, as some of the beams of the latter rest upon it. The inner side of this wall contains a niche within which a *balipitha* is placed with an

¹ See below, pp. 124-132.

² See No. 10. below, p. 58.

inscription on its lintel¹, containing a verse in praise of Mallishēṇa Vāmana, one of the five sages that lived in the village,² to whom the *balipīṭha* was dedicated. On a brick elevation below this niche, is placed another *balipīṭha* which is intended for Pushpasena, a disciple of Mallishēṇa.³ During the construction of the *Saṅgita-maṇḍapa* two slabs from the upper parts of the veranda were also shifted without much attention being paid to the inscriptions found on them. One of them which must evidently at first have formed the cross-beam supporting the roof at the northern end of the original veranda has been turned through an angle of 90° about its eastern (outer) end, so as to fill the space between the end of the original architrave and the extension of the original northern wall of the shrine. Several letters on this beam forming part of inscription No. 4 (pp. 51-52) are partly hidden by this extension wall. Another slab thus interfered with faces the Vardhamāna shrine. It has some letters which run in continuation of inscription No. 4 found on the other slabs. While all these contain the letters on their inner sides this slab alone shows them on its outer side, i.e., the side that faces the *Saṅgita-maṇḍapa*, for which reason it can be said to prove that alterations were made in the veranda during the construction of the *Saṅgita-maṇḍapa*.

Two inscriptions situated in this veranda, both dated in the reign of Kulottuṅga III, one dated in his twenty-first regnal year (1199 A.D.) and engraved on the lowest moulding of the base in front (No. 3, pp. 50-51) and the other dated in his twenty-second regnal year and found on the architrave of the outer side of the veranda and on the eastern wall of the *Vardhamāna-ardhamāṇḍapa* (No. 4) show that the veranda was already in existence at that time. The fact that the latter speaks of the erection at that time of the *Trikūṭa-Bastī*, but that no mention is made in either of the inscriptions of the erection of this veranda seem clearly to indicate that the veranda was not then new. The latter inscription is a copy of one of the two inscriptions of Vikrama Chola, dated in his thirteenth regnal year (No. 6), which had to be shown in a prominent place as the *Trikūṭa-Bastī-maṇḍapa* which was contemplated was likely to hide it from view. This inscription is dated in the twenty-second regnal year of Kulottuṅga III and is important for two reasons; in the first place it speaks of the construction of the *Trikūṭa-Bastī-ardhamāṇḍapa* as falling in 1200 A.D.; and in the second place it fails to add the name Karuvūr in the *prāśasti* of the king. As Kulottuṅga III captured Karuvūr in 1200 A.D. and included its conquest in the glorification part of his inscriptions subsequent to this event, the failure to mention it here signifies that this inscription is prior to that conquest.

Two other inscriptions, of less importance, are also incised on the eastern wall of the *Vardhamāna-ardhamāṇḍapa* and ought to be referred as located in the *Mukha-maṇḍapa* (Nos. 20 and 21, pp. 60-61). They are both of the time of Rājaraṅga III, the successor of Kulottuṅga III who ruled between 1216-1246 A.D., one of them being dated in the seventh regnal year of the king (1223 A.D.). These two inscriptions were no doubt engraved on the wall of the *Vardhamāna-ardhamāṇḍapa* eastern wall as there was no room for them

¹ No. 15, p. 39.

² See below, pp. 42-46.

³ See below, pp. 44-45.

elsewhere, and could more conveniently have been placed on the extension of the veranda in front of the *Trikūṭa-Basti* if such had existed when they were cut.

Trikūṭa-Basti (pl. ii, 7, 8 and 9).—As narrated above the name *Trikūṭa-Basti* meaning the "three-peaked residence" ('Basti' from the Sanskrit 'Vasati'=residence) is given to the group of three or to speak more correctly of two shrines adjoining the Vardhamāna shrine and to the south of it.

A clear idea of these shrines can be obtained from the back of the temple, if we stand on the processional path behind them. The shrines themselves are only two and are similarly designed. Both are square, their western (back) walls projecting beyond the level of the Vardhamāna and Pushpadanta shrines. The shrine on the proper right is dedicated to Padmaprabha, the sixth Tirthaṅkara and the shrine on the proper left to Vāsupūjya, the twelfth Tirthaṅkara. While that of Padmaprabha is completely of brick with a plinth of plain mouldings, that of Vāsupūjya is of brick above but with a plinth of granite below consisting of the usual Chola mouldings. The uppermost of these is supported by a row of couchant lions and in the sunk band below it there are panels still further sunk, three on each side, and one in the centre of the back wall. The wall between these two shrines is of brick and encloses a small chamber in which Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third Tirthaṅkara is installed, without even a *vimāna* above it. As already pointed out¹, the lintels of these shrines bear a copy of the earliest inscription in the temple, i.e., that of the forty-sixth regnal year of Kulottuṅga I, the greater part of which was hidden from view when the Vāsupūjya shrine was erected. At that time the lintels must have been very conspicuous as there was only a small detached *maṇḍapa* in front of them (see No. 4, pp. 51-52). The date of the shrines can be determined by a reference to inscription No. 4 which speaks of the demolition of an older *maṇḍapa* to the south of the Vardhamāna block to give room for the present *Trikūṭa-Basti-ardhamāṇḍapa*. The higher level of these shrines (higher than that of the adjoining Vardhamāna shrine by 9"), was presumably taken from that of the older *maṇḍapa* just mentioned. It is well known that the level of a *maṇḍapa* in a temple is always higher than that of the shrine. Thus the old level of the *maṇḍapa* was preserved by the *Trikūṭa-Basti* shrines and transmitted to the new and consequently later *ardhamāṇḍapa*.

The three shrines which are accessible from within the *Trikūṭa-Basti-ardhamāṇḍapa* show clear traces of joints where the roof of the latter rests on the lintels of the former. The temple authorities have filled up the cracks that show at the joints with thick coatings of chunam, but they are not sufficient to hide the cracks and are easily removable, though I did not venture to do so as I was reminded by the temple priest that I should make good the loss that the temple would sustain thereby, by undertaking to fill the joints with chunam.

It is likely that when the three shrines were built some of the slabs that were originally in the southern wall of the *Vardhamāna-ardhamāṇḍapa* were removed lest they should

¹ See above, p. 22.

get hidden by the new construction, or, more probably, that a copy of the said inscription, in so far as it was likely to be hidden from view, was taken on different slabs which were inserted in front of the three shrines in the places where we find them to-day.

Thus it would appear that the *Trikūṭa-Basti* shrines have been erected a little earlier than the present *Trikūṭa-Basti-ardhamandapa*, i.e., earlier than 1200 A.D., the date arrived at for the latter from a study of inscription No. 4.

Trikūṭa-Basti-ardhamandapa (pl. ii, 10).—The *ardhamandapa* in front of these shrines, which as already noted replaced, according to inscription No. 4, an earlier *mandapa* on the same site has three rows of four pillars each, eleven pillars resembling those of the *Vardhamāna-ardhamandapa* (pl. i-B, 3) and the twelfth which is near the entrance of this *ardhamandapa* showing different workmanship as indicated in fig. 6 of pl. i-B. It may be that the original pillar was replaced at some time later by the present one. The ground level of this *ardhamandapa* is higher by 9' than that of the *Vardhamāna-ardhamandapa*. Some of the pillars on its northern end touch the southern wall of the adjoining *ardhamandapa* and hide the inscriptions on it. The southern wall bears a granite window consisting of five square holes laid on a square, four holes for the corners and the fifth laid in the centre. The eastern wall which is a continuation of that of the *Vardhamāna-ardhamandapa*, where the entrance is located, has two windows, one big with twisted-knot design and the other small, designed like a square with nine holes in it. At the top of the former are two medallions formed by intertwining creepers in which are seated two sages, one in each. Both are in meditation and face each other. They are seated in the *virāsana* pose, the one on the left with his left leg placed on his right, and the one on the right with his right leg placed on his left. The former has a book placed on a book-rack by his left side and a peacock's feather by his right. The latter has only the peacock's feather on his left side. They are believed to be the two sages, Mallisheṇa and his disciple Pushpasena. But it is more probable they are Chandrakīrti and his disciple Anantavīrya Vāmana, two other earlier sages that flourished in the village, as the wall in which the window showing these two sages is located seems to have come into existence in the time of Kulottuṅga III (1200 A.D.). The former sages are, as we shall see presently, persons of the fourteenth century A.D.¹

The central space in the *Trikūṭa-Basti-ardhamandapa* is enclosed by four pillars, as is also the case in the *Vardhamāna-ardhamandapa*, and is elevated a little by 4" (pl. ii, 5) probably for placing *utsava-vigrahas* as is the custom in Hindu temples, for the purpose of decorating them during temple festivals, before they are carried in procession. The temple priest however informed me that this elevation in both the *ardhamandapas* was for "kalaśa archana," i.e., for keeping vessels full of water and for bathing the images with it after sanctifying it by the chantings of *mantras*, etc.

Trikūṭa-Basti-mukhamandapa (pl. ii, 11).—A veranda similar to the *Vardhamāna-mukhamandapa* but measuring 20' 4" × 8' 10" and running continuously with it, but not so long, is attached to the above *ardhamandapa*. Its base, unlike the adjoining

¹ See *ibidem*, pp. 44 and 46.

one, is plain and also a little higher. While the builders took care to see that at least the ceiling of the veranda was on a level with that of the *Vardhamāna-mukhamandapa*, they paid no such attention to the base which in workmanship is quite different from its neighbour. The steps were probably placed at the southern end of the extension where we find them to-day. These steps are flanked by a pair of elephants' trunks. On the eastern wall of the *Trikūta-Basti-ardhamandapa* can be seen three pilasters (pl. i-B, 4) of the type occurring in the *Vardhamāna-ardhamandapa* wall, one on either side of the entrance and the third further to the north. The latter two support corbels of the Chola type (pl. i-B, 3) that project outwards. The purpose of one corbel on the left of the doorway is to support a cross-beam that marks the southern end of the veranda. But the purpose of the other on the right of the doorway is not clear, as it is supporting no beam, unless it has been inserted to match the corbel on the other side of the doorway. The base is of plain workmanship and the top of its northern end is laid over the *Vardhamāna-veranda*. This, coupled with the absence of any inscription on this veranda, suggests a later date for this veranda. Also the change in level and in design seems to show that it was later than Kulottuṅga III, though perhaps by a few years only, as its pillars are just like those of the adjoining veranda, of which it is only a continuation. The location of all the inscriptions elsewhere, even including those of Rājaraṇa III (1216-1246 A.D.) proves beyond any doubt that this veranda must have come into existence some time later than 1234 A.D. (the date of inscription No. 1) but before 1387-88 A.D., the date of the construction of the *Saṅgita-maṇḍapa*, as some of the beams of the latter are laid over the former. The ceiling contains paintings illustrating the *sama-varaṇa* of Vardhamāna, the twenty-fourth Tirthaṅkara¹.

Saṅgita-maṇḍapa (pl. ii, 12).—Part of the courtyard in front of the *Vardhamāna* and *Trikūta-Basti-mukhamandapas* is now occupied by a pillared hall or *maṇḍapa* that has been built on to the verandas. Its ceiling is higher than theirs and bears the majority of the temple paintings described below (pp. 64-124, 133-157, 161-164). It rests on three rows of eight pillars each, while its western and south-eastern sides rest on plain granite slabs laid vertically upon Chola structures, the former on the *Vardhamāna* and *Trikūta-Basti-mukhamandapas* and the latter on a Chola veranda in front of a store room on the south-east. This *maṇḍapa* is not only higher than the Chola verandas but also larger, measuring 61' 9" × 26' 4" in plan and extending the entire length of the *Vardhamāna* and *Trikūta-Basti-mukhamandapas*. The pillars are all in early Vijayanagara style (pl. ii-B, 7) and lack the elaborateness and intricacy of detail of ornamentation that characterise later Vijayanagara style, as for instance in the *Kalyāṇa-maṇḍapas* of Vellore and the Varadarāja temple at Conjeevaram. Their bases are all cubical in section showing carvings such as lions, plants, creepers, twisting snakes, knots, dancing girls, dwarfish *yakshas* playing on musical instruments like the drum, flute and the conch, *dvarapālakas* or door-keepers, monkey with fruit in hand, etc. Above each corner of these bases a motif resembling a cobra's hood is designed, the

¹ See below, pp. 130-132.

area occupied by it being known as *nāgabandha*. This motif is however absent in two pillars, one of which, the sixth from the north in the innermost (western) row, shows dwarfish *yakshas* blowing the conch and the other, on the extreme north-east corner, squatting lions, in the place of the *nāga*-designs. Above these *nāgabandhas* the pillars are sixteen-fluted except in the case of the one on the extreme north-east corner which is twenty-four fluted (pl. ii-B, 9); they bear no carvings till they reach the capital except for a band or bands on some of them. Seven bear three bands, six two bands, five one band, and five others are without bands. The one twenty-four-fluted pillar however, has seven bands. The capitals are square in section. On two sides of each are carvings in a circular area in which the royal *hansa* and the conventional lotus often occur. The capitals of two pillars alone show different carvings. On one, the fourth from the north in the middle row, is a Tirthankara seated facing the Varuhamāna shrine, thereby proving that the latter shrine is the most important part in the temple. On the other, the fifth from the north in the outermost row, a warrior is shown as engaged in a deadly struggle with a lion. The other two sides of each capital bear corbels in the form of lotus flowers from out of which issues a motif representing the seed-vessel, a very popular design with which most Indians are familiar, as this is found in almost all temples in South India that date from Vijayanagara times. In later times it developed into a plantain flower.

The pillar on the southern corner in the middle row has been placed on the Chola veranda (pl. ii, 14) in front of the store-room and its corbel is not finished like the rest as it has to go over the lintel of the veranda. This pillar touches the Chola pillar at the corner of the veranda and shows creeper-designs on its inner side or the side facing the *mandapa*. Yet another pillar, parallel to this, the eighth of the third row from the north, is placed on the same Chola veranda and shows so much of Chola work in it that it has to be likened to the other Chola pillars in the temple. Possibly one of the earlier pillars of the veranda was utilized for supporting the Vijayanagara *mandapa*, without any of its Chola details being interfered with. This pillar supports the lintel of the veranda which in turn supports the beam of the *mandapa*.

The pillar on the north-east corner (pl. i-B, 9) bears a portrait of the donor of the *mandapa*, and has evidently been singled out for special treatment. As already mentioned it has squatting lions in place of *nāgabandhas*, being one of two pillars in which the latter conventional ornaments are replaced by something else. It is the only pillar that has seven bands above the base and twenty-four flutings. Of these flutings the central four facing the four cardinal points bear a well executed creeper-design. On the base, four human figures are carved, one on each side, standing over a moulding showing at each end a *kūḍu* or window-ornament surmounted by a lion's head as occurs also in the *gopura* of the temple. The side that faces north contains the carving of a woman standing in the *tribhanga* pose, naked above the waist and holding in her right hand a fly-whisk (*chāmara*), the tail of which can be seen on the right, while her left hand is hanging loosely (*lamba-hasta*) like the "tail of a cow." *Kundalas* adorn her ears; and her hair (which is sumptuous) is secured in a side-knot known as *kondai* and is thrown a little

to the right. The side facing east, shows a similar woman but holding in her right hand a lotus and placing her left on the hip in a pose known as "katyavalāmbita". The side facing south also shows a woman, but this figure is totally different from the other two being larger and more elaborately decorated and better executed.

She stands like the others. Her right hand hangs down loosely while her left is bent, as in the case of women carrying water-vessels on their waists, and holds between the elbow and the waist a vase with a blue water-lily inserted in it—the vase of plenty and auspiciousness in Jaina as well as in Hindu iconography. Her hair is also secured in the "konḍai" knot and is thrown to the right. She is naked above the waist. Among the ornaments with which she is bedecked mention may be made of *patra-kundalas* (rather big) in the ears, necklaces, armlets, wristlets and anklets, the last-mentioned resembling those worn to-day by the women of the Telugu country, especially in Godāvart and Kistna districts. Curiously enough she has a *yajñopavīta*, the Brahmanical sacred thread. While she cannot be taken to represent any goddess known to the Jaina there is nothing preventing us from surmising that a portrait was intended. If so we can perhaps associate her with the household of Irugappa, whose portrait on the adjoining side we shall examine presently. The *yajñopavīta* perhaps indicates that the woman was of Brahmanic origin. (The present day Jains have somehow adopted the *yajñopavīta*.)

The side facing west and consequently the shrine, shows in relief the figure of a man of about the same size as that of the woman just described. He is believed to be the builder of the *Saṅgita-maṇḍapa* (pl. v, 1). This local tradition is corroborated by an inscription (No. 7, see below, p. 57) found on the ceiling of the *Saṅgita-maṇḍapa* which records that Irugappa, a general and minister of Bukka Rāya II built the *maṇḍapa* in the year *Parābhava* (1387-88 A.D.) at the instance of his preceptor Pushpasena and also paved the flooring around with granite. It is said in this inscription that this *maṇḍapa* was intended for holding musical concerts, etc., in it, for which reason it has acquired the name "Saṅgita-maṇḍapa" or the "music-hall."

The Irugappa referred to in this inscription can be definitely identified with the Iruga or Irugappa referred to in an inscription on a lamp-pillar in front of a Jaina temple dedicated to Kunthunātha, the seventeenth Tirthankara, at the city of Vijayanagara,¹ for both the inscriptions tell us that he was the son of Chaicha or Chaichapa (the Vaichaya of our inscription), the hereditary minister and general of Harihara II. The Vijayanagara inscription further states that Iruga built that temple in Śaka 1307 (1385 A.D.), i.e., only two years before he constructed the "Saṅgita-maṇḍapa" at Tiruparuttikunram.

Another inscription (No. 8, see below, pp. 57-58), partly in Grantha and partly in Tamil helps to show under which king of Vijayanagara Irugappa was a general and minister. In it he is said to have made the grant of the village of Mahendramaṅgalam in the division of Māvandūr to the temple in the year *Dundubhi* (1382 A.D.) for the merit of his

¹ S.I.I., Vol. I, pp. 156-8.

suzerain, Bukka Rāja, the son of Arihara Rāja or Harihara. The Bukka Rāja that is referred to is Bukka II, the son and successor of Harihara II. It is known from other records that Bukka II ruled between 1377-1404 A.D.

While local tradition clearly associates this figure with the person that built the *mandapa*, viz., Irugappa, other factors point towards the correctness of such a tradition. A study of the *mandapas* and the *gopuras* that arose in the time of the Vijayanagara kings brings into relief the custom then prevailing to show the figures of the builders or donors in some part of the constructions themselves, preferably on the bases of pillars. In some *mandapas* these figures are shown in a prominent place and in others in places that will not catch the eye of the casual visitor. The reason for such a representation is not far to seek. It only reflects the mentality of the builders or the donors, reserve on the part of the unostentatious and a love to win the approbation of the world on the part of the vain. The figure of Irugappa stands in a prominent place and catches the eye of the visitor easily. The general deportment of the figure and its features mark it out as that of the person indicated in the tradition. To understand the features of the figure it is necessary to know the history of the person portrayed.

He was a staunch Jain and was serving Bukka II, in the capacity of a minister and a generalissimo, a vocation that was his legacy, his father Vaicha or Chaichapa having held similar office under Harihara II. It appears that he won for his lord several battles, the victory in which only made the transitoriness of life, wealth and pleasure too glaring to him. Highly impressive and a lover of art and letters that he was¹, the day came too soon for his renunciation which was impending. And at Tiruparuttikunram, Jina-Kāñchi as it was then known, the yearning soul discovered its mentor in the person of sage Pushpasena about whom we shall speak later (pp. 44-45). The sincerity of the sage and his asceticism won Irugappa over to him so much so that Irugappa vowed to serve the sage in any manner that he commanded. From then the general appears to have discarded the sword and devoted himself solely to service and deeds that were calculated to bring him virtue (*punya*) and secure for him liberation (*moksha*). Among the deeds mention may be made of building of temples² or parts of them, as for instance the *mandapa* in the present case.

The figure shown here represents just such a person. Its spirit is one of extreme devotion, humility, asceticism, self-sacrifice and eagerness to be at the service of humanity, a precept for which Jainism is remarkable. The hair on the head is secured in a knot and the knot is thrown on the left side of the figure. In the manner of securing the hair it is suggested by the tips standing erect that locks of unbraided hair which characterise a sage or ascetic are intended. A beard and moustache are present. The hands are held in the *añjali* pose against the breast, a pose of devotion, humility, and worship. The under-garment which is tied in the *kachcha* fashion, as is done in South India

¹ He is said to be the author of a work on literary criticism called *Nānārtharatnamālā*.

² *S.f.A.*, Vol. I, pp. 156-8.

to-day, extends only up to the knees being drawn up. There is nothing strange in this, for, to most South Indians the drawing up of the under garment indicates reverence or regard for the person in whose presence they stand. There is not a second garment here which is also significant, for a mode of showing respect to people that deserve it is to take the upper garment away, or tie it in the form of a sash over the under garment, leaving the breast bare. With this mode also most South Indians are familiar. Hence in the figure the upper garment is omitted, the under garment is drawn up and as if this was not enough to show the feelings of the person portrayed the hands are folded and drawn against the breast—a pose which stands in Indian iconography for humility and devotion. But the wrists are provided with bangles. This is in great contrast to the other limbs of the figure where ornaments and other decorations are conspicuous by their absence. What would be, therefore, the significance of the bangles? They only stand to indicate the status of the figure, which was that of an erstwhile man of the world in affluent conditions, who had become a disciple of sage Pushpasena by coming into contact with his superior spiritual force. This appears to be the only significance in such a rendering.

The bangles also indicate that there can be no mistaking the person intended, for no mere sage or ordinary person can be shown with them. Thus it would appear that all safeguards were taken at the time of making the portrait to make the identity of the person clear. And tradition and the inscriptions in the temple give his name as Irugappa.

The *Saṅgita-mandapa* has the curved eaves (*koḍuṅgai*) which is found on all the other parts of the temple also. But on its north-east corner, a number of lotus petals, placed one above the other, is designed indicating that the whole is modelled on the lotus petal. All the pillars of the *Saṅgita-mandapa* bear traces of recent colouring.

At the northern end of this *mandapa*, just where its beams rest on the *Vardhamāna-veranda* is a pillar, plain with the usual sixteen flutings but supporting a Chola corbel which stands as a clear proof to-day of the shiftings and alterations made in the *Vardhamāna-veranda*, presumably at about the time of the construction of the *Saṅgita-mandapa*. The *mandapa* continues to the south of the *Trikūṭa-basti-veranda* till it reaches the cloister. The ceiling of this part of the *mandapa* is higher than elsewhere and rests on the *Trikūṭa-basti*, its veranda, the store-room and its veranda and the cloister on the south. Only one pillar is found which, though resembling the other pillars in the Vijayanagara style, supports a Chola corbel and has three bands and a base cut from a separate stone.

Round the temple there is the temple cloister interrupted at intervals by store-rooms, kitchen, etc. It is raised on the east with its base like that of the *Trikūṭa-basti-veranda*, with the usual Chola pillars (pl. I-B, 3) supporting lintels and curved eaves (*koḍuṅgai*).

Gopura (pl. II, 27; pl. xxx, I).—The *gopura* divides the cloister here into two as it is located in its centre. It (the *gopura*) is of moderate dimensions (pl. xxx, I) and is built of granite except the top tiers which are of stucco and brick. The base is of the Chola type with six mouldings, five rectangular and one octagonal on which are found inscriptions (Nos. II and I9, see below, pp. 58 and 60). The sides of the *gopura* bear pilasters with

corbels of the Chola type (pl. i-B, 4) but with chamfered sides as is also the case with the *Munivāsa*, another part of the temple which we shall describe presently. The lintels support curved eaves with four *kūḍus* or window-ornaments on each wide side. These *kūḍus* are of floral design surmounted by a lion's head as in the case of the pillar base containing the portrait of Irugappa. They are occupied each by a Tirthaṅkara seated in the *paryāṅka-āsana*, i.e., with legs crossed and hands placed on the lap, one over the other, the pose prescribed for meditation. Over the eaves is a line of lions' heads with mane, and at each end a projection shaped like a lion's mouth.

Over this rises a superstructure of brick which rises in three tiers. An inscription (No. 9, see below, p. 58) on the inner side of the lintel of the *gopura* speaks of the construction of this superstructure as due to the benevolence of the sage Pushpasena, the preceptor of Irugappa.

It is unusual to find an ascetic-sage venturing on construction work which requires finance behind. But if it be remembered that it was the same sage that ordered Irugappa, his disciple, to build the *Sāṅgita-maṇḍapa*, as the latter proclaims in inscription No. 7, it is only natural to suppose that the *gopura* also was financed by Irugappa and was probably built about the same time as the *maṇḍapa* or a little later. It may however be asked why Irugappa, if he were really responsible for this construction, should be silent about his association in this work when one would expect him to proclaim his share just as he had done in inscription No. 7. To most Indians who can realize the import of *Gurukula* and *Gurūśiṣya-bhava* or relationship between master and pupil the answer to this question is apparent. His reverence for his *guru* may have stood in the way of proclaiming himself as the author of the *gopura*—a course of action that could be expected of him, more so because he firmly believed as every ardent follower of the faith will do, that what all he did or achieved was at the bidding of his *guru*, the guide that was to lead him through and in whose hands his liberation (*moksha*) lay. His share in any work of merit would, in his opinion, pale before the superior spiritual force and merit of his mentor. Thus the devotee, a little vain at the outset, as proved by the personal touch in inscription No. 7, reveals himself here as a convert to humility, meekness, service and devotion and lays the humble work "that he was destined to perform as a result of the blessings (*prasāda*) of his spiritual guide" at the feet of his master, at the same time proclaiming to the world in unmistakable terms that it was the work of his *guru*, who therefore deserved the praise, while his own share was little, he merely functioning as a machine set at work by the spiritual force of the *guru*.

The Cloister (pl. ii, 14).—The cloister appears to have been interfered with and altered in the course of subsequent constructions in the temple. On the south-east corner it was altered to make room for the temple kitchen (*maḍapalli*) which shows four pillars of the Chola type placed in the middle enclosing a rectangular pit which serves to-day the purpose of a gutter, while above it the ceiling is open to allow smoke to escape (pl. ii, 26). When this alteration was effected we have been unable to ascertain. There is a veranda in front of the kitchen which is a continuation of the cloister.

The adjacent part is a store room for storing paddy, etc. (pl. ii, 15) built in the twentieth year (1236 A.D.) of the reign of Rājārāja III as proved by an inscription on its north wall (No. 2, see below, p. 50). It is not on a line with the wall of the kitchen but is drawn in by 22". The room thus enclosed has in its centre two Chola pillars, a half-cut Chola pillar on the west placed against the western wall of the room, and a Chola corbel, without its pillar, peeping out of the eastern wall of the room. The pillar of the last-mentioned corbel was probably removed from its original place when the kitchen was added as the erection of a wall between the kitchen and the store room has made it unnecessary. On the sides of the doorway may be discerned the *nāgabandha* with a string of lotus petals, also found on the *Trikūṭa-bastī* and *Vardhamāna-ardhamandapa* doorways. This motif might therefore be taken to have come into existence in the later Chola period itself. A veranda is attached to this store room in front partially, leaving almost a third of its north wall to face the *Saṅgita-mandapa*, the beams of which rest both on this wall and on the veranda. The level of the store room being elevated, the level of the veranda has been likewise elevated. The exposed side of the north wall of the store room contains two inscriptions, one above recording the construction of the store room itself (No. 2, see below, p. 50) and the other on its plinth (No. 8, see below, p. 57) which records the gift of a village by Irugappa.

From the west wall of this store room the cloister runs due west. It has become very low, almost approaching the ground level but slightly raised by 3". The compound wall bounds it on the south. On the south-west corner of the temple, where the cloister takes a turn to the north (i.e., running from south to north), is a small shrine (pl. ii, 16) dedicated for Brahmadeva Yaksha (pl. v, 2), the Yaksha of Śīṭalanātha¹, on a level elevated as near the *gopura*. The shrine has been walled up by brick work and is clearly of recent origin. The Yaksha has his *vāhana*, the elephant, below his pedestal. The iconography of this image is so exactly like that of the Hindu Aiyaṇār or Śaṣṭa² that one might easily take it to represent Aiyaṇār and not Brahmadeva if it were not for the fact that it is placed and worshipped in a Jaina temple. The cloister from east to west has eaves (*koduṅgai*) of brick instead of granite. This presumably happened when the old one, which was probably of granite, fell and was renewed by the present brick one.

The cloister now continues from the south to the north and is elevated as near the *gopura* (pl. ii, 14), except for a distance of about 30' in the middle (pl. ii, 13), where it is on a level with the cloister between the store room and the Brahmadeva shrine. Facing this low space, in the western wall of the compound that bounds it, there was once an entrance, 6' × 3', now blocked, placed slightly, though not directly on a line with the Vardhamāna shrine, which opened into the huts and the fields behind the temple. While the Brahmadeva shrine bounds this part of the cloister at its southern corner, it has been converted into a room recently with brick to the right of the back entrance referred to

¹ See below, pp. 202-3.

² Madras Museum Bulletin, New Series—General Section, Vol. I, part 2, pp. 14, 128-9.

above for keeping the temple *sāmāns* and *vāhanas*. The eaves (*koṇṇūgai*) of this part of the cloister is bigger and of granite while it is of brick work to the left of the back entrance. Surely the brick eaves is a later work that had come in the place of older ones built of granite that had probably to be renewed. The rest of the temple, *viz.*, the *Śānti-maṇḍapa*, the *Munivāsa*, the *Saṅgīta-maṇḍapa*, and the cloister on the east bear four granite eaves.

Śānti-maṇḍapa, (pl. ii, 19).—The cloister now runs from west to east and has been converted into a big elevated *maṇḍapa*, 78' × 27' in area, now known as "*Śānti-maṇḍapa*." It is here that the *mahābhisheka* or the grand bathing ceremony of the gods of the temple is held. Its western end has been elevated by 3' above the rest of the *maṇḍapa* as the *mahābhisheka* ceremony was originally intended to be done there. The gods would be installed on the elevation while the priests attended to the baths with due ceremonies and the faithful witnessed them from the rest of the *maṇḍapa* which has been said is lower in level. In the centre of the elevation referred to is a small shrine (pl. ii, 18), built of brick about 37 years ago, in the time of the present trustee's father, in which a marble image of Rishabhadeva, the first Tīrthaṅkara, obtained from Jaipore is worshipped. The construction of this shrine was necessary in order to provide support for a small *maṇḍapa*, also of brick-work, called the "*Janmābhisheka-maṇḍapa*" built on the roof at about the same time. The latter was given then the name "*Janmābhisheka-maṇḍapa*" as the Tīrthaṅkaras in the temple, whose life-stories were enacted during the temple festivals (*utsava*) were carried to this part and anointed with waters, the idea being that these Tīrthaṅkaras were undergoing the anointing ceremony that they underwent as soon as they were born¹. As they were carried by the *devas* to Mount *Meru* for the above-said ceremony, a higher place was required and consequently we get the present *maṇḍapa* on the roof. And the priests who perform the ceremony officiate for the *devas*. Access to this *maṇḍapa* is by a flight of steps facing south, situated between the *Śānti-maṇḍapa* and the building adjacent to it on the east which is called "*Munivāsa*" or "the abode of sages."

As the ceiling of the *Śānti-maṇḍapa* was shaky, especially at its northern end (to the north of the present Rishabhadeva shrine) some support has been given recently by inserting two Chola corbels (pl. i-B, 3) and a Chola pillar with its corbel from some other part of the temple into the compound wall and placing over them three cross-beams, the other ends of which rest on Chola pillars (pl. i-B, 3), now hidden by the Rishabhadeva shrine. These pillars are visible from within the Rishabhadeva shrine. A similar thing has been done on the southern side of the shrine and three cross-beams are laid between the Chola pillars enclosed by the shrine and those forming the first row in the *Śānti-maṇḍapa*. The shrine encloses therefore two rows of three pillars. Including these the *Śānti-maṇḍapa* should have had at the time it was erected three rows of ten pillars each, resembling those of the temple veranda (see pl. i-B, 3). The first row contains all

¹ See *Alau*, pp. 65, 83-5, 119-122, 150-1.

the ten, one of which, on the western corner, is partially hidden by the brick wall of the room in which the temple *vāhanas* are housed. The middle row has three of its pillars enclosed in the Rishabhadeva shrine; six of its pillars (4-9) can be seen, while the tenth on the extreme east shows only its corbel. This originally stood in a line with the tenth pillar of the first row, and was probably removed when the *Munivāsa* was built, as the latter's western wall made this pillar unnecessary. The third row is just like the middle row, with its tenth pillar showing its corbel from within the western wall of the *Munivāsa*. The tenth pillar of the first row is drawn nearer to the ninth of the same row as it stands at the corner of the *Śānti-maṇḍapa*.

From an inscription found on the west wall of this *maṇḍapa* which is also the compound wall (No. 1, see *below*, pp. 49, 50), we have to infer that this *maṇḍapa* came into existence probably in the reign of Rājaraṇa III, for it is dated in the eighteenth year of the said king (1234 A.D.). The position of this inscription on this wall is interesting. It is found on the second layer of stone from the bottom (*i.e.*, the ground level of the *Śānti-maṇḍapa*). While there are four more granite layers above it, not to speak of lintels and beams above, this is curiously incised so low, far below the eye-level. This suggests that the original *maṇḍi* or compound wall was a low one and was probably raised to its present height and shape during the time of Aḷagiya Pallavan (see *below*, pp. 39, 47-8). The latter's inscription speaking of the construction of the *maṇḍi* (No. 12, see *below*, p. 58), is found on the outer side of the *maṇḍi* and is placed sufficiently high so that it lends support to the above suggestion. Either the *maṇḍi* was renewed or some more layers of stone were added on to it by Aḷagiya Pallavan.

Munivāsa (pl. ii, 21 and 22).—The *Munivāsa* or "the abode of the sages," so named because it has five cells in a row opening towards the south, in which the souls of five sages that flourished in Tiruparuttikunṇam are believed to live engaged in doing penance even to-day, is a long corridor adjacent to the *Śānti-maṇḍapa*, 54' × 21' in area. There is nothing in the construction of this part of the temple to suggest any great antiquity. Two of the cells are intended for Mallisheṇa and Pushpasena, sages that lived in the fourteenth century A.D.¹ For these sages to get deified and worshipped in the *Munivāsa* along with the other three sages some years should be allowed after their demise. Thus arguing it seems likely that the *Munivāsa* may have been built sometime in the fifteenth century A.D.

Though, according to local tradition, these five cells (pl. ii, 21) were intended for five sages, the central room contains stone images of Vardhamāna (pl. iii, 2) and Pārśvanātha, the former facing west and the latter south, while the other four are empty. The placing of these two images in a place where they are inappropriate came about as follows:—In 1906, *i.e.*, the Tamil year *Parabhava*, the *Kumbhābhishēka* ceremony of the temple was performed on a grand scale by the present trustee's father. The image of Vardhamāna which was till then worshipped in the main Vardhamāna shrine, and consequently an old one, was removed from there as a crack on it made it unfit for further

¹ See *below*, pp. 43-46.

worship and was taken to the central cell of the *Munivāsa*, where it is at present found (pl. iii, 2). The history of the *Pārśvanātha* image is different and more interesting. According to the temple priest it was found in the temple well some 150 years ago where it was probably thrown for safety by the then temple authorities during the raids of the Muhammadan iconoclasts. This account receives confirmation from another detail present in one of the cells. The last cell on the right contains an underground cell which can be disclosed by removing the slabs above, which is locally called "kalāpa-kottādi." This was intended for keeping the temple images in safety so that the raiders could not see them. It was also believed that this underground cell had also an underground passage leading to the next garden where the Pallava temple (*i.e.*, the Chandraprabha temple) is located. I examined the cell with a view to test this part of the account. There is surely the underground cell, hollow and gloomy, but I could not find any traces of the underground passage referred to. The *Pārśvanātha* image was probably thrown into the well either because there was no room for it in the underground cell or because there was not sufficient time for the people to remove the slabs above and deposit the image in the underground cell as most probably the raider was almost at their door. Under such circumstances the well alone could be thought of, as its waters could hide the image from the evil look of the iconoclast for the time being. And when the raider had left the place it was probably intended to be removed from its temporary place of safety to the underground cell. Failure to do so immediately had resulted in the image being left in the well till chance disclosed it 150 years ago.

The western wall of the *Munivāsa* faces the *Śānti-maṇḍapa* and is less in width than the latter by 6'. That it was put against the *maḍil*, and hence is subsequent to the latter, is made evident by a gap between it and the latter. Two of the *Śānti-maṇḍapa* pillar corbels have got into this wall, which projects into the *Śānti-maṇḍapa* for half of its length starting from the *maḍil*, and is drawn in for the remaining half of its length starting from the centre of the *Śānti-maṇḍapa*. The projecting portion of the wall corresponds to the region of the cells, while the drawn portion corresponds to a small corridor of about the same length as the cells, in front of the cells. The ends of the projecting and the drawn portions of the wall bear plain rectangular pilasters with small Chola corbels such as we find on the Vardhamāna-veranda (pl. i-B, 4). A similar wall flanks the *Munivāsa* on the east.

The corridor in front of the cells is narrow and dark though there are two stone windows on its southern wall, one facing the first cell on the left and the other facing the fifth cell on the right. The window on the left is now hidden by steps leading to the terrace built recently against this part from the processional path outside. The other faces a small garden (pl. ii, 25) situated between the wall of the corridor and the temple well. These windows are rectangular with nine square holes¹. In the centre of the wall of the corridor the doorway of the *Munivāsa* is located, which shows like the Vardhamāna-

¹ Cf. *Trikūṭa-basti-ardhamaṇḍapa* window. See above, p. 26.

ardhamandapa, *Trikūṭa-basti-ardhamandapa* and store room doorways the *nāgabandhas* with a string of lotus petals running along the course of the sides and joining them. On this wall, in places not hidden by the staircase and on the walls of a *mandapa* in front of the *Munivāsa* (pl. ii, 22) there are plain pilasters supporting Chola corbels (pl. i-B, 3) as on the eastern and western walls of the *Munivāsa*.

The *mandapa* just mentioned, which we may call the "Munivāsa-mandapa" (pl. ii, 22), is 34' x 20' in area, and is built in front of the *Munivāsa* corridor. It is elevated and is higher than the cells and the corridor by 3". It is covered on its sides recently by brick walls, and has two rows of pillars, an inner row with six pillars and an outer row with four.

Two pillars, one at each end of the inner row, are enclosed by brick walls, only their corbels which are like those in the *Vardhamāna* veranda (pl. i-B, 3), showing out. The other pillars in this row bear similar corbels but are different in design and details of workmanship as will be clear from fig. 8 of pl. i-B. They are all placed on the elevation of the *Munivāsa-mandapa*. The corbels of these are carved like those of the Chola pillars in the temple but are chamfered vertically into rectangular and cylindrical bands alternately reminding one of wooden chippings. The square area in the centre of the corbel bears the design of the conventional lotus either in a square or a circular background. These pillars are cylindrical with about five mouldings on their slightly enlarged cylindrical bases, a rather unusual feature. The front row has four pillars standing on the ground and not on the elevation of the rest of the *Munivāsa-mandapa*. The corner ones are partially hidden by the brick walls flanking the *mandapa*. They are eight-fluted, above plain square bases and support corbels of Chola form, but presumably of later date (pl. i-B, 5). The central two pillars bear in the square portion of their capitals the same conventional lotus design. The pillars of the front row support the lintels which are surmounted by granite eaves (*koḍuṅgai*), a continuation of the same of the *Śānti-mandapa*. The front of the base of the *mandapa* is plain with two rectangular mouldings, one at its top and the other at its bottom. Access to this *mandapa* is by a flight of steps placed between the second and the third pillars of the first row.

Thus we find that the pillars here are a curious mixture of the Chola style and a later style of which plainness and freedom from intricate carving are characteristic features. This coupled with the fact that there is nothing in this part of the temple calling for special attention, either architectural or sculptural, makes this part less interesting, had it not been for the much religious history regarding the sages that the walls of the five cells are supposed to breathe¹.

The north-east corner of the temple (pl. ii, 15) is a continuation of the cloister but is now closed for storing temple property. A modern window with iron bars is conspicuous in the brick wall. From here the cloister runs from north to south (pl. ii, 14) till it reaches the *gopura*. Between this and the eastern flanking wall of the *Munivāsa-mandapa*

¹ See under religious history of Tiruparuttikunram, below pp. 42-47.

is a small garden (pl. ii, 25) in which a *nāga*-stone is placed under a tree. An interesting feature of this *nāga*-stone is that it resembles the Hindu *nāga*-stone one finds often installed under the sacred pipal tree by those desiring progeny, the ceremony being known as "*nāga-pratishtha*," with, however, this difference, that in the circular band formed by two intertwining snakes the figure of a Tirthaṅkara seated in the "*paryāṅka-āsana*," i.e., with legs crossed and hands placed one over the other in meditation, is shown. This proves that *nāga*-worship was practised among the Jains as well as among the Hindus and the Buddhists.

The Temple Well (pl. ii, 24) which is situated in front of this garden and from which the Pārśvanātha image in the *Munivāsa* was taken, appears to have been dug by a merchant called *Śeṅgadīrchelvan* as recorded in an inscription found on a small slab (No. 14, see below, p. 59) inserted between the Vardhamāna and Pushpadanta shrines. This merchant styles himself a Pallava. The titles that he assumes and his designation as indicated by the term *Mūvēndavēlāṇ* tempt one to assign him to the thirteenth century, as the surname *Mūvēndavēlāṇ* was assumed by royal officers under the Cholas. This assumption receives support from a study of the palaeographical features of the inscription which point to the same period.

Processional Path (pl. ii, 20).—All round the shrines there is the processional path roughly in the form of a square, broader on its northern, western and eastern sides than on its southern side, where it is narrowed down between the cloister and the wall of the *Trikūṭa-Bastī*. Between the cloister on the west (pl. ii, 13) and the backs of the *Trikūṭa-Bastī* shrines and the Vardhamāna and Pushpadanta shrines the processional path is wider than on the south side of the temple. In its centre is an old tree known as the "*kōra*" (pl. ii, 17) around which a granite altar has been constructed. The sides of the altar have been worked like the base of the cloister. Below the top moulding, on the northern side, is a crude sculpture in low-relief showing a sage seated in *virāsana*, i.e., the right leg placed over the left, with his left hand resting on the lap in meditation and right hand indicating exposition (*upadeśa*) or knowledge (*jñāna*). The quill of a peacock's feather (*mayūra-piñchhā*) rests on his left thigh, the feather lying on the ground. To the north-east of this altar, removed by 6' from it, is a granite *balipīṭha* in the shape of a full-blown lotus showing the seed-vessel, rising over a square base (pl. ii, 17). On its western side a crude figure representing a sage in meditation, seated cross-legged has been carved in a manner suggesting that the sage was intended to be facing the sage on the altar of the tree. An inscription on this *balipīṭha* (No. 18, see below, p. 60), which serves as the label of the figure sculptured, gives the name of the sage as Anantavīrya Vāmana. Another similar *balipīṭha* with a similar sage sculptured on its western side and facing the tree, is placed to the east of the tree within a distance of 5' (pl. ii, 17). Though no label is found on this, presumably the sage on this *balipīṭha* was also a disciple, like Anantavīrya, of the one on the tree altar. The plinth of this altar contains two inscriptions (Nos. 16 and 17, see below, pp. 59 and 60), one on its northern and the other on its southern sides, the former containing a verse in Tamil in praise of the tree. It is said in

this verse that three sages spent their lifetime under this tree which statement probably means that they did penance under the tree¹. The other inscription (No. 17, see below, p. 60) speaks of the construction of the altar by a king who is referred to as a Tamil Pallava². This sacred tree belongs to the species *Ixora parviflora*, a "species whose branches burn very readily and which travellers at night use as torches." It is worshipped by the Jains of the locality. The reason why these sages resort to trees for penance and the like is that in Jaina mythology several trees are spoken of as *kulpaka-vrikshas* and *dikshā-vrikshas* under which each Tirthaṅkara spent his *karma* and attained to the state of a *kevalī* or one endowed with omniscience³.

Facing this part of the processional path are two stone images, one of Pārśvanātha with the serpent-hoods raised over his head, placed in a niche behind the Vāsūpūjya shrine and the other of another Tirthaṅkara, seated, whose identity is not clear. These two probably belong to the complete set of statues of the Tirthaṅkaras in the temple that Burnell alludes to in the *Indian Antiquary*⁴. The rest of the set is no longer traceable.

The temple court in front of the *Saṅgita-mandapa* (i.e., the processional path on its eastern side) contains a big *balipīṭha* of granite (pl. ii, 17) similar to the other *balipīṭhas* in the temple, and a flagstaff (*dhvaja-stambha*) of copper placed on a brick pedestal (pl. ii, 23), both standing in a line with the entrance of the Vardhamāna shrine and the *gopura*.

The Compound Wall (Prākāra).—The various structures in this temple described till now are all surrounded by a *prākāra* or compound wall, or *maḍi* as it is called in Tamil, 12' high, issuing from the sides of the *gopura*. Its measurements are as follows:—eastern side 145½', northern side 153½', western side 142', and southern side 144'. The western side (the one behind the shrines) has a small opening in it, as in most of the South Indian temples, now closed, which as already noticed is almost, if not directly, on a line with the Vardhamāna shrine and the *gopura*. The northern part of this *prākāra* separates the garden in which the Chandraprabha temple is situated from the Vardhamāna temple. An inscription in Tamil, found on the eastern *prākāra*, to the right of the *gopura* and facing the street outside, speaks of the construction of the *maḍi*, i.e., the compound wall, by Aḷagiya Pallava (see below, No. 12). The name Aḷagiya Pallava seems to be one of the titles of Kopperuñjīṅga, a feudatory of the Chola Rājaraḷa III⁵ and as he is referred to as a king in this inscription his connection with the temple would appear to date subsequent to 1243 A.D., the year that he was crowned king at Śendamāṅgalam⁶.

Tiruparuttikunṅam seems to have been the seat of a succession of Jaina ascetics who figure in some of the temple inscriptions (Nos. 7, 15-18, 22-24, see below, pp. 57, 59-62) and on small stone *balipīṭhas* placed over the *śamādhis* of these ascetics situated in the fields in a locality known as *Arunagiri-mēḍu*. This place is removed from the temple by about 200

¹ For details regarding these sages see below, pp. 45-47.

² For details regarding this Pallava king, see under *prākāra* and below, pp. 47-48.

³ For details see below, pp. 65, 78-79, 96, 104, 118, 123, 124.

⁴ *A.R.S.I.E.*, No. 487 of 1921; for details, see pp. 47-48.

⁵ Vol. II, p. 353, ff.

⁶ *A.R.S.I.E.*, 1914, p. 82; 1925, p. 87.

yards on the south-west and is close to a tank. There I found an altar built of bricks in the midst of dense masses of prickly-pear. And on this altar are placed five granite pedestals in the form of a square (pl. vi, 4). Four of them, shaped like inverted lotuses and lotus flowers with petals fully drawn down so as to reveal the seed-vessel, occupy the corners of the square, while the fifth, which is bigger than the others, and is in the form of a rectangular *bhadrāsana*, occupies the centre. The arrangement and the size of this fifth one would appear to indicate that the ascetic over whose remains it was put up was considered by the Jainas of the locality as more important than the other four sages. Fortunately three, out of these five pedestals, including the one in the centre, bear inscriptions written in the Grantha script, the language being Sanskrit. That on the central one is a verse in praise of the sage Pushpasena, whose blessings to humanity are invoked (No. 24, p. 62). The pedestal on the north-west of the central one has another inscription which records that it was intended for the sage called Anantavīrya Vāmana, who was a pupil (*śiṣya*) of another sage called Chandrakīrti (No. 22, p. 61). A third pedestal to the south-east of the central one contains the words "the sage Pushpasena Vāmana" (No. 23, pp. 61-62). The other two have no letters on them, and if they ever had any, they must all have got obliterated. This is not unlikely, placed as they are in the open fields where they were uncared for and have consequently become much weathered. These five pedestals and the five rooms in the *Munivāsa* where the souls of these sages are said to rest, clearly prove that there was a succession of Jaina ascetics (*yatis*) at Tiruparuttikunram whose detailed history will be found below.

Sages and the Religious History of Tiruparuttikunram.—The religious history of Tiruparuttikunram is as interesting as its secular one, and is equally rich for the reason that a place like Jina-Kāñchīpuram, one of the *Vidyāsthānas* sacred to the Jainas (see above, p. 1) cannot be otherwise. A study of the local traditions, and of the inscriptions in the temple and on the *samādhi* pedestals reveals a regular hierarchy of sages who figure in some of these inscriptions as master (*guru*) and disciple (*śiṣya*). Their main work appears to have been propagation of the Digambara Jaina religion. With erudite scholarship some of these sages combined rare tact and accommodation to other faiths like Hinduism, which stood them in good stead, for they not only secured for their religion the patronage of the king of the land, but also protected them from Hindu fury. By slow degrees these sages began to acquire, apart from the religious hold that they already had, much political influence in the country.

Jaina contribution to the literature of South India is rich, most of its contributors being religious enthusiasts.¹ The most scholarly among these enthusiasts grouped themselves into various *saṅghas* or monastic orders or communities for an effective propagation of the faith. Each *saṅgha* was divided into many *ganas* and each *gana* into many *gachchhas*. There are four *saṅghas* which characterise the Digambara church,

¹ From *Muniśekhara* and *Śilappadikāram*, two Tamil epics of the Śāṅgam age we learn that the Jainas were roughly divided into two sections, the *munis* or ascetics such as those at Jina-Kāñchī, and the *Śrāvakas* or hearers, i.e., laymen.

viz., (1) *Nandi*, (2) *Senā*, (3) *Deva*, and (4) *Simha saṅghas*. From inscriptions¹ we learn that a *saṅgha* called the *Draṃila saṅgha*, probably the one that established itself at Madura, was the most important of all these *saṅghas*, and that one of its *gaṇas*,² the *Nandigaṇa* was famous in the history of South Indian Jainism.

It is not strange that we find at Tiruparuttikunram a regular hierarchy of *gurus* and *śiṣyas*³ for we learn from the Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa inscriptions, Nos. 47, 54, 105, 108 and 145, that the system of this hierarchy commenced from the time of Chandragupta Maurya (300 B.C.). It need hardly be said here that Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa where the colossal statue of Bāhubali (pl. xxxvi, fig. 1), the son of the first Tīrthāṅkara stands, was likely to abound in information concerning the succession of apostles and other *gurus* and teachers. According to the Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa inscriptions the first *guru* or *Yatindra* was Kundakunda Āchārya⁴, then came Umāsvāmi, the compiler of the *Tatvārtha-Sūtra*, Gṛiddhrapiñchchha and his disciple Balakapiñchchha. After him came the famous Samantabhadra (No. 105) whose name has gone down in the history of Digambara Jainism in gold letters.⁵ According to tradition his date is 138 A.D.

All the writers on South Indian Jainism and Sanskrit literature are agreed in acclaiming with one voice that Samantabhadra's appearance in South India marks an epoch not only in the annals of Digambara Jainism but also in the history of Sanskrit literature. After Samantabhadra came several *munis* or ascetics who continued the work of propaganda and organised the Jaina community into convenient classes and enriched the literature of the land. Chief among them were Simhanandi, who, according to tradition founded the state of Gaṅgavādī⁶, Pūjyapāda, the author of *Jinendra Vyākaraṇa*, and Akalaṅka more closely connected with Kāñchi than the others, for it is said of him that in about 788 A.D.⁷ he confuted in discussion the Buddhists at the Court of King Śāhasatunga Hima śtala at Kāñchi, and besides converting the king to Jainism secured with his aid the expulsion of the Buddhists from Kāñchi and from South India to Ceylon.

¹ *Ep. Cat.*, Vol. II, No. 55.

² Generally speaking these *saṅghas* were broadly divided into the *Pannata*, *Balathāra*, and *Nātiya gaṇas*. These *gaṇas* were subdivided into *gaṇachāras* such as *Puṣṭyaka*, *Sarāsvatī*, etc. The *Svetāmbharas* have something like 84 *gaṇachāras* or subdivisions, most of which are to-day more names. For details see Bühler "Indian sects of the Jains."

³ For a list of the ages, see *Appendix III*, pp. 215-218.

⁴ See *Jaina Gazette*, 1922, Vol. XVIII, Nos. 1 and 2. "Śat Kundakundāchārya" by Prof. Chakravarti, for *Jaina Pāṭhaṇālī*.

⁵ The Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa inscription, No. 44, contains an autobiographical account of the activities of this celebrated propagandist, from which a few sentences are worth quoting here to appreciate the value of his work:—

"At first, in the town of Pāṭaliputra was the drum beaten by me. Afterwards in the Mālava, Sindhu, and Tāṃsa country, in the far-off city of Kāñchi, arrived at Kuthāraka (the modern Kolhāpur). . . I roam about, Oh! King; like a tiger in sport." The above makes it clear that Samantabhadra was a great Jaina missionary whose activities extended to Kāñchi. From his exaltation that he was roaming about in all these countries without meeting any opposition it can be deduced that he was successful in spreading Jainism in South India very vigorously.

⁶ *Studies in South Indian Jainism*, p. 109.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 31; Wilson, *Introduction to Mackenzie's Manuscripts*, p. 40.

To the people at Tiruparuttikunram the tradition regarding Akalaṅka alone is fresh in their minds while the earlier *munis* and the later ascetics are almost forgotten. It is easy to understand this for the tradition regarding Akalaṅka is kept alive at a neighbouring Jaina village called Tiruppanamūr, about twelve miles from Kāñchi, where a big stone mortar in the local temple is explained by the temple priests as the one employed by Akalaṅka to pound the vanquished aliens, and a sculpture on the compound wall of the temple in front of the said mortar showing a Jaina ascetic in the attitude of preaching, as illustrating the propaganda work of the sage who told the people around that Jainism was superior to all other religions, that much virtue would accrue as a result of being a Jaina and that if any one should insist on continuing to be an alien in spite of his preachings the mortar will grind him in no time.

Nothing but their names¹ is known of the sages subsequent to Akalaṅka who flourished in or about Tiruparuttikunram, till we come to 1199 A.D. The temple inscriptions and those at Arunagiri-mēdu fortunately throw light on some more sages. Thus for instance inscriptions Nos. 3 (p. 50) and 22 (p. 61) speak of a *guru* called Chandrakīrti who flourished at Tiruparuttikunram and whose remains have been interred at Arunagiri-mēdu and a *samādhi* erected over them there. In the former inscription dated 1199 A.D. the gift of twenty *velis* of land in the village of Ambi to the temple is received from Kulottuṅga III, to whom the recipients made clear that the temple at Tiruparuttikunram deserved his patronage because there lived in it their *guru*, Chandrakīrti. The king not only gave twenty *velis* of land to the temple but also gave Chandrakīrti the title "the *āchārya* of Kottaiyūr" in token of his appreciation of the latter's learning and work. In the latter inscription (No. 22, p. 61), which is found at Arunagiri-mēdu, the same Chandrakīrti is referred to as the spiritual *guru* of another sage who flourished at Tiruparuttikunram, the latter being known as Anantavīrya Vāmana. In the present state of our knowledge of the Jaina hierarchy we are not able to identify the Chandrakīrti referred to, and the local Jainas are unable to help on this point, and other lists found at Sravaṇa Belgōja (published) are not helpful. There is, of course, a Chandrakīrti in the list of Jaina *āchāryas* available from the *Āndhra-Karṇāṭa-deśa*² and he is placed there between two other *āchāryas*, Kanakakīrti Deva, who figures in one of the *nīśidhī* inscriptions from Danavulapāḍu now exhibited in the Madras Museum, and Bhattāraka Jinachandra. It will be too much to see any connexion between our Chandrakīrti (1199 A.D.), and the one mentioned above, as the latter should be placed in the tenth century, the date of the *nīśidhī* speaking of Chandrakīrti's predecessor Kanakakīrti Deva being assigned on sure grounds to 910-917 A.D. Thus our Chandrakīrti is a different person who lived and died at Tiruparuttikunram itself.

Inscriptions No. 18 (p. 60) and No. 22 (p. 61) relate to Anantavīrya Vāmana, another sage who was a disciple of Chandrakīrti. The former is found on a *balipīṭha* to the north-east of the *kōra* tree inside the temple, and the latter on a *samādhi* slab at

¹ See Appendix III, p. 216.

² South Indian Jainism, part II, pp. 61-62.

Arunagiri-mēdu. While the former merely says that the said *halipitha* belongs to Anantavīrya Vāmana thereby meaning that worship was intended for him in the manner known to the temple *archakas*, viz., placing ablutions (*hali*) on the pedestal (the belief being that the spirit of the said sage will feed on it), the latter clearly records that the slab was erected in memory of the said sage who had the unique honour of counting Chandrakīrti as his spiritual *guru*. Nothing more is known about this sage from the temple records or from local tradition. One of the cells in the *Munivāsa* is assigned to him, another being assigned to his *guru*, Chandrakīrti.

We are entirely in the dark about the identity of Anantavīrya Vāmana. But we know that he comes after Chandrakīrti who figures in Kulottuṅga III's inscription dated 1199 A.D., and consequently should be placed a few years later than Chandrakīrti, say, the middle of the thirteenth century. A study of the list of Jaina *āchāryas*, as available from the *Āndhra-Karṇāṭa-deśa*, reveals an Anantavīrya Deva who is placed between Bhavanandi and Amarakīrti Āchārya. Though this Anantavīrya Deva might possibly be our Anantavīrya Vāmana, for there is nothing in their dates to disprove the identity, the absence of any mention in the *Āndhra-Karṇāṭa* list of his association with Tiruparuttikunṇam precludes the possibility of such an identification.

The next sage in the temple of whom we have clear information both from the temple records and from Jaina literature is Mallishēṇa Vāmana. Inscriptions Nos. 9, 15 and 24 (pp. 58, 59 and 62) speak of him. In No. 9 (p. 58) he is referred to as Mallishēṇa Vāmanasūri, the preceptor of Pushpasena-*māmpuṅgava*-Vāmana. In No. 24 (p. 62), which represents the *samādhi* of Pushpasena, he is again called the preceptor of Pushpasena and is referred to by the name Mallishēṇa. In No. 15 (p. 59) which is a verse exclusively in praise of him, he is called Mallishēṇa, his spiritual name being Vāmana. Here it should be remembered that great teachers and writers on works of religion, philosophy, etc., are termed *Vāmanas*, the term *Vāmana* going with scholarship. And Mallishēṇa, as the local tradition proves, was more known by the term *Vāmana* than even by his name Mallishēṇa. He was a man of letters, held in high repute in his times, and was the author of several works written in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Tamil. From one of his works in Tamil, entitled "Merumandara Purāṇam,"¹ from which I frequently draw for my understanding of some of the paintings in the temple, we learn that he knew Sanskrit and Prakrit too among languages, and Jaina and other systems in thought. The fact that he commences the *Merumandara Purāṇa* as "Tamiḷai onru ṣollalurrēn," i.e., "I narrate here one in Tamil" (verse No. 2) shows that the preceding works of his should have been written in a language other than Tamil, say Sanskrit. His Sanskrit learning won for him the title of "Ubhaya-bhāṣhā-kavichakravartī"² or "the poet-monarch of two languages." Some of his works known are commentaries to Sanskrit works on philosophy such as *Pañcāstikāya*, *Pravachanasāra*, *Samayasāra*, and *Syādvādamāñjarī*.

¹ Edited in 1923 by Professor Chakravarti of the Presidency College, Madras.

² *Merumandara Purāṇam*, edited by Professor Chakravarti, Madras, 1923, preface.

Merumandara Purāṇa and *Samayadivākara*, which is a commentary to a Tamil work called *Nīlakēśi-tirattu*.¹ While his disciple Pushpasena, about whom we shall presently speak, appears to have acquired political importance, being associated with Irugappa, he seems to have acquired importance in the literary field. The high regard that Pushpasena had for him is manifest in all Pushpasena's inscriptions here. In No. 9 (p. 58) he calls himself Mallishēṇa's devoted pupil and in No. 24 (p. 62) he calls himself, rather poetically, "the bee that hovers over the lotus-feet of Śrī Mallishēṇa." Tradition associates him with the construction of the whole temple. Though this cannot be correct it still illustrates the extreme regard and importance that the Jains of the place had for this sage. Besides assigning him a cell in the *Munivāsa*, the people have built a *balipīṭha* for him. This they have placed in the niche on the north wall of the Chola veranda under the inscription containing a verse in praise of him (No. 15, p. 59) in order to connect the said inscription with the sage himself. Worship is offered to this *balipīṭha* even to-day as also to a similar one placed on a brick pedestal below it which is intended for Pushpasena, his disciple. One of the pedestals in the *samādhi* at Arunagiri-mēḍu, which is curiously enough not inscribed, is, I was told, intended for him.

As regards the date of this sage there is a silent but sure indication. Irugappa, whose inscriptions are dated 1382 and 1387-88 A.D., speaks of his devotion to Pushpasena, whose disciple he styles himself to be, but is silent about his attitude towards Mallishēṇa, the *Guru* of his *guru*. His silence can mean only one thing, and that is, that at the time of the advent of Irugappa to the temple Mallishēṇa was dead. Thus he comes after Anantavīrya Vāmana and before the advent of Irugappa, and may therefore be assigned to the earlier half of the fourteenth century.

Now we come to the illustrious Pushpasena who appears to have wielded considerable political influence in his time. The Vijayanagara kings patronised him as a result of the hold that he had over Irugappa, the general and minister of Bukka II and the sage was not slow in taking advantage of royal patronage. He prevailed on his royal disciple Irugappa to do the constructions in the temple and elsewhere (Vijayanagara city) referred to in inscriptions Nos. 7 and 9 (pp. 57-58). In the latter inscription the sage himself is cited as the author of the superstructure of the *gopura* for reasons explained on page 32. Inscriptions Nos. 7, 9, 23 and 24 relate to Pushpasena. Nos. 23 and 24 are found on the *samādhi* altar, the former giving his name and the latter invoking his blessings for the salvation of the suffering humanity. It is strange that two pedestals containing inscriptions of Pushpasena should be found in the *samādhi* altar while there is no pedestal there of Chandrakīrti, the first sage in our list. If we remember that there are two other *balipīṭhas* or pedestals within the temple itself, both uninscribed, one in front of the *kōra* tree and the other below the *balipīṭha* intended for Mallishēṇa, and that they are similar to the ones in the *samādhi* it is obvious that some of these uninscribed and similar pedestals should have been changed or misplaced at some time or other. Much prominence is

¹ For details see *Merumandara Purāṇa*, preface.

attached to Pushpasena in the local tradition probably because of his political influence. A cell is assigned to him in the *Munivāsa* and worship is done to him much in the same way as is done to Malliṣeṇa. As regards his accomplishments, both spiritual and literary, inscriptions Nos. 9 and 24 (pp. 58, 62) are helpful. In the former he is called Vāmana, "a bull among sages" (*muniṇṇava*) and is given the title "paravādimalla" which means "a successful opponent of his enemies in discussion". In the latter his devotion to Malliṣeṇa is stressed and his blessings are invoked for the benefit of the suffering, surging humanity. The fact that the *śamādhi* pedestal of Pushpasena is bigger than the others and that it is placed in the centre of the others and contains a bigger inscription bears testimony to the greater importance of the sage, in whose memory the pedestal arose. This pedestal appears to be the last in the collection of pedestals in the *śamādhi*, and this fact gives room to the surmise that probably subsequent to Pushpasena there were not similar sages in the place or, if there were any, did not acquire importance in the manner that their predecessors like Malliṣeṇa and Pushpasena acquired. Otherwise their *śamādhis* should also be expected.

The *Munivāsa* which contains five cells has still one cell to be accounted for, the other four cells being intended for the spirits of Chandrakīrti, Anantavīrya Vāmana, Malliṣeṇa Vāmana and Pushpasena Vāmana. The name of the fifth is not preserved for us to-day either in the temple inscriptions or in the local traditions. He may most probably be one who had preceded Chandrakīrti, whose name has not come down to us.

The sacredness of the temple was partly due to these sages and partly to the presence in its compound of the tree called "kōra" which has been described on pp. 38-39. A stone altar surrounds the tree and two *balipīṭhas* are built near it, one of which, as has been already noted, contains inscription No. 18 (p. 60). Two inscriptions Nos. 16 (p. 59) and 17 (p. 60) are found on the altar of the tree, the former on its southern side and the latter on its northern side. The former is a Tamil verse in praise of the sacredness of the tree, which is said to have given its shelter to three sages that lived under it, i.e., in the temple. It is also said to have revealed to the king of the land the methods by which to effect a beneficial rule. This is only a figurative expression, for a tree cannot be supposed to do all this, the idea indicated being that the sages who lived under its shade were responsible for the work. This raises the question "who were the three sages referred to here?"

Both the inscriptions (Nos. 16 and 17) speak of these three sages as if they spent all their time under it. It is common knowledge that these Jaina ascetics had to undergo the "dikṣhā" or initiation ceremony under trees (see below, pp. 65 and 96) and had to spend most of their time under these trees in meditation so that their *karmas* or attachments to the world, etc., might diminish. Thus verse No. 16 is no vain boast and if the tree here is

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 17.—There is a habit among Jaina monks to add to their names surnames generally referring to their literary accomplishments. Such are for instance:—

Paravādimalla, *Sripāladeva-Tracvīdyā*, *Ajitasena-Vāṇīkṣastimha*, *Vāṇīkṣa-Kaṇṭhāra*, *Padmanābha-Vāṇīkṣa*, *Malliṣeṇa-Maladhūra*, etc.

said to have proclaimed to the world the good rule of the land by the king it only means that the king of the land met the sages under its shade and was guided in the administration of the kingdom by their superior advice. The tree according to the above verse (No. 16) also puts forth a boast that the three sages enjoyed life under its shade.

Hence it is legitimate to expect some inscriptions or portrait sculptures of the said three sages under the tree or in its neighbourhood¹. And surely what we find to-day under the tree, on the plinth of the altar are the said two inscriptions (Nos. 16 and 17) and a crude sculpture on the northern face of the altar below the plinth showing a sage seated in the *vīrasana*, i.e., with one leg placed over the other, a position suggestive of authority, and with his right hand in the teaching attitude (*upadeśa*). A peacock's feather (*mayūra-pīṅchchha*) which was intended to remove insects like ants from harm's path can be seen on his left. The fact that this is the only sculpture on the altar establishes the relative importance of the sage portrayed. Probably he is the first of the trio (*mumuni-var*) referred in both the inscriptions. But where are the other two?

Surely they ought to be expected very near the tree. To the east of the tree, within a distance of a yard is a *balipīṭha* with the figure of a sage, rather crudely sculptured. It appears that there were some writings on the top of this *balipīṭha* which have been so badly defaced that what remain now are not intelligible. But we can infer that the sage portrayed on it is one of the three sages, probably Chandrakīrti, the predecessor of Anantavīrya Vāmana who was contemporaneous with Kulottuṅga III (1178-1216 A.D.). But where then is Anantavīrya Vāmana?

A similar *balipīṭha*, situated to the north-east of the tree and removed from it by about a yard shows on its western face a crude sculpture of another sage resembling the presumed portrait of Chandrakīrti referred to above. The identity of this sage is luckily made clear by an inscription on its top (No. 18, p. 60) which serves as its label. The name of the sage intended is given as "Anantavīrya Vāmana," and he is the third sage referred to in the altar inscriptions.

It is strange that when the *Munivāsa* contains five cells believed to belong to five sages, that flourished in the place, the altar inscriptions (both) should so specifically speak of three sages alone and ignore the other two. The two thus ignored are Mallisheṇa (1300-1350 A.D.) and Pushpasena (1350-1400 A.D.). To ignore such celebrated sages in a temple where they were very popular, as proved by the temple inscriptions, is both impossible and a positive demerit, especially so when less important persons have figured in the temple records. The only explanation for this seeming omission is that at the time of the altar inscriptions these two sages were unknown to the temple. The inscription of Anantavīrya Vāmana (No. 18) on the second *balipīṭha* near the tree lends support to this theory. We had assigned Anantavīrya Vāmana to the middle of the thirteenth century (1230-1280 A.D.) relying on inscription No. 3 (pp. 50-51).

¹ Prof. Chakravarti, the learned editor of Mallisheṇa's "Merumandara Purāṇam," says that two pairs of footprints evidently representing those of Mallisheṇa and Pushpasena can be seen to-day under the *Āśva* tree (Preface, p. 1). Indeed there are none.

The second altar inscription (No. 17, p. 60) lends further support to this theory. In it a king of the Tamil land, a Pallava (*Pallavar-kōn*) who probably revered the memory of these three sages, is said to have collected the stones gathered by the three sages with a view to build an altar around the tree, and made a strong altar out of granite which served as a seat. The present granite altar is therefore the work of a Pallava king of the Tamil country, and the two inscriptions on it should therefore be assigned to him. The palaeographical features of these two inscriptions which compare well with those of Kulottuṅga III, Rājaraṇadeva III (Nos. 1-4) and Kopperuñjiṅga (No. 12), and the fact that they are free like the latter from Sanskrit words or Grantha letters which predominate in the inscriptions of Malliṣeṇa, Pushpasena, Irugappa, etc., warrant the assigning of the former to a period ranging between 1178 to 1300 A.D.

Who then is "the Pallava king of the Tamil land" that comes in this period. The term *kōn* ("king") clearly refers to him as a king and not as a chief or any other, for otherwise we will have to take this Pallava to be an ordinary chief or officer or merchant like the one mentioned in inscription No. 14 (p. 59). He is mentioned as a Pallava, a king, and a king of the Tamil land.

In another inscription in the temple (No. 12, pp. 58-59) a Pallava is referred to by the surname "Alagiya Pallavan" who is said to have built the compound wall. Alagiya Pallavan appears to be the surname of a chief who bore also the surname Alagiya-Soḷan, a feudatory of Rājaraṇa III. He is also referred to as belonging to the Śeṅgeṇi family¹. Among the inscriptions copied by the Epigraphy department, number 487 of 1921 from Tiruvenṇainallūr is helpful in determining the exact identity of the person indicated here by the surname "Alagiya-Pallavan". It associates this surname with the name Kopperuñjiṅga, who figures in a number of inscriptions in the Chidambaram temple. He had also other titles, chief of which is "Avani-āḷappigandān" or "Avanyavanodbhava"².

Thus the Pallava king of the Tamil land is probably Kopperuñjiṅga. It is only reasonable to expect this king to extend his patronage to the temple in the manner he appears to have done (Nos. 12 and 17). The reference to him as a Pallava king of the Tamil land is significant. He styled himself a Pallava, claiming descent from the Pallava dynasty and started as a feudatory chief of the Chola king, Rājaraṇa III. But he took advantage of the weakness of the latter and imprisoned him in 1230 A.D. in the fortress of Śendamangalam³ from where the latter was freed by the Hoysala Vira Narasiṃha II Viṣṇuvardhana⁴. In 1243 A.D. he was crowned king⁵ of the Tamil land (the land that was previously under the sway of the later Pallavas) at Śendamangalam in the region of Cuddalore (South Arcot District) in the heart of the Tamil country and according to some other writers at Conjeeveram which appears to have attracted him probably because it was the capital of the celebrated Pallavas, from whom he claimed descent⁶.

¹ *S.I.I.*, Vol. I, p. 87.

² *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, part I, pp. 121-3.

³ *A.R.S.I.E.*, 1890, p. 3; *S.I.I.*, Vol. I, p. 156.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, pp. 167-9; *M.E.R.* No. 142 of 1902.

⁵ *A.R.S.I.E.*, 1914, p. 82; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 165.

⁶ K.V.S. Ayyar, p. 61.

Thus the inscription in question must have been made by Kopperuñjiṅga after 1243 A.D., *i.e.*, after he had proclaimed himself as king. He was benevolent and generous to a fault and was anxious as every conqueror or new ruler will be to please every subject of his, no matter what his faith was, because he wanted to conciliate all and to make his rule permanent and desired to live up to the traditions set up by the glorious Pallavas from whom he claimed descent.

If we grant that the Pallava contemplated here is Kopperuñjiṅga, we should also grant that his connection with the temple starts from 1243 A.D., the date of his coronation as king, and that Mallishēṇa was unknown to him as his inscription on the altar speaks only of three sages. It is not possible to expect Mallishēṇa here at this time for as we have already remarked Mallishēṇa should be assigned to the first half of the fourteenth century (1300-1350 A.D.).

Who is the merchant Śēṅgadīrchelvan, the donor of the temple well, that styles himself as "Pallavan Mūvēṇḍavēḷān" (No. 14, p. 59)? If we remember that there was a custom among the feudatories of the Pallavas, Cholas, Pandyas and the Chāḷukyas to name themselves after their overlords the association of the term Pallava in the case of this merchant becomes clear as indicative of his subordination to a Pallava. The other term "Mūvēṇḍavēḷān" can be explained as follows:—Most of the officers under the Chola kings, either in the civil or military line, have got the honorific title "Mūvēṇḍavēḷān" which has been interpreted as meaning that they held service under the kings. Both the terms, "Pallavan" and "Mūvēṇḍavēḷān" in this case, when combined, give room for the conclusion that the merchant who dug the well in the temple was in the service of a Pallava. Who then is the Pallava in whose service the merchant was? The answer to this question is supplied by the palaeographical features of this merchant's inscription, which compare well with inscriptions Nos. 12 and 17 pointing thereby to the thirteenth century as the probable date when the inscription was incised. And the Pallava that figures in the temple inscriptions (Nos. 12 and 17) about this period is Kopperuñjiṅga whose officer the merchant can easily be.

Before closing this study of the history of the temple there is a minor point to be explained in connection with inscription No. 10 (p. 58). In this inscription the famous Vijayanagara king Krishnadeva Rāya is said to have given in 1517 A.D. to the temple the village of Uvachchēri in exchange for another village named Kodukal which till then belonged to the temple. The point to be noted here is that the language is Kanarese, while the script is Grantha. The adoption of Kanarese shows that Kanarese was the court-language of the Vijayanagara kings and was understood by the people at the time this inscription was incised in the temple. It is also well known that the Jainas at Tiruparuttikupṇam were in close touch with the Kanarese country, where Śrāvāṇa Belgola, Kārkāl and Yēnūr are located, for it was their sacred duty to go to these places on pilgrimage. Indeed I heard the temple priest repeat some *mantras* which were in Kanarese.

INSCRIPTIONS.

CHANDRAPRABHA TEMPLE.

I. On the plinth of the eastern wall in Tamil-Grantha :—

Soasti Śrī Tirumanni vaḷara-vi(ru)ṇilamaḍandaiyum Porchchayappāvaiyūñ-Śirttani-
chcheḷviyūñ¹-taṅ perundēviyarāgi inbuṛa neḍidiyalūḷiyūñidaituṛai(nāduṇtu)dar-vaṇa-velippaḍar
Vanavāsiyūñ-śūḷi sūl-maḍit-Kolippākkaiyu-maṇṇaṅkaru-muraṇa-Maṇṇaik-Kaḍakkamum poruka-
ḍallattaraiyar-tamudī(yum)āṇḡavar—Dēviyarōṅgelin muḍiyu-muṇṇavar pakka(l) tēṇṇavar
vaitta) sundaramuḍiyumindirāṇḡramun-tēṇḍirai Ilamandala-muḷuvadu meri paḍai ko . . .*

For translation of the above passage which forms part of the *praśasti* or glorification of Rājendra Chola I see *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, p. 92; Vol. III, pp. 468-9.

II. On the eastern plinth, to the left of the entrance in Tamil-Grantha :—

Soasti Śrī Tirumanni vaḷara iruṇilamaḍandaiyum porṣeya . . .*

These few words constitute the beginning of the *praśasti* of Rājendra Chola I.

III. On the lower plinth of the north wall, also in Tamil-Grantha :—

*. . . yarāgi inbuṛa . . . yalūḷiyūḷ . . . ta . . . vaṇa-velippaḍar Vanava
. . . Maṇṇaikkaḍakkadak . . . e . . . yaroṅge . . . pakkaḷ . . . muṇṇavar
vaitta sundaramuḍiyu . . . raṇāramum . . . rai Ilama . . . muḷuvadu (m)
eṇṇipāḍai . . .*

On the lower plinth of the western wall :—Only traces of letters, badly weathered, but nothing can be made out.

On the lower plinth of the south wall :—

. . . śemporṇiruttaku-mu (ḍiyum) . . .

These few words also constitute the beginning of the *praśasti* of Rājendra Chola I.

VARDHAMĀNA TEMPLE.

In the Chandraprabha temple architecture is the main indication of date. The Vardhamāna temple, on the other hand, contains many inscriptions, some of which are valuable from an historic point of view, as they commemorate constructions and gifts during the time of nearly the whole sequence of ruling dynasties beginning with the Chola kings. Some are important from a literary or religious point of view.

A list of these inscriptions is given below. We have refrained from giving the transliterations of the actual texts of such of the inscriptions as have already been published in *Epigraphia Indica* or *South Indian Inscriptions*.

I. In Tamil, on the west wall of the *Śānti-maṇḍapa*. Published in *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. IV, p. 105, No. 367. Here is recorded a tax-free gift to the *Nāyanār* and Āḷvār, i.e., the god at Tiruparuttikunram, also called Śemporkunru, i.e., the "Golden

¹ From here the inscription runs on the plinth of the northern wall.

hill," of the village of Kannipakkam in *Virpeṇu-naḍu* (district) of *Kaliyūr kōttam* (territorial division) by its liberal owner Vimaraṣer (Bhīma) during the eighteenth regnal year of Rājaraḷa III.

The eighteenth regnal year of Rājaraḷa III will correspond to 1234 A.D. as he commenced his rule in 1216 A.D. The engraver of this inscription indulges in cutting a joke at the expense of Vima (Bhīma), the donor. He characterises the village given as one that the donor could not by any means dispose of in sale, as it was so barren. Then the idea appears to have struck the donor that God should be willing to take it if none else were prepared to receive it, for the reason that He was its creator and as such was also responsible for its barrenness. He solemnly made a gift of the village to the God at Tiruparattikunṇam and got the said record engraved on the west wall of the *Śānti-mandapa*, an action which appears to have provoked for its absurdity even the very engraver of the said record so that the latter flings an ironical hit at the donor by calling him "the ocean in charity" and suggests by side hits here and there, like "*neḍu nāl śellādē kiḍanda vidanai*" that the temple might well have been spared this gift.

But the fact remains. The gift was made and was accepted for the temple, no matter if it was worthy or not.

2. In Tamil, on the north wall of the store room to the south-east of the main shrine. This has been published as No. 363 of *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. IV, p. 104. It records the gift of paddy to the Nāyanār, i.e., Trailokyanātha, and the construction of a *mandapa* or store room to store it in by a Jaina Brahman named Vima (Bhīma) during the twentieth regnal year of Rājaraḷa III (1236 A.D.).

3. In Grantha and Tamil, on the lowest moulding of the base of the veranda (*mukha-mandapa*) in front of the Vardhamāna shrine. This has been published as No. 366 of *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. IV, p. 104.

The readings of the Epigraphy Department seem to require slight emendation and as an additional line of inscription which had escaped notice hitherto has been deciphered the whole inscription is given below:—

Line 1.—*Spasti Śrī * Tribhuvanachchakravartigaḷ Mathuraiyum Pāṇḍiyan-mudittalai-yum kondaṇḍiṣa Śrī-Kulōttunga-Chōla-dēvar(ku) yāṇdu 21 āvadu Maṇḍiyankilāṇ Kulōttunga-Chōla-Kāḍuvettigaḷ rājakāriyāñcheydu Nāyanār ait-tiruvadittola-ninaku vēṇḍuvana vēṇḍikkollenru tiruvullamāyarula mandala-chi (li)kaḷavattarām(y) tāmmu eṇḡaḷ gurukkaḷ Chandrakirtti-Dēvar Tirupparuttikkunṇilē iruppar akkōyilukku irubadu vēli nilan-tiruvullamāyarula-veṇumenru ikkōyilē Kāni. . . .*

Line 2.—*tirarṅku Kōttaiyūrāsiriyappattamun-kuduttarūḷi Ambiyilē irubadīṟṟu vēli nilattukku tirumukham prasādi(ṭṭa) tirumukhappadi kalvettu Tribhuvanachchakravartti-Kōnerin-mai-kōṇḍān Jayankōṇḍa-Chōlamandalattu Kaliyūrkkōttattin-tirupparuttikkunṇil vēriyappidārgalukku ippa vēṇḍuvagavai yīrūkkiruppadāga Eyir-kōttattin A(m)biyilē irubadīṟṟu vēli nilam irubattōṇṇāvadu mudal paḷḷichchanda-īraiṟiyilvā(ga) iṭṭu ippa. . . .*

Line 3.—*. iṭṭai va-Śrī Gangan vanikari-Tiruchāya ni (Hi)raṇiyan*

¹ This line is on the line of the pavement and is badly weathered. Hence it is lost in many places.

This is a record of a tax-free gift of twenty *velis* of land situated in the village of Ambi, in the territorial division of Eyir-kōttam to the temple during the twenty-first regnal year of Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulottuṅga Chola-deva III. The gift itself arose in the following manner:—

The headman of a village or the village called Maṇḍiyam (or probably Maṇḍiyan was the name of the headman himself) who was in the service of Kulottuṅga-Chōla-kāḍuvettigaḷ, i.e., Kulottuṅga himself requested the authorities (probably Kulottuṅga himself) to give twenty *velis* of land to the temple at Tiruparuttikunram in consideration of his living there and also because there lived in the temple their (his) preceptor Chandrakīrti and the authority (who in this case might be Kulottuṅga himself) gave the desired land in the village of Ambi and conferred (on Chandrakīrti) the title of preceptor or "Āchārya" of Kōttaiyūr.¹

4. In Tamil, on the beams of the Chola veranda (*mukha-maṇḍapa*) in front of the Vardhamāna shrine. The stones have been misplaced, the continuity of the inscription being thus disturbed. This inscription is referred to as No. 99 in the *Annual Report* of the Madras Epigraphy Department for 1923 but has not been published.

Line 1.—²Seasti Śrī [II³] Tribhuvanachakravartigaḷ Mathurāiyum Pāṇḍiyan muditaḷaiyūn-kondarūḷiya Śrī-Kulottuṅga-Chōladēvarku yāṇḍu 22 āvadu teṅkiṅ tirumaṇḍapam olittuchchilaiyār śeygiṇa kālattu vadaśvārīṅ kalvettu mēlaichchuvārīḷē pudaiyavēṇḍudulil aḷḷaga kalvettinpaḍi-Śrīmar kirttimunṇāga Tribhuvanachakravartigaḷ Śrī Vikrama-⁴Chōladēvarku yāṇḍu 13 paḍimūṇḍavadu Śeyāṅkondachōlamāṇḍalattu Kāliyūr-kōṣṭattu Virpē . . .⁵ tilatach-Chaturvēdi-māṇḍalattu Mahāśabhaiyōm nilavilāi-yāvanakkai⁶ yeluttu eṅaḷūrkkilpāḍagai Nenmalimaruttu nīrpūsi neḷvālayum bhūmi nāṅgaḷ peṇuvilaiḷkāṇattukku iraiyi . . .⁷ chuterich-Chaturvēdimāṇḍalattār eṅgaḷ pakkal nilāṅkonḍu vēttina kayattukkuṅ-kayakkālukku vaḍakku . . .

Line 2.—⁸m mēlpāṅkellai Kaitaduppūrāna Hastinivāraṇach-Chatu(r)vēdimāṇḍalattuk-kuk-kilakkum vaḍapāṅkellai Tirupparuttikkunṇellaiḷkku-terku innāṅkellaiḷkkuṭpaṭṭa nila nīrpūsi neḷvāḷai bhūmi mudal karambum varambum vāyḷkkaḷum ēriyūmāga kōḷunkollaiyūn-kūḷiyūn-kāḷaru mūyaru mēḍunkōḍu-mēṇōkkina maramuṅ-kīṇōkkina kīṇaru munṇil mōḷvōṇṇi uḍumpe⁹diyamai nadanda nilamella(m) innāttup-paḷḷichchandan-Tirupparuttikkunṇāḷvārkkū iraiyilichchi iraiyili paḷ . . .¹⁰miliśainda poṅ irubattaiṅkāḷāṇu mathurāntakamāḍaikkokkum poṅ-kam¹¹āṇṇēṇṇi inda

¹ In translating this as well as other big Chola inscriptions in the temple I have refrained from giving a word to word rendering, only attempting to give the main purport of the inscriptions, for they contain mostly the Chola kings' *pralasti* or glorification and details of formulae relating to gifts which I consider have been sufficiently explained in *South Indian Inscriptions, Epigraphy Reports and Epigraphia Indica* and other similar publications of the Archaeological Department.

² On the lintel of the eastern wall of the Vardhamāna-ardha-maṇḍapa.

³ On the outer side of the central beam of the Vardhamāna-mukha-maṇḍapa.

⁴ On the inner side of the first beam of the Vardhamāna-mukha-maṇḍapa, at the extreme northern end.

⁵ On the inner side of the fourth beam (next to and to the south of the central beam) of the Vardhamāna-mukha-maṇḍapa.

⁶ On the inner side of the second beam (next to and to the north of the central beam) of the Vardhamāna-mukha-maṇḍapa.

dēvarpaṇḍārattu nāṅgaḷ poruḷarakkondu murukūriya nārpercāiḱku-mutpaṭṭa nilattukku nilavilaiya
 . . . ⁴ māvarudip-porutcelavu kattuḡa-venapperāḍōmāgavum kōyil vāsālār-pondu kaḍamai
 kuḍimai vēlikka . . .

Line 3.—¹ rku vēttimuttaiyāḷ nirvilai eṇḱōṇ sennūr mudalāmañji mudalāna āḷ-mayru-
 mullina yādonruñ-ṣollavun-kāttavu perāḍōmāgavum innilattukku ēḍēnumaliṇṣuḱḱiṭṭir tiruvāṇai-
 maruttar paṭṭadu paḍuvōmāgavum eluttukkurrañ-choṅkuṭṭa mudalāna kurrāṅgaḷ ṣollapperāḍō-
 māgavum innilattukku iṇaiyūñ-kreṇṇamu-maṇakkondu iṇaiyilipallichchandaṇṇa tāṅgaḷ
 vēṇḱukūḍiyiṭṭu ulvōittukkoḷvargalāgavum chandrādittavar ²ṣelvādāḡa viṭṭukkuduttōm orukālā-
 vadu mirukālāvadu mukkalāvadu miṭṭaḱḱi sāṇvadittu nilavilaiyarndiyagacheṇ . . . ³
 turvēḍimaṅgalattu mahāṣabhaiyōm iṭṭaḱḱiḱku Vāṅkippurattu Karuṇākara Bhaṭṭaṇḱuttu i . . .
 . . . ⁴ kku Kaṇḱik-Kēṣava Bhaṭṭaṇḱuttu iṭṭaḱḱiḱku Vāṅkippurattu Arulāḷa Bhaṭṭaṇḱuttu iṭṭa-
 ḱḱiḱku Kaṇḱi Śrī Kṛiṣṇa Bhaṭṭaṇḱuttu iṭṭaḱḱiḱku Poṇṇambala . . . ⁵ ṇattu-Vāsava
 Bhaṭṭaṇḱuttu iṭṭaḱḱiḱku Vāṅkippurattu Koṅkumara Bhaṭṭaṇḱuttu iṭṭaḱḱi iṭṭaḱḱi aṇivēnaraiyū
 . . .

(Stone missing in the middle.)

Line 4.—⁶ iṭṭaḱḱi aṇivēṇ Kaitaduppūr-Kovinda-Bha-

Line 5.—ṭaṇḱuttu iṭṭaḱḱi aṇivēṇ Kaitaduppūr Na-

Line 6.—ṇaiyūr Chanaya-Bhaṭṭaṇḱuttu iṭṭaḱḱi aṇi-

Line 7.—vēṇ Viṭṭeṭṭu Maṇalūr kiḷavanāñ-

Line 8.—⁷ kaḱi Kaku Nāyakaneḱuttu iṭṭaḱḱi aṇi-

Line 9.— . . . kayāna Kaku Nāyakaṇ Tamil-vēḷāṇḱut(tu).

This inscription is dated in the twenty-second regnal year of Kulottuṅga Chola III and speaks of the renewal of an old *mandapa* to the south of the main shrine and further states that when the new *mandapa* was being built it was found that a stone of the old one which contained an inscription dated in the thirteenth regnal year of Tribhuvanachakra-vartin Śrī Vikrama Chola-deva had to be removed from the north wall of the old structure and had to be fixed on the western wall of the new structure. A copy of this earlier inscription dated in the thirteenth regnal year of Tribhuvanachakra-vartin Vikrama Chola-deva, is included in the inscription of Kulottuṅga III and registers sale of land, free of taxes, by " . . . Chaturvēḍimaṅgalattu-Mahāṣabha" or the village assembly to Tiruparuttikunṇālvār i.e., Trailokyanātha or Vardhamāna for twenty-five *kaḷaṇḱu mathurāntakan-māḍai*.

5. In Tamil. This is mentioned by Crole in the *Chingleput District Manual*, p. 437 (Appendix F), who says that this is a record dated in the forty-fifth regnal year of

¹ On the lintel of the eastern wall of the Vardhamāna-ardha-mandapa.

² On the outer side of the central beam of the Vardhamāna-mukha-mandapa.

³ On the inner side of the first beam of the Vardhamāna-mukha-mandapa, at the extreme northern end.

⁴ On the inner side of the fourth beam (next to and to the south of the central beam) of the Vardhamāna-mukha-mandapa.

⁵ On the inner side of the second beam (next to and to the north of the central beam) of the Vardhamāna-mukha-mandapa.

⁶ On the corbel of the pilaster to the left of the entrance to the Vardhamāna-ardhamandapa.

⁷ On the corbel of the pilaster to the right of the entrance to the Vardhamāna-ardhamandapa.

Kulottunga Chola and speaking of the digging of a channel for water exclusively for use in Tiruparuttikunram. The exact words of Crole regarding this inscription are as follows :—

"In the forty-fifth year of the reign of Kulothunga Cholan, the following order for the distribution of water is issued to the village of திருப்பருத்திச்சூழம் in Vippēdu Nadu of Kaliyūr Kottam. To the east of the lands which we have presented to the gisbe-gods of Teruparithikunram, to the west of the slope of the village, to the north of Manikkayan Vittam, to the east of Singamedu, probably Savillimadu to the south of the Hill, i.e., திருப்பருத்திச்சூழம் a channel has been dug up; the water thereof shall be exclusively used for the Teruparithikunram."

For a long time I could not trace this inscription anywhere in the temple. The Epigraphy reports do not speak of it nor did the Jainas of the place including the temple priest know anything about it. The temple priest told me, however, that about 50 years ago, when he was only a boy, a European gentleman came to the temple and wrote down notes on the temple inscriptions as his father, the then priest, read them for him. On hearing this I felt certain that the inscription must be within the temple itself and my search was eventually rewarded with success. I found it within the *Trikūṭa-Basti* on the lintels of the three shrines. It runs as follows :—

Line 1.—" Svasti Śrī [*] Puṇaḥ sūlūda puṇari agal sūlūda bhuvāyir ponnēmiyalavuntan-nēmi naḍappa viḷaṅgu jayamagalai yilāṅkōpparuvattu vīramun-tiyāgamum viḷaṅga-pārtolachchi-vanidattumaiyenat-Tiyāgavallī Ulagudaiyālōdum vīrasingāsanattu vīrrirundaruliya Kō-Rājake-sari-panmarāna Tribhuvanachchakravartigaḥ Śrī Kulōttunga-Choladēvarku yaṇḍu 46 āvadu Jayāṅga-Chōlamandalattu Kāliyūr-kōttattu Vīrpēdu-nat.

Line 2.—"tut-Tirupparuttikunṇil nīrpāyakkalla Rishisamudāyattārku nāṅgaḥ vīrruku-ḍutta nilattukku kīpārkellai ilavañchevuvukku mēṇku tenpārkellai Mānikkayan vaṭṭattukku vadakkum mēlpārkellai Yisāṅkanmēttukkuk-kilakkum vadapārkellai malaittittukkutṭeṇkum innārpārkellai yullum talikai eṭṭamagappaḍap-palampadikōlār-kamīluṅ-kalumāgāk-kulī 3,000 mūvāyiramum idīrkilāl nārkkōl kalattu(k)ku vadapārkellai ki . . .

Line 3.—"ndānandana-vanattukkutṭeṇkum tenpārkellai Sūlappattikkum Sāvindakulattuk-kum Nālādikkum Valudalaṅkunḍilgaḷukkum Rulantōṭṭattukkum ponnālamandu Pidārikōyilukku vadakku eṅgaḷūr vellakkālilē ūṇṇut-Tirupparuttikunṇilāyrukkālilē ūṇṇunīr-pāyakkōṇḍa emmili-sāinda villaipporuḥ Mathurāntakaṅ-mādai paḍinaidu miṭṭu idu-mudul chandrādittavarai inilattukkīṇai emmili-sāinda aṇṇāḍu nārkaṣu paḍinaidum āvanak.

Line 4.—"kaḷiyē kaichchelavuvakkōṇḍu īrai ilichechi vīṇṇa namakkup-pramāṇamum paṇṇikkallilum veṭṭivittu iḱkayattilun—kālilumidāvu mēttamu-mīraikkavuvukadavōmalladōmāga-vum iṇṇadikkum īrai-ilichechi vīrrukuḍuttōm Tirupparuttikunṇil Rishisamudāyattārku Kaitaḍup-pūṇāna Hastinivāraṇach-Chaturvēdimāṅgalattu Mahāsabhaiyōm ivargal paṇiyāl-ēḷudinuē Māttūṇḍaiyān Vēḷān Tirumayāikkādanēn eḷuttu iṇṇadikkuk-Kaynūr Śāsānaya-Kramavittan.

Line 5.—"eḷuttu iṇṇadikkum Tirundūr Gōvinda-Kramavittan-sanjñaiyāna namakku Tirundūr Śāsānaya-Bhaṭṭan eḷuttu iṇṇadikkum Nāṇaiyūr Śāsānaya-Bhaṭṭan-sanjñaiyāna namak-kut-Tirundūr Śāsānaya-Bhaṭṭan eḷuttu iṇṇadikkut—Tirundūr Śāsānaya Bhaṭṭan eḷuttu iṇṇadikkum

Kannūr-k-Kōvinda-Bhattan eluttu ippadikku Sōmaṅgalattu Appay eluttu ippadikku Irunikak-Kramavittay eluttu ippadikku Nārāyūr-ch-Chuvāṁimalai eluttu ippadi arivēn Tiruvēkambach-Chaturvēdi-maṅgalattu-Paramāṁma Bhattasya ippadi arivē . . .

On the north wall of the *Trikūṭa-Basti*—

Line 1.—rāchchāṅkō . . . vaṇ pākka . . .

Line 2.—san-Tiruppanāṅkāday . . . eluttu

Line 3.—arivēn Kramakkilavan elupādiya ri ne yū(lu)ttu ippadi arivēn Kramakkila . . . (rest missing).

Line 4.—arivēn Virpēttu marakkāṇ Aṇṇāmalai sakaraṇaneluttu ippadi . . .

Line 5.—n Virpēttu . . . (ki)lavan Nāgattadigaḷ Kakku Nāyakan eluttu ippadi . . . (rest missing).

The above inscription records the sale by the *Hastinivāraṇa Chaturvedimaṅgala-Mahāsabhā* to the *Ṛishi-samudāya* of *Tiruparuttikuṇṇam* of 3,000 *kūṭis* of land for irrigation purposes and payment of fifteen *Mathurāntakan-māḍai* to the same *samudāya* in return for the privilege of using the spring water on the river bed of *Tiruparuttikuṇṇam* by cutting a channel and running the spring water into it. This is dated in the forty-sixth regnal year of *Ko-Rājakesari Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulottuṅga Chola-Deva*. The regnal year and the expression *Rājakesari* establish that the *Kulottuṅga* referred to here is the first of that name as the others that we know of did not have such a long reign nor was the expression *Rājakesari* attached to their names in inscriptions containing their *prasaṣti* or glorification. *Kulottuṅga III* did indeed reign for a long period but his latest regnal year known from inscriptions is the thirty-eighth.

6. In Tamil, on the north wall of the *ardha-maṇḍapa* attached to the *Vardhamāna* shrine. This can be read only from within the *Trikūṭa-Basti*, the *maṇḍapa* of which hides it from view. It fills up the whole wall and is in twenty-six long lines. The beginnings of these lines are unfortunately covered by a small projecting wall in front of the subsidiary shrine of *Vāsupūjya* built on to the wall containing the inscription. The existence of this inscription had been completely lost sight of as the temple authorities had given the wall a thick chunam coating with a view to preserve it from crumbling. The stone of which this wall was built is of the kind found in the adjoining *Pallava* temple and like this comes off layer by layer if exposed to sun and rain. Fortunately the inscription is well preserved as the *Trikūṭa-Basti-ardhamāṇḍapa* had given the wall the needed shelter and the recent chunam coating had further protected, as well as mostly obliterating it. The twenty-six lines found on the wall contain two records, dated in the reign of *Vikrama Chola-Deva*, the successor of *Kulottuṅga I*, whose inscription is found on the lintels of the three shrines in the *Trikūṭa-Basti*. They run as follows:—

Line 1.— . . . ttirai puyattirunilamaṇḍalai . . . ppakkanamarai mārvan-taṇalenappe[ruttirumagaḷ]ruta[niyiruppak] kaṇ-ṇiruppōdu nāvagattiruppa akilabhuvanamuṇ . . .

Line 2.—āmisainṇa pattisai torundigiriyōdu seṅkōl naḍappakka . . . vaṇ bilattidaik-
kidappa Kulattidait-Teluṅga-Vimanuṇ vilāṅgal mimiṣai ēṇavuṇ. Kalingabhūmi . . . vattu
vempadai tāṅgi Vēṅgaṁmaṇḍalatt)āṅginitirundu vada-diṣai yadippaduttaruḷit-teṇṇisai . . .

Line 3.—diyuṅam pōlakkaḷaittalai śirappavandaru[ū]ve[ḷarḷa]rum pōrppuliyāṇai pārtti-
var śūdu nīṇaimanimakutamuraṁmai yē śūdi maṇṇuyirkkellāminṇuyirttāy-pōrṇaṇai parappi-
ttaṇṇittai pu(pā)rttu.

Line 4.— . . . kōyirkorṇava . . . maṇiṇḍa(na)voduṅga muraṣuḷaḷ muḷaṅga
viṣaiyamum paḷaḷu-mēlmēlōṅga vāḷi vāḷi mānilaṅkāttut-tirumaṇipporṇodeḷudu-pattāṇḍil varu-
muraṁ maṇṇe maṇṇavar śumandu tīrai niraṇduchchorinda . . .

Line 5.— . . . mpuriyu śemponnam[ba]ḷa . . . māḷigai gōpuravāṣaḷ kūda . . .
gaḷum ulaguvalaṅkoḷḷu-māṇavulāvikkam nēmikkulavarai udaiyakkunṇamōdu nīṇenappa-
śumpoṇmēynda baḷivaḷar piṣamum viṣumpoḷittalaikka viḷaṅṇ poṇmēydirunilanda . . .

Line 6.— . . . m peyar viṣā)veṇṇumuyar Pūratṭādi Utiratta . . . ni . . .
arppudakkūttarimbar vāḷa veḷundaruḷuvadaṅku tiruttērkōyil-śempon mēynda paruttirai muttin
payilvadam parappi nīṇaimanimāḷigai neduntirut-tanadu tiruvalar . . .

Line 7.— . . . parikalamudala-śe[m]porka[r]pagattōdu parichchinṇamum . . .
ḷavillāda voḷi pala-śamaittup-pattāmāṇḍir Chittirait-tiṅgaḷ-Attum peṇṇav-Ādittavarattu tiruvalar
madi-Traiyaḍaṣi-p-pakkai-tiṇṇaḷ paḷavuminiḍu śamaittaruḷi śeṇiyar veṇṇura . . .

Line 8.— . . . chi neṇḷalamarakak(n) kurtirai yidaik-Kanadar veṇṇidakko . . .
ṇgarotuṅga Koṇṭaḷar śāya marṇettisai maṇṇaruntattamaḷkāṇṇa tiruchchevudi muraṁmai yini-
raṇṇutervayartilatat-Ti(yā)gupaḷākai purikuḷaḷ na(ma)ḍappidi punitaṅṇavai Tīribhuvāṇa-
muludu . . .

Line 9.— . . . aṇṇedumā . . . tti-ṇun tīrmogaḷirundeṇa mādar madama-l
pūtalattarundhati araniyar kappir Rarani-Muḷududaiyāḷvāṇ tiruman māvattaruḷuḍamiruppuch-
chempon viṇasinhāsanattu viṇṇirundaruḷiya Kōp-Parakēsari paḷmāṇa Tīribhuvana.

Line 10.— . . . yāṇḍu 13 padimūṇṇavadu Āvaṇi māṣattu Viyāḷa)kkilamai peṇṇa-
vanilattinaḷ sayāṅṇōṇḍa-Śōḷamaṇḍalattuk-Kāliyūṇṇ-Kōttattu Virpēdu-nāttu vaḷachāṇḍran-kuvā-
laiya-tilata-Chaturvōḍimaṅḷalattu Mahāsa . . .

Line 11.— . . . tu eṇḷaḷur kēḷpidāḷai Nēṇmāḷi maruttu nīṇpūsi neḷviḷaiyūṇ bhūmi
nāṅḷaḷ peṇṇuḷai-k-kāṇattukku iṇai yilichchi virpadarkuk-kil(pā)rkellai Tirupparuttikkunṇellaikkū
mēṇkum teṇpārkellai Śevalai mē . . .

Line 12.— . . . ṇḷaḷ virrukkuduttu nīlattiṇṇ kayattukkuṇ-kayakkalukku . . .
kkum mēlpārkellai Kaitaṇṇpūrāṇa Hastinivāraṇa-Chaturvōḍimaṅḷalattellaikkuk-kilakku muva
. . . ārkellai Tirupparuttikkunṇellaikkū-terkum innōrperellukku utpaṣṭa nīḷaṇṇ . . .

Line 13.— . . . kavakkāḷum ēriyūṇ ērikōḷuṇ-kollayūṇ-kūḷiyūṇkaḷ . . . (va)ṇ
mēḍuṇ-kōdu mēṇōkkina maramuṇ-kūḷōkkina kiṇaṇu muṇṇil poḷivūṇri uḍu . . . yamai
naḍanda nīlamellā mēṇpādi Kāliyūṇṇ-kōttattu Virpēdu-nāttuppaḷi . . .

Line 14.— . . . chechi iṇaiyilipallichchandumāga virpadarkuchchamaṇḍu (ammi)
līsaiṇḍa vilai poṇ paḷinaṇikalaṇṇu ippon paḷinaṇikalaṇṇu Mathurāṇṭakan-māḍaikkū (o)kkum
poṇṇāga māṇṇēṇṇi it-Tirupparuttikkunṇil Rishisamudayattar indud-Dēvar pa . . .

Line 15.— . . . kalāñjum porularakkondu murkūriya nāpperellaikku . . . tta
nilattukku nilavilai yāvanāñsaidu kuduttōm-kuduttapadiyāvadu idukku iduveya . . . (l)
māvarudipporut-chelavāvadāgavum idu valladu vērn poru māvarudipporut-che . . .

Line 16.— . . . vum kōyil vāṣalār ponda kudimaippādu vēlikka . . . (t)ti
muttaiyaḷ nīrvilai echchoru kūrṇu mudalāṇa ṣeñṇir māñji mudalāṇa ālmara . . . llaṇa
viyādonruñ-ṣōllavun-kāṭṭavun(m) perādōmāgavun(m) ivvirra nila . . .

Line 17.— . . . ā cheyavār tīrūvānai maruṭṭār pattidu paduvō(māga)vum eluttuk-
kūrṇa-ṣōrkūrṇa-mudalāṇakūrṇaḷonruñ-ṣōllap-perādōmāgavum . . . nilattukku iraiyūn
kreyamumarakkondu iraiyili paḷḷichchandamāga . . .

Line 18.— . . . kkaḍavōmallādōmāgavun-tāṅgaḷ vēnduinkudiyi . . . muvittuk-
koḷvārāgavum Chandradittavaṇa chelvadāgavonru oru kāḷavadu mirukāḷavadu mukkalāvadu
ippadi saivvadittu nilavilai yarudiyāgachcheydu kuduttōm murkūri . . .

Line 19.— . . . kalattu Mahāśabhaiyōm ippadi yarivēṇ Kāñchi . . . tuk-kati-
kaiyāṇa Kāḷku Nāyakanāṇa Tamil Vēḷaṇ eluttu ippadikku vaḷi ṣāṇṇil Kāñchi Keṣavu . . .
neluttu ippadikku Vāñkiy-Aruḷāla Bhaṭṭan eluttu ippadikku Vāṅkippurattuk-Karunākara Bhaṭ-
tan . . .

Line 20.— . . . (ip)padikku Pala . . . p(pu)rattu Vāsava Bhaṭṭan eluttu ippa-
dikku Vāṅkipu(rattu)k Konkumāra Bhaṭṭan eluttu ippadikku Kāñchi Śrī Krishna Bhaṭṭan eluttu
ippadikkup-Ponnappurattuk-Gōvinda . . . eluttu ippadiyarivēṇ Olukkaiṭṭakattu pāṭakattu
Śrī Krishna Bhaṭṭan eluttu ippa(di) . . .

Line 21.— . . . (vā) kkalantaru(m) . . . ttu ippadi yarivēṇ Kaitaduppū . . .
(vi)nda Bhaṭṭan eluttu ippadi yarivēṇ Kaitaduppūṇil Naḷaiyūr Śāśanaya Bhaṭṭan eluttu . . .
(nachchakkiravarttiḷaḷ Śrī Vikrama) Choḷadēvarku yāṇdu padinēḷavadu
Jayāṅkonda-Chōḷamāṇḍa . . .

Line 22.— . . . Kaitaduppūṇa Hasti-niv)āranach-Chaturvēdimāṅgaḷattu
sa . . . ārkāgachchamāindu nīṇṇa Tirundūr Śāśanatiki Bhaṭṭanum Nāḷaiyūr Śāsi-
rāma Bhaṭṭanun-Kūḍalūr Chīponataiyṇ . . . ṇa Kramavittanum Kannaṇūṇi yīṇmēḷ varuvāṇ
Kramavittanū Nāḷaiyūrd-Deyvanāyakak-Kramavitta . . .

Line 23.— . . . māḍitta Bhaṭṭanum iṇa . . . vōm nilavilai yāvanakkaiye . . . k
Kaliyūrk-kōttattu Virpēdu-nāṭṭup-paḷḷichchandan Tirupparuttikkunṇil Āramba Nandikkuk . . .
āḷumāga nāṅgaḷ virrukkudutta nilamāvadu kiḷpārkellai Śempānkudaiyāṇ ki . . .

Line 24.— . . . kōḷ paḍiṇaiṇdu ida . . . rku kōḷ pattonbadu mēlpā . . . llaḷi yidu
veytudaṅgi vadakku nōkki kōḷ paḍiṇaiṇdum iduveḷ tudaṅgi vadapārke(lḷai k)ḷ irubattirandum
idaṇ kiḷakku kōḷ mūṇru kiḷpārkellai iduveḷ tudaṅgi kōḷ . . .

Line 25.— . . . yum ikkayattin ēruṇ(kiḷak)ku nōkki viḷaṅgu mukḷōḷ kalamun-kō . . .
luṇ-karaiyūmāgāk-kondu kiḷakku nōkki eḷubadiṇ kōḷ nīḷam nīrpaiyākkuk-kayakkālākka kōḷḷa . . .
(vā)rāgavum ikkayamun kālumutpatta nīḷam ivargalukku Sabhāvinīyōgattukkāga virrukkudut . . .

Line 26.— . . . ṇ aṇṇādu nāḷkāṣṇ . . . ko-tu irubadumāvanakkaliyē . . .
kaichchelakkattēṇṇik-kaikkondu virṇu . . . vanañ-cheydu kuduttōm iṇv-Āramba . . . Iṣāṇiya
Bhaṭṭanūḷḷiṭṭa iṇvāṇavōm iṇnīḷamivargaḷ anubhavikka yīḍaduppāṇṇilattukku . . .

The first record which ends in the course of line 21 registers a sale of land, free of taxes, by the *Hastinivārana Chaturvedimaṅgala Mahāsabhā*, i.e., the Hastinivārana village assembly, on behalf of certain individuals, to the assembly of ascetics looking after the affairs of the god at Tiruparuttikunṇam (i.e., the temple) for fifteen *kaḷañju* during the thirteenth regnal year of Vikrama Chola-Deva.

This would appear to be the record, the gist of which was re-engraved on the beams of the *Vardhamāna-mukha-maṇḍapa* during the twenty-second regnal year of Kulottuṅga Chola III (see No. 4 of list).

The second record registers a sale of land to the *Chaturvedimaṅgala Sabhā* by certain individuals for being distributed or given (*sabhāvinīyoga*) for Ārambha Nandi (a festival in the temple) in Tiruparuttikunṇam, during the 17th regnal year of Vikrama Chola Deva.

7. In Grantha, on one of the sides facing the east of the central beam supporting the roof of the *Saṅgita-maṇḍapa* in front of the Vardhamāna shrine. This has been published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VII, p. 116. A transliteration of it is given below as it is short and very important speaking definitely about the construction of the *Saṅgita-maṇḍapa* :—

"*Śrīmat-Vaichaya-dandanātha-tanayas-samvatsare Prābhava saikhyāvan Irugappa-danda-nripatih Śrī-Pushpasenājñayā | Śrī Kāñchī-Jina-Vardhamāna-nīlayasyāgre mahāmaṇḍapam saṅgitārtham achikaraccha śīlayā buddham samantāi sthalam. ||*"

This inscription records that Irugappa, the son of the general Vaichaya and himself a general built in Prabhava (1387-88 A.D.) at the instance of Pushpasena a *mahā-maṇḍapa* in front of the temple of the Jina Vardhamāna in Kāñchī for holding musical concerts and paved with slabs (granite) the space all round.

8. In Tamil and Grantha, on the base of the north wall of the store room. This has been published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VII, p. 115. It runs as follows :—

Line 1.—"*Svasti Śrīh[*] Dundubhi varsham Kārttigai mādatil Pūrvapakshattut Tiṅgaṭkilamaiyum Paurṇaiyum peira Kārtti*

Line 2.—*kai nā! Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaran Arihara-rājakumāran Śrīmat Bukkarajan dharmmam āga Vaichaya-dandanātha-putran*

Line 3.—*Jainōttaman Irugappa Mahāpradhāni Tirupparuttikkunṇu Nayanār Trailōkya-vallabharkku pūjaikku*

Line 4.—*śālaikkum tiruppanikkum Mavandūr-paṇṇil Mahēndramaṅgalam nāpār-kellaiyum irai ilipallichchandamāga chandrāditya varaiyum naḍakkat-taruvittār Dharmmayān-jayatu. ||*

This helps to show under which Vijayanagara king Irugappa was a general and minister. It records that the village of Mahēndramaṅgalam in the division of Mavandūr (evidently Māmaṇḍūr, five miles from Conjeevaram) was granted to the Nayanār (i.e., the

¹ See *Asiatic*, pp. 174, 181.

god) Trailokya-Vallabha of Tiruparuttikunram by the minister Irugappa, the son of the general Vaichaya (Chaichapa) and a staunch Jaina, in the year Dundubhi (1382 A.D.) for the merit of the Vijayanagara king Bukka-rāja, son of Arihara-rāja (Harihara II),

9. In Grantha, on the lintel of the *gopura*. A reference to the purport of this inscription will be found in the *Annual Report* of the Epigraphy department for 1922-23 under No. 98. The text is as follows:—

Line 1.—“*Śrī Malliṣeṇa-yati-Vāmanasūrisiṣhyah Śrī Pushpasena-munipuṅgava-Vāmanāryah.* |

Śrī-Gopurottarayugam Kamalānivāsam Śrīman achīkaradidam Paravādimallah.” ||

Its translation will be as follows:—

“The sage Pushpasena Vāmana, who was a disciple of the sage Malliṣeṇa, and who bore the surname *Paravādimalla*, i.e., a successful opponent of his enemies in discussion, built the superstructure of the *gopura*, which was, as it were, the abode of Kamalā (i.e., Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth).”

10. In Tamil and Grantha, the language being Kanarese, on the base of the veranda (*Vardhamāna-mukha-mandapa*) in front of the Vardhamāna shrine. This has been noted as No. 188 of the *Annual Report* of the Epigraphy department for 1901. As it has not yet been published we give it below:—

Line 1.—*Dhātu varuṣham Pushya-suddha-pādyatilu Śrīman Mahārājadhirāja-Rajaparamēśvara-Śrī Virapratāpa-Śrī Vira-Kriṣṇa Rāya Mahārāyaru Jayina-sthāna-Buddha-sthānadaḥ kurukkaḥ uḍaiyārguḷṇke nirūpa nimma devasthānake cheluva Kodugai eṇba girāmavaṇu Musirupākka pretināmavāta Tirumalaidevipurata Agrahāraḥ grāmagrāsam āgi pāṣi nimma grāmakke pradiyāgi Cheṇṇamaṇṇayakka-tammaiṇṇ-Obiḷa-Uvachcheri eṇbakgrāma.*

Line 2.—*vaṇu nimma devasthānake pāṭṭevu nīvu ā grāmavaṇu kuṭṭikkonḍu ā grāmavaṇu nimma devar śāsana ākki kombadu ak-Kodugaiy eṇba grāmavaṇu ā Tirumalaidevipurata aggrahārata mahājenah(ga)ḷṇke silāśādanā ākki koḍuvadāgi nimma Uvachcheri eṇbak-girāmavaṇu nimma devar tiruṇāmakshettirām āga silāśādanam ākki kombadu āsthāniṇṇaṇu nirūpa (pra)sidhe sidhevu Śrī Virūpāksha.* ||

It records a gift to the temple on Thursday, the 8th of January, 1517 A.D. (Saka 1439, *Dhātu*) by the Vijayanagara king Śrī Virapratāpa Śrī Vira Kriṣṇarāya Mahārāyar (i.e., Kriṣṇadevarāya) of the village of Uvachcheri in exchange for another village named Kodugai which belonged to the temple and which was required to be given to the residents of an *agrahara* named Tirumalaidevipura also called Musirupākka.

11. In Tamil and Grantha, on the base of the *gopura* on its inner side facing the temple court-yard. This has been published in *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. IV, p. 105, as No. 368. It records a sale of land and site for the benefit of the temple and is dated Śaka 1440, *Bahudānya*, i.e., 1518 A.D., while the famous Vijayanagara king, Śrī Virapratāpa Śrī Kriṣṇadeva Mahārāya was ruling the land.

12. In Tamil, on the compound wall on its outer side, to the right of the *gopura*.

Line 1.—“*Svasti Śrī [*] T*

Line 2.—*tirumadiḷ A*

Line 3.—*ḷagiya Pulla*

Line 4.—*vaṇ.*

"This compound wall (was built by) Aḷagiya Pallavan."

13. In Tamil and Grantha, on a slab on the pavement of the *Sāṅgita-maṇḍapa*. The inscription is incomplete, the slab still bearing traces of the chunam that used to be pounded on its surface. What now remains reads as follows:—

Line 1.—" . . . [Śrī mā]n-ma.	Line 6.— <i>rasimha devar.</i>
Line 2.— <i>hā maṇḍaleśu.</i>	Line 7. }
Line 3.— <i>ra-Irāṣati rāsa-(i).</i>	Line 8. }
Line 4.— <i>rāṣaparamēśura-Śrī.</i>	Line 9. }
Line 5.— <i>Virapratāpa-Śrī Na.</i>	Line 10. }

The name of the Vijayanagara king Vira Narasimha is found here. What he is recorded as doing cannot be ascertained as the inscription is hopelessly obliterated by the heavy pounding to which the stone appears to have been subjected. The Narasimha referred to must presumably be either the brother of Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya or Śāḷuva Nṛsimha.

14. In Tamil, on a granite slab (broken) on the pavement embedded in the narrow passage between the walls at the back of the Pushpadanta and Vardhamāna shrines. It reads as follows:—

Line 1.— <i>Śvasti (Śrī) [*] ...Kach...yil.</i>	Line 4.— <i>Pallavan Mūvē.</i>
Line 2.— <i>vāṇigan Śēga.</i>	Line 5.— <i>nda Vēḷaṇṇai.</i>
Line 3.— <i>dirchchelvanāṇa.</i>	Line 6.— <i>vitta kīṇaṇ.</i>

"The well constructed in.....Kachchi (Kāñchi) by a merchant called Śēgadirchelvan, who bore the titles Pallavan and Mūvēnda-Vēḷaṇṇai."

15. In Grantha, on the lintel of a niche on the north wall of the Chola veranda in front of the Vardhamāna shrine (*Vardhamāna-mukha-maṇḍapa*). It runs as follows:—

Line 1.— <i>Śrīmautam jagatamekam mitram mitrasamadyutim.</i>
Line 2.— <i>Vandeham Vāmanāchāryam Mallishēṇa-muniśvaram.</i>

"I salute the teacher Vāmana also called sage Mallishēṇa, who is the only friend (important or reliable friend) of all the worlds and who is radiant like the sun."

16. In Tamil, on the southern side of the square platform or altar built round the *kōra* tree. It is a verse in praise of the tree itself and runs as follows:—

Line 1.—*Svasti Śrīh [*] Tanṇalavir kuṇṇāduyarādu taṇ-Kāñchi munvaḷattu mummūṇivar mūḷkiyadu maṇṇavaṇ taṇ śēṅgōl.*

Line 2.—*nalaṇ kāṭṭuṇ-Tenparuttikkunṇamar(n)da kōṇkār dharmak-kurā.*

"The *kōra* tree that neither grows higher nor goes lower in its height, that was reared in early days in cool Kāñchi, that was enjoyed by the three sages that lived in the village, that revealed the beneficial rule of the king of the land, that was situated in Tenparuttikkunṇu, that was full of sweet pollen and that was *Dharma* (virtue) incarnate."

17. In Tamil, on the northern side of the altar built round the *kōra* tree. A verse, the beginning of which is missing :—

Line 1.—“ . . . *madit-Kachchit-Tirupparuttikkunṛadanīy chila mali* . . .
mummuṇivar śērttirunda mēlpāṇ . . .

Line 2.—“ . . . *kayaittin śilaiyār cheydān tarun-Tamiḷ-ṭ-Pallavar-kōṇ tāṇ*.”

“It was the benevolent Tamil Pallava king that built the seat (here it refers to the altar built round the tree) with strong granite stones, the seat or altar that was already formed or designed or the stones of which were already gathered by three sages in Tiruparuttikunṛam in Kachchi which had compound walls (*madit*).”

18. In Grantha, found on a *balipīṭha* to the north-east of the *kōra* tree. It reads as follows :—

“*Svasti Śrīmad-Ananta vīrya Vāmana-munīśvarasya.*”

“This is of (*i.e.*, belongs to) the lord of sages, Śrī Ananta-Vīrya-Vāmana.”

19. In Tamil, on the base of the *gopura*, on the left as one enters the temple. It reads as follows :—

On the upper plinth.

Line 1. *Jina Kañchi Tirayatōkkiyanātha Śuvāmiyār pūśaikku māniyam.*

Line 2. *Paṛkal mēḍu paḷḷam ku 350 Pañcamappattai ku 300.*

Line 3. *Pallappattadai ku 800 Chirnam ku 340 | . Ammaiārkuṇṇmal.*

Line 4. *ku 50 Kōyilampatti ku 90 Śīgappu kuṇṇmal kuḷi 60.*

Line 5. *valadu kōyil kuḷi 10 āga saruvamāniyam ku 2000.*

Line 6. *yīnda irandāyiram kuḷi nilamum enṇenṇai.*

Line 7. *kum saruvamāniya dharmamāga yādāmoruvaram aki(hi).*

Line 8. *tam paṇṇāmal paripāḷaṇam paṇṇavum.*

On the lower plinth.

Line 9. *inda dharmmakku ahitam paṇṇinapēr Gaṅgāṭirattilē Brahmātagaḍō-hatti paṇṇina dō-ttilē pōṇa(va).*

Line 10. *kkadavargaḷ || Svadattādiviṇṇam puṇyam paradattāṇṇpāḷanam | paradattā-pahāreṇa svadattannishphalaṁ bhavet ||.*

Line 11. *Svadattām(*) vā yo haretī vasundharā(m) Shashthirvarshasahasrāṇi vṛish-thāyām jayate-kshataḥ ||.*

It records a *sarvamānya* gift of 2,000 *kuḷis* of land for purposes of worship to the god Trailokyanātha at Jina-Kañchi.

20. In Tamil and Grantha, on the eastern wall of the *ardhamandapa* of the Vardhamāna shrine, on the northern corner, near the *balipīṭha* of Vāmana. The stones here are misplaced. The inscription to be detailed below runs on two old sand-stone slabs, one fixed by the side of the other but on a lower level. It is clear that these stones were disturbed at some time, probably during the construction of the *Saṅgīta-mandapa*. These stones are numbered 1 and 2.

No. 1.

Line 1. Svasti Śrī [*] (Tribhuvana Cha) kravattigal Śrī Rājarā.

Line 2. ja devaṅku yā (ṇḍu)

"Hail prosperity. In the regnal year of Rājarājadeva, the monarch of the three worlds"

The rest is obliterated, the stone being badly weathered.

The Rājarāja that is referred to in this inscription is the third of that name who is said to have ruled from 1216 to 1246 A.D.

21. In Tamil and Grantha on the eastern wall of the *ardhamandapa* of the Vardhamāna shrine, on the southern corner of the wall:—

Line 1. Svasti Śrī [*] Tribhu(va)na cha ttigal Rājarā-devaṅku yāṇḍu 7 ēlavadu
... .. ka Chinu Kāñchipurattu

Line 2. ḍa Tirupparuttikkunṅri Śrī Mūlasthanadeva-Uḍaiyārkkuttiruppadimār
... .. kam Rishisamudāyattārkkuṁ Hastade

Line 3. āna chandrādityava takkaya alunkalluvittān Śrītō
... .. yū-ḍiyil saṇa chayvaṇa

Line 4. ru (tti) kkuṅri la lu ippaḍikku Ne

Line 5. ḍu (cha) vēḷaṇṇuṁ uḷḷitta (i) iva

The rest is damaged badly. The inscription seems to record some grant dated seventh regnal year of Rājarāja III (1223 A.D.) probably of land for the temple expenses to be incurred on behalf of the central or main god of the temple and for the Rishi-samudāya or the group of ascetics who were empowered to administer the temple affairs. The donor's name is not clear in the inscription, only two letters, Śrī and Lō, being now legible. These two letters appear to be the beginning of the donor's name.

There are a few inscriptions relating to the sages mentioned in some of the temple inscriptions which are to be found incised on the *balipīthas*, mounted on the brick altar at *Arunagiri-mēḍu*, supposed to be the *samādhi* of the sages that were connected with the temple¹. These inscriptions are given below.

22. In Grantha, on the base of a small *balipītha*, north-west of the central *samādhi* on the altar:—

First side—Svasti Chandrakīrtti.

Third side—viryya-Vāmana.

Second side—muni-śiṣhyam* Ananta.

Fourth side—muniśvarasya ॥

"This (*samādhi*) is of (belongs to) the lord of sages, Ananta-Vīrya-Vāmana, the disciple of the sage Chandrakīrti.

23. In Grantha, on the petals of a lotus-shaped *balipītha*, placed to the south-east of the central pedestal. It reads thus—

First side—"Śrī Puṣpa

Second side—sena Vā

Third side—mana munih"

¹ See above, pp. 39-40.

* Should be corrected as *śiṣhyasya*.

"The sage Śrī Pushpasena Vāmana."

This pedestal is evidently intended as a *samādhi* stone of Pushpasena.

24. In Grantha, on the base of the central *balipīṭha*. It runs as follows:—

I side—

1st line—Śrī Malliṣeṇa-pāḍapaṅkaja

2nd line—*chañcharikas-Śrī-Pushpasena-muni-Vā*

3rd line—*mana-Sūrimukhyah | Malam (dya tsa va) duḥkhajū*

II side—

shāñjanānam Sūryyendutārakamapā

III side—

ra sukha (ya) bhūyāt ||

"May the sage, Śrī Pushpasena, the foremost among the learned, the bee that hovers over the lotus-feet of Śrī Malliṣeṇa, bring prosperity to the afflicted persons . . . as long as there are the sun, the moon and the stars."

25. In Tamil, on a slab in the fields to the east of the temple, within a furlong's distance. The slab bears also the carving of a triple parasol (*mukkoḍai*)—

1. *Palla*.

2. *paṭṭa*.

3. *dai*.

4. *kuḷi*.

5. 800.

6. *kōyi*.

7. *luḷku*.

8. *saṟuva*.

9. *māniyam*.

A *sarvāmānya* gift to the temple of 800 *kuḷis* of land in *Pallapattadai* (probably name of the locality). This inscription confirms one of the details of the gift recorded in inscription No. 19.

PAINTINGS.¹

According to the custom prevailing among the Jains "to carve ceilings with the principal incidents in the life of the Jina, to whom the main shrine or a corridor cell is

¹ Examples of South Indian Jaina painting are many, dating from early times such as seventh century A.D., down to modern times. The most important as well as the most interesting from the artistic standpoint are the fresco-paintings on the ceiling of the Jaina cave at Sittannavāḍai, dating from the seventh century A.D., and assigned to the Pallava Mahendravarman I. As proved by me in my paper "The Royal Artist, Mahendravarman I" read at the First Bombay Historical Congress, 1931, the subject of the Sittannavāḍai ceiling paintings is the *samavasaraṇa* or heavenly structure (see below, pp. 104-115), of which what remains to-day "is the *Khaṭikū-bhūmi* or the tink-region with the faithful (*ākhyas*) pleasing themselves by gathering lotus flowers, while animals such as elephants and bulls and birds and fishes are frolicking about pleasing themselves as best as they can." It has been proved that these paintings compare well with the Ajanta ones in the matter of draughtsmanship (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LI, pp. 45-7).

Next in time and importance come the paintings at Tirumalai, North Arcot district, ascribed on the evidence of inscriptions to the eleventh century (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 229; Smith, *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 344). They are on walls and ceilings there, and traces of still older paintings covered up by the existing works are also found. Besides several designs, purely conventional and spiritless, there is a representation of the *samavasaraṇa* structure here also in the form of the usual wheel about which Smith says that it "possesses little merit as a work of art and is interesting rather as a proof of decadence than for its own sake" while its "contrast with the Ajanta designs is worth noting" (*History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 344).

Among later examples, of which there are many, almost every Jaina temple of importance in the south having paintings on its walls and ceilings, mention may be made of those in the Jaina *maṭha* at Sravāṇa Belgola illustrating scenes from the lives of certain Tirthāṅkara, as do the Tiruparuttikūṇṇam ones, and of Jaina kings (Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 119; Namasimhaṅgar, *Inscriptions at Sravāṇa Belgola* (*Ep. Car.* II, pl. xlviii).

dedicated,"¹ the ceiling of the *mukha-maṇḍapa* and the *Saṅgita-maṇḍapa* in the Trailokyanātha or Vardhamāna temple bears a series of coloured paintings which, as has already been remarked, illustrate the life-stories of three out of the twenty-four Jaina Tirthaṅkaras.²

Though art-critics have much to say against this practice of "colour washing" from the point of art, as conventionalism plays a great part in such paintings, it has nevertheless to be welcomed as it gives an easy means of reading the life-stories of the gods of the Jaina pantheon, without being forced to listen to narratives from the people who may know them or to look into the Jaina *purāṇas*, the majority of which are unfortunately still in manuscript form. This practice of colour washing and painting, which Mrs. Stevenson calls "the modern craze",³ has evidently taken the place of the craze for stone carvings which was customary from the early centuries, beginning perhaps with the Pallava king Mahendravarman I, and perhaps points to a decadence in sculpturing and architecture. Viewed from the point of usefulness, these paintings should certainly be welcomed and this practice has spread to Hindu temples also. Even a non-Jaina is so impressed with the various incidents illustrated in these that he seldom forgets them or fails to identify them again. They form as it were visualized books of Jaina mythology and iconography presenting their details in an easy and interesting manner. The idea underlying this practice, as explained to me by one of the painters at Trichinopoly who was then working in the *Māṭṛbhūteśvara* temple, is economy. This work is cheaper than that of stone carving, which is much more laborious. And the paintings, I was given to understand, were to be renewed if the colours faded. Failure to renew them has resulted in the fading and disappearance of many at Tiruparuttikunṅam which has encouraged us to place them on record before they get completely lost.

The paintings are arranged in convenient groups, two running from north to south and two from east to west on the ceiling of the *Saṅgita-maṇḍapa*, and one group running from north to south on the ceiling of the *mukha-maṇḍapa*. They are contained in rows of panels, one after another, with a narrow band between every two rows for labels to explain the incidents. Those rows which contain the life-stories of Rishabhadeva, the first Tirthaṅkara, and Neminātha, the twenty-second Tirthaṅkara, and his cousin Kṛishṇa have the explanatory labels filled in below; but the letters in most of them are so completely lost that the remaining letters convey no sense. Fortunately, however, a manuscript

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 161.

² Ādinātha (Rishabhadeva), the first Tirthaṅkara, Śāntinātha, the sixteenth Tirthaṅkara, Neminātha, the twenty-second Tirthaṅkara, Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third Tirthaṅkara, and Vardhamāna, the twenty-fourth Tirthaṅkara are regarded as the principal Jinas. They are more frequently mentioned than the others, and their stories are more numerous. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II, pp. 139-140.

³ Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, p. 284.—Mrs. Stevenson, while speaking of the famous Jaina temple at Palitana condemns modern Jaina architecture and this practice of colour painting which she calls "the modern craze for crude colour washing and paintings" which is "a terrible vulgarity that often disfigures modern Jaina temples and is seen at its worst in places like the temple city of Palitana, where the older buildings throw the modern craze for crude colour washing and paintings into terrible relief."

entitled "Śrī Purāṇa" in Tamil-Grantha, now lying in the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library¹ deals in a very elaborate manner with the lives of the 63 Śālākā-purushas (*Trishashti-śālākā-purushas*), among whom are included the 24 Tīrthaṅkaras, and has helped me a great deal to understand the scenes and the labels below them. The remaining rows illustrate the life of Vardhamāna or Mahāvīra, the twenty-fourth and the last Tīrthaṅkara; the bands below them have curiously enough no writing and no explanatory labels. The same Purāṇa and another Purāṇa entitled "Vardhamāna Purāṇa,"² to which my attention was kindly drawn by Mr. Mallinath, the editor of the Madras *Jaina Gazette*, made my task of identifying the scenes easy. In describing the paintings those that illustrate the life of Ṛishabhadeva will be taken first, then those of Vardhamāna, as they follow Ṛishabhadeva's on the ceiling of the *Saṅgita-maṇḍapa*, and lastly those of Neminātha and his cousin Kṛishṇa. Ṛishabhadeva's and Vardhamāna's run from north to south, and Neminātha's and Kṛishṇa's from east to west.

Without understanding the meaning of the term *Tīrthaṅkara* it is impossible to follow the Jaina thought contained in these paintings, much less their iconography. The term *Tīrthaṅkara* seems to have originally meant the Being that has found a "ford" (*tīrtha*) through this world (*samsāra*), i.e., one who has "made the passage" across the ocean of worldly illusion (*samsāra*) and has reached that "further shore where he is, and will for ever be, free from action and desire."³ But many Jainas are agreed in giving a different explanation to the term. They say that a *Tīrthaṅkara* is one who forms or "is the founder (with a very large F) of the four orders (*tīrthas*) that collectively constitute the Communion or Saṅgha."⁴

I

SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF ṚISHABHADEVA OR TRAILOKYANĀTHA.

From Vol. I of the *Śrī Purāṇa* we learn that this teacher passed through a succession of ten preliminary births:—1. Jayavarman. 2. Mahābala. 3. Lalitāṅga. 4. Vajrajaṅgha.

¹ Oriental Manuscripts Library, Descriptive Catalogue, R. No. 869.

² A manuscript copy of this is preserved in the Adyar Library, Madras.

³ Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, pp. XV and 241.

⁴ A main tenet of Jainism is that man's personality is dual, material and spiritual and that the aim of man should be to subjugate by his superior spiritual nature the material nature in him. If matter is brought under control the spirit becomes free and perfect. And it is such a spirit that is called Jina (the conqueror) or Tīrthaṅkara. These free souls are of two kinds, the Siddhas who are again subdivided into Tīrthaṅkara-siddhas or those who preached the *dharma* in their embodied condition, and Sāmānya-siddhas who did not preach or propound the truth, and the Arhats or those that had attained *kevalajñāna* but have not discarded the *kārmāṇa* body or the last vestments of human body. The state of the latter corresponds to that of the *jivumukta* of the Brahmanical philosophy. Besides these there are wages or human souls that differ from other men in that they move in a higher spiritual condition. They are called *munis* or *sādhus*. Three classes of them are to be seen:—(1) *Āchāryas* or heads of groups of saints; (2) *Upādhyāyas* or teaching saints; (3) *Sādhus* or all other ascetics that are endowed with 28 qualities. The above five classes of souls are called *pañcāparamarśhīns* or the five supreme or important ones. To these five the Jainas offer their prayers many times every day in the following manner:—

"*Namo arahanānam, namo siddhānam, namo āchāryānam, namo upādhyāyānam, namo loke sabba-sāhūnam*"

"Salutations to the arhats, to the siddhas, to the āchāryas, to the upādhyāyas, to all the sādhus in the world."

For details on this subject see Indranandi, *Pañcāparamarśhī-pūjā*.

For division of the souls in Jainism see *Appendix III*, pp. 185-187.

5. A king whose name is not given. 6. Śrīdhara. 7. Suvidhi. 8. Achyutendra. 9. Vajranābhi, and 10. an *Ahamindra-deva* or god. At his eleventh birth he was born as Rishabhadeva and entered the womb of Marudevi, the wife of Nābhi Mahārāja, the fourteenth Manu, in the form of a bull. No sooner was Marudevi delivered of the child than Saudharmendra, the king of the *devas*,¹ followed by his wife, Śachi or Indrāṇī and the gods came to the king's palace to pay their obeisance to the divine child. The gods then placed him on the back of Airāvata, the white elephant of Saudharmendra, and proceeded to the celestial mount, Mahā-Meru, where, in a richly decorated pavilion he sat crosslegged while the gods poured celestial waters over him. Every Tīrthaṅkara, as soon as he is born, is bathed with the celestial waters in this manner, the ceremony being known as *Janmābhisheka*.² The child was then brought back to the city of Ayodhyā, where he was born, and was handed over to Marudevi and Nābhi, to whom the greatness of the child was explained. He was named Rishabhadeva and grew into a youth, when he married two women, Yaśasvatī and Sunandā. The former bore him a daughter named Brāhmī and 100 sons beginning with Bharata, who later on founded the Ikshvāku lineage of kings.³ The latter bore him a son and a daughter. Being requested by his father to put on the crown and rule the three worlds he did so, and ruled in such a way as to deserve the title of "Trailokyanātha" which his father conferred on him at the time of his coronation. While thus ruling he was reminded of his divine mission by the *Laukāntika-devas*.⁴ He then realized that he should no longer be attached to worldly illusion (*samsāra*) and repaired to the forest, where seated under trees he practised for years asceticism and meditation, periodically coming to the cities to partake of food.

Many kings who wanted to imitate him in his austere course and repaired with him to the forests soon returned as they were still worldly and as such were unable to get over hunger and thirst. After years of strenuous penance (*tapascharaṇa*) he became a *Kevalī* or one who had obtained omniscience.⁵ The gods then raised the *samavasaraṇa* or heavenly pavilion,⁶ where the twelve conferences comprising the whole creation met to hear eternal wisdom (*dharma*) from him. When a fortnight remained in his life the *samavasaraṇa* dispersed and he went about preaching truth till the day of deliverance approached when he took to self-contemplation (*śukla-dhyāna*), i.e., when the soul reached every part of the universe and is yet contained within the body, and adopting its last form called *vyuprati kriyānivṛiti* which signifies total cessation of all organic activities, he passed into *nirvāṇa* in the space of time required to articulate the vowels *a, i, u, r, l*.

¹ See below, p. 231. ² See below, pp. 82-84, 121, 122 and 150.

³ See below, pp. 79, 80, 85, 89 and 92.

⁴ See below, p. 94.

⁵ Right knowledge (*jñāna*) is of five kinds:—1. *Mati* or sensitive knowledge which means knowledge of the self and the non-self by means of the senses and the mind, 2. *Śruta*, scriptural knowledge which is derived from the reading or preaching of scriptures, or through an object known by sensitive knowledge, 3. *Avadhi*, visual knowledge or direct knowledge of matter in various degrees with reference to substance or subject-matter (*dṛavya*), space (*ākāśa*), time (*kāla*), and quality of the object known (*guṇa*), 4. *Manas-paryaya*, mental knowledge which is direct knowledge of another's mental activity about matter, 5. *Kevala*, or perfect knowledge or omniscience which is knowledge of all things in all their aspects and at all times.

⁶ For detailed description see below, pp. 104-115 and 130-132.

Yivar-kamishthanāgiya Śrī-Varmāvinukku piṭa yuvarā(jyam) koḍuppadu . . .
vairāgyattāl-Svayamprabhu-pārśvattil dikshittadu yivaḍam*

"The father making his (Jayavarman's) younger brother Śrīvarman the heir-apparent (*yuvarāja*). Here is he (Jayavarman) disgusted with worldly life, getting initiated (into the life of an ascetic) by Svayamprabhu (Svayamprabha)."

Jayavarman is shown sitting naked on the left before Svayamprabha, also naked, with his hands placed together in *añjali*. He has placed his crown and ornaments by his side. Svayamprabha who is seated on an elevated altar under a tree has his right hand in the *upadeśa* or teaching position and is addressing the supplicating Jayavarman, who is seated also under a tree on an altar lower in level than that of his *guru* Svayamprabha.

I-d. சிலர் ப(ஸ)நரிகலுழிபத்தில் திவாதிப்ப . . . ஶிபத்தில் வடரீதுஷ்டுயினர்.

*Yivar palba*darika-samipattil nidānippa . . . mipattil sarpa-dashtanāyinar.

"While contemplating near the *badari* tree (*sizyphus jujuba*) . . . he was bitten by a cobra."

Jayavarman is shown naked, standing under a tree, which according to the label is a *badari* tree, near an ant-hill, from out of which the cobra rises with outspread hood.

Painting No. 2 (pl. viii).—This illustrates the next birth of the Tirthaṅkara, *viz.*, the life of the Vidyādhara king Mahābala. Jayavarman died of snake-bite as already related, and was born as the son of a Vidyādhara king, Atibala, the king of Alakāpuri (the city of Kubera according to Hindu mythology) and of his wife Manoharā. He became in course of time the Vidyādhara king and was called Mahābala.¹ He had four ministers who favoured four different creeds. They were Mahāmati, who was a materialist, Sambhinnamati, who held that things were only ideas, and as such unreal, Śatamati who believed in the theory of voidness and Svayambuddha, whose religion was Jainism. Chief among these was Svayambuddha who viewed the king's interests as his own and was therefore much respected and loved by the king. As the king was silent on the question of his faith, Svayambuddha was anxious to ascertain the king's thoughts on the subject and to make him a convert to Jainism, if he were not one already.

Fortunately he had opportunities to meet and converse with two clairvoyant sages (*chārāṇa-parama-rishis*) called Ādityagati and Ariṇjaya, from whom he heard the previous existence of his king and also learnt that after ten births (*bhavas*) he was to be born as the illustrious Rishabhadeva, the first Tirthaṅkara. And in order to enable Svayambuddha inspire confidence in the mind of his king and to claim thereby special attention of the king to his own doctrine in preference to those of his colleagues, the sages narrated to him two dreams that the king had during the night and their significance, commissioning him to explain them to the king when he met him. In the first dream the king found himself

¹ Though the fruit of asceticism usually is birth in the heavens, Jayavarman's subsequent birth as a Vidyādhara was as a direct result of his ambition to become one, when he happened to see the Vidyādhara Mahādhara going in the sky with his retinue and coveted his position.

thrown in deep mud by his other three ministers, from out of which Svayambuddha extricated him. In the second he saw a burning flame (*agnijvāla*) which gradually diminished till it was extinguished. Svayambuddha was overjoyed and the next day did accordingly and explained to the king the significance of the two dreams. The sudden diminishing of the flame of fire, he said, meant that the king would live only for a short period, say for a month more, while the first dream proved in an allegorical manner the superiority of the Jaina faith to all other faiths. On hearing this the king realized that worldly existence and pleasures were transitory and that as his days were numbered, he had to get some spiritual elevation of his soul. Entrusting the kingdom to the care of his son, he repaired with Svayambuddha, who had now become his spiritual counsellor, to a sacred mountainous region where there was a temple for the Jina (*Siddha-kūṭachaitya*),¹ and subjecting himself to eight kinds of austerities² worshipped the Jina (*Jina-pīṭa*) and prepared himself for *sallekhana*³, the end that is sought by all the truly great, till death snatched him away on the appointed day for a better birth and a better world. And in his next birth he was a god called Lalitāṅga.

2-a. கள்ளலம்விட்டு ஜம்பூத்ரிவாபரவிடுதலு மனந்தொலிஷய விஜயார்த்தபுரத்தொ
கூரஸூரணி கங்காபுரநாயகி விகாஸகுருநாம விஜயார்த்தபுரவாமி
ஓ || உ ||

*Tat-bhavam vitti Jambū-dvīpa-para-Videha-Gandhila-vishaya-Vijayārtha-parvatāt-
taraśreṇi-Alakāpura-dhīpati Mahābala-nannum Vidyādhara-rāja-vāyina* ||உ||

"After leaving that *bhava* (that of Jayavarman) he was born as a Vidyādhara king by name Mahābala, who ruled over the city of Alakāpura situated to the north of Mount Vijayārtha, in the territory or country of Gandhilā, in the western part of Videha, a division of Jambū-dvīpa."

Mahābala is shown sitting with his wife by his side and listening to his minister Svayambuddha seated before him on the right. An attendant-woman on the extreme left is gently fanning the party from behind. Svayambuddha has got his right hand raised in an attitude of addressing or teaching, more probably the former. He has a turban on his head of the type that *cheffis* of South India use even to-day on ceremonial occasions like wedding, etc. There are writings, done in black, in the middle of the painting itself behind Svayambuddha, which run as follows:—

ஸ்வயம்புத்த பரிவாரண வாரணேஷிகாரித்தில் [8*] நமஸ்கருது ருபுஷி
சோஸசோகமுமன்றித்து உவடுபெரிக்குறது.

Svayambuddhan Śrī-Chaṛaṇa-paramaśtigalidattil [Ma] hābalanukku āyushyaṁ māsa-
matramenṇarindu upadēśikkuradu.*

"Svayambuddha narrating to Mahābala what he had learnt from the Chāraṇa-parama sages, *vis.*, that the king was destined to live for a month more."

¹ See Appendix II, p. 177.

² See below, p. 69.

³ A process of death by slow starvation whereby liberation of the spirit from the body is sought for the sake of merit (*dharma*).

He is accordingly shown in the painting as explaining to the king what he had heard and advising him to strive for spiritual elevation and the like.

2-b. சீதாபாபாது வெவராதுமடைத்து ஸ்வயம்புரேந்திரயோடு விழுகு[4*]
வெவராதுமடைத்து ஸ்வயம்புரேந்திரயோடு விழுகு[4*]

Mahābalaṁ vāraḍyaṁ-adaiṇdu Svayambuddha-mantriyoḍu Siddhakū[ta]chaityā-
layattil āṣṭāṇhika yivadam.*

"Mahābala got the spirit of renunciation and went with his minister Svayambuddha to the temple of the Jina situated on the peak called Siddhakūta, where he worshipped the Jina and observed "āṣṭāṇhika-vrata" or eight kinds of austerities."

The eight austerities (*vrata*s) are holy meditation, adoration of the Great Tirthaṅkaras, of the Liberated Ones, of Saints, of Preceptors, and of ordinary ascetics or *Sādhus* (collectively termed *pañcha-parameshthi*), recitation of the great obeisance *mantra*, and the cultivation of the spirit of detachment from the physical body.¹

The temple with the Jina seated in the centre is the *chaitya-ālaya* in *Siddhakūta* and the two men in a worshipping attitude standing on the right of it are the king and his minister. The king wears a crown and his minister a close-fitting cap or turban. Another figure on the extreme right is sitting and is worshipping the Jina likewise. This probably represents the king divested of his kingly attire, who is, therefore, shown here twice, in his later stages, when it is said, he was observing the eight *vrata*s referred to.

Painting No. 3 (pl. viii).—This illustrates two lives, the life of Lalitāṅga and the life of Vajrajaṅgha.

3-a. சீதாபாபாது கல்பகலம் விட்டு ஸாஸாநகரத்து ஓர் தாமரைநீரில் செவருமினார்
சிவன் ஸ்வயம்புரேந்திரயோடு விவடம்.

*Mahābalaṁ tat-bhavam vittu Iṣānakalattu Lalitāṅga-ṇṇuṇi Deva-āyinar ivar strī
Svayamprabhai yivadam.*

"Mahābala left that birth and became in one of the sixteen *kalpas* or heavens called *Iṣāna-kalpa** a *deva* called Lalitāṅga. His wife Svayamprabhā is [shown] here."

Both the *deva* and his wife, who wear crowns on their heads, are shown seated and in utter ease as required of them. The *devas* know nothing of labour or sweating for livelihood; fun and frolic with occasional mental troubles like jealousy at the greater brilliance and beauty of another *deva* characterize their lives. Though women are not admitted in the higher heavens like *Sarvārthasiddhi**, etc., they find a place in the lower ones, of which *Iṣāna-kalpa* is one. They do not conceive like mortals but form platonic and companionate marriages and spend their time in ease and happiness. Thus Lalitāṅga came to have 4,000 companionate wives; but his favourite was Svayamprabhā who is shown in the painting. The *deva*-body being a compound and consequently not eternal, there was a termination of the *deva*-life of Lalitāṅga who came next to be born as Vajrajaṅgha, the son of a mortal. His wife followed him six months later.

* Cf. C. R. Jain, *Iṣṭabhadra*, p. 12.

¹ See *Appendix II*, p. 183.

² See *Appendix II*, p. 184.

3-b. Illustrates the life of Vajrajaṅgha.

ஜம்பூத்விப பஞ்சபுரவியேஷ வபுஷ்கலாவதி விஷய உத்தரவெடபுரத்தில் வஜ்ஜ
ஜம்வரீகாநாஜாவாயினார். யிவர்க்கு ஸ்வயம்புரமை ஸ்ரீமதியென்னும் ஸ்ரீயாயி
னாள்.

*Jambū-dvīpa-pūrva-Videha-Pushkalāvati-vishaya-Utpalakhetapurattil Vajrajaṅgha-
mahārāja-vāyinar. Yivarkku Svayaṁprabhai Śrīmati yennum strī-yāyinaḥ.*

"He (Lalitaṅga) was born as Vajrajaṅgha, who became the king of the city of Utpalakhetā-pura, in the country of Pushkalāvati, in the Eastern Videha of Jambū-dvīpa. Svayaṁprabhā (was also reborn and) became his (Vajrajaṅgha's) wife under the name of Śrīmati."

Both the king and his wife Śrīmati are shown sitting on a common seat, the latter behind the former.

3-c. வஜ்ஜஜம்வரீகாநாஜனும் ஸ்ரீமதியும் உரீபரவாரணசிடத்தில் சிந்திவ-பொருநிக
வெதாபதி பெருங்கொடை தங்கள் பஞ்சபுரவியைக் கெழ்க்குறது.

*Vajrajaṅgha-mahārājanum Śrīmatiyum Damavara-chāraṇaridattil mantripurohita-
senāpati-śreshṭhigalodu taṅgaḥ pūrvabhavaṅgaḥ-kelkkuraḍu.*

"King Vajrajaṅgha and his wife Śrīmati hearing from the *chāraṇa* sage, Damavara, their previous existences along with their minister, priest, general and merchant or treasurer."

The story relating to this scene is as follows:—Vajrajaṅgha was invited by his mother-in-law (the mother of Śrīmati) to come to the rescue of her son, Puṇḍarika, into whose weak hands the kingdom was entrusted by his father. He started for the city of his brother-in-law with his wife, accompanied by a big army.

On his way, he met two *chāraṇa* sages called Damavara and Sāgarasena, whom, after worshipping, he requested to narrate his previous births. Damavara stated that in the first birth he was Jayavarman, in the second Mahābala, in the third Lalitaṅga, and in the fourth Vajrajaṅgha. On being asked about Śrīmati's previous births, the sage said that in her first birth she was called Dhanaśrī, in the second Nirṇāmika, in the third Svayaṁprabhā and in the fourth Śrīmati. Similarly the king requested the sage to narrate the previous existences of his minister, preceptor (*purohita*), general, and merchant or banker (*śreshṭhi*) which the sage did accordingly. Meanwhile, while these births were being narrated, four beasts, a tiger, a boar, a monkey and a mongoose were standing very near the party, without fear for men and were also listening to what the sages were narrating. This made the king curious to know about them also and the sages were this time requested to narrate what they knew about those animals and why they were standing so near them fearlessly and listening to them. The sages narrated their previous births also:—

The mongoose was in its previous birth a merchant called Lolupa who was selling food. He was collecting bricks (*ishtakas*) in the hope of finding gold in them, as the first brick he collected contained gold within. He got these bricks from the king's men in

exchange for food. Within a short period he had collected almost all the bricks available, that there was nothing left when the king of the land required bricks for building a temple for the Jina. It so happened that Lolupa had to go to another city to see his daughter. While departing he gave strict instructions to his son to collect more bricks. But the son failed to do so and the father, on returning, kicked him on his head. The king learnt this as also the reason why he was kicked. He sent for Lolupa and inflicted on him torturous punishment (*chitra-daṇḍa*) as a result of which he died, and in his next birth was born as a mongoose.

The tiger was in its previous birth a merchant called Ugrasena who was leading a loose and questionable life. Besides he was in the habit of removing things and provisions from the royal household unauthorized. One day he was caught red-handed and was severely punished by the king. After death, which soon overtook him, he was born as a tiger.

The boar was in its previous birth a vicious youth called Harivāhana. He was leading so bad and cursed a life that all his neighbours avoided his sight. His father remonstrated with him but in vain. One day Harivāhana turned away in fury from his father when he was chastising him for his evil ways and was advising him, and in a mood of frenzy knocked his head against a rock, as a result of which he died, and was born as a boar.

The monkey was in its previous birth a merchant called Nāgadatta who was leading a bad and miserly life. Unable to deceive his mother who wanted to take precious gems (*ratnas*) from his father's shop for his sister on the occasion of her marriage, and unable to prevent her from taking them nor bear the sight of so many gems going away for nothing, he died of great sufferings of heart and was born as a monkey.

The sages concluded that these beasts remembered their past births and were therefore listening to the exposition of Dharma by them, without fear for mortals.

The king and queen went to the kingdom of Pundarikā and after setting things right there returned home. Soon after, both died of suffocation due to smoke penetrating into the room where they slept, and after death were again born in the world.

In the painting the king and queen can be made out sitting with hands folded in worship, listening with devout attention to what two sages on the right are narrating. Though the label speaks of only one *chārana* sage, Damavara, the other sage Sagarasena is also shown sitting behind Damavara and similarly engaged. The animals referred to, viz., boar, monkey, tiger and mongoose are to be seen below the party, the monkey and the tiger below the sages and the boar and the mongoose below the king and queen.

Painting No. 4 (pl. viii).—Illustrates the next and the fifth birth.

.. உத்தரீ மொழி-குழியில் உட்பதிகளாகி உரணவாடுகொண்டத்தில் உரீ-ன்
கெழக்குறது மிவடம் ||

சீரி பன்மீ குங்குபுலி மிக்தனாவு ரீமங்களும் உரதானுமொடி வடணுத்தினுள்
அ(ங்)கெ ழுயு-தரானுர் மிவடம்.

. . . Uttamabhōga-bhūmiyil dāṁpatigaḷaḡi chārāṇa-parameshtigaḷidattil dharmmaṁ-keḷkkuraḍu yivadam.]]

Kiri paṇṇi kuraṅgu puli yinda nālu mṛigaṅgaḷum dānānumōda-puṇyattigaḷ a(n)ge Ārya-rāgiṇār yivadam.

"The king and queen are born in *Uttama-bhoga-bhūmi* and are listening to an exposition of *dharma* from two *chārāṇa* sages. Those beings that were tiger, monkey, boar, and mongoose in their previous births are now *Āryas* as a result of listening while they were beasts to an exposition of *dharma*."

After death *Vajrajaṅgha* and *Śrīmatī* were born as twins in the *bhoga-bhūmi* known as *Uttarakuru*¹. Their names now are not given in the *Śrī Purāṇa*. The term *bhoga-bhūmi* is a compound of *bhoga* (enjoyment) and *bhūmi* (land) and denotes the region where, like in the heavens, the residents have not to labour for their livelihood. The regions where men have to work for their livelihood are called *karma-bhūmis* or work-lands. The *bhoga-bhūmis* come after the heavens, and are far superior to our earth in respect of pleasures that the people can enjoy. Birth in the *bhoga-bhūmi* is in the manner of the flesh in so far as a conception does take place there. But the full development of adolescence is attained within a period of 49 days from the day of birth. But the parents never live to behold the faces of their progeny for they die the same instant that the children are born, the mother dying of a sneeze and the father of a yawn. The children are always born as twins—a male and a female together. When they grow up they become husband and wife. They do not sleep, do not perspire and excrements are not formed in their bodies. Their eyes never wink and are always open. They eat once in three days, the quantity taken being never more than the weight of a plum. The female conceives but once, and that only at the end of her life. The *kalpaka-trees*² satisfy their requirements and consequently the ideas of property or appropriation never arise in these regions. All the three principal causes of crime—woman, land and gold—are wanting there. The residents of the *bhoga-bhūmis* are intelligent and virtuous; they are proficient in the fine arts, singing, dancing and other accomplishments. After death they are reborn in the heavens.

Vajrajaṅgha and his wife who were now born as twins in the *bhoga-bhūmi* grew up in seven weeks' time, became husband and wife and enjoyed long and pleasant life till, after the lapse of a long period, their souls departed from the material *bhoga-bhūmi* bodies and became embodied in the ethereal vestments of the heavenly regions once more.

The four animals too were born in the *bhoga-bhūmi*.

One day they met two *chārāṇa* sages from whom they heard an exposition of the truth (*dharma*) and the best system of thought (*saṁyak-darśana*). The four beasts, tiger, monkey, boar and mongoose which listened to the *chārāṇa* sages in their previous births in company with *Vajrajaṅgha* were born as *Āryas*, the highest among men and

¹ See below, pp. 177-178.

² See below, p. 78.

are shown in the painting on the right as again listening to the *chārāṇa* sages while the twins are also shown as listening to them from the left.

Painting No. 5 (pl. ix).—Illustrates two lives, the life of Śrīdhara and the life of Suvidhi, the sixth and the seventh births.

5-a . . . ன்னும் டெவனாயினார் யிவடம் ||

. . . *nam Devaṇḍiyār yivadam* ||

"Here . . . became a *Deva* named . . . "

The painting though much obliterated together with its label retains sufficient detail to enable us to distinguish a pair of figures and in the label the word "*Deva*". This word makes it clear that the persons represented in the painting should be Śrīdhara, a *deva* and his wife for, according to the Śrī Purāṇa, the *bhoga-bhumija* was born after death as a *deva* called Śrīdhara.

5-b. ததுவவம் கிட்டு ஜுவனுவீவகூட்டில் வடெநை வதுவியை வாமனோதகரத்திலு
வாமனியென்னும் ராஜாவாயினார். யிவ, ஸ்ரீ, தெவனெடு யிவடம் உ ||

Tat-bhavam vittu Jambū-dvīpa-pūrva-Vidēha-Vatsa-vishaya-Susimā-nagarattil
Suvidhi yennum rājā-vāyiyār, Yivar stri Manōramai yivadam உ ||

"Leaving that birth (Śrīdhara's) he was born as Suvidhi, king of the city of Susimā in the territory of Vatsā, in the Eastern Videha of Jambū-dvīpa. His (Suvidhi's) wife, Manoramā, is (shown) here."

The king and queen are shown sitting like similar pairs occurring in the other rows.

5-c. யிவர் வாமனாரவெனாமுத்தரஸ்ரீமத்யுராசிடத்தில் பரிசீலிக்கேட்டு திகழ்க்குறது
யிவடம் உ

Yivar saṁsāra-vairāgyattal munīśvarar-iḍattil dharmam-kēṭṭu dikshikkuradu
yivadam உ.

"Here he (Suvidhi), being disgusted with worldly life, goes to a great sage from whom he learns *dharma* and performs *dikshā*."

According to the Śrī Purāṇa, the king was tired of worldly life, which he learnt was transitory and went to a great sage from whom he heard an exposition of *dharma*. He is shown in the painting twice, first on the left as departing evidently to a forest followed by an attendant and secondly as sitting under a tree with hands placed together in worship in front of a naked sage also sitting under a tree who has got his right hand in a teaching attitude.

Painting No. 6 (pl. ix).—Illustrates the two next lives, the life of Achyutendra, a *deva*, and the life of a monarch (*chakravartī*) called Vajranābhi.

6-a. Illustrates the life of Achyutendra,

. . . கெய்யுக்கது . . . னார் யிவடம் உ ||

. . . *ku Achyutakalpa* . . . *nār yivadam உ ||*

Not only has the painting been almost completely rubbed out but also the label below. But the few letters that remain speak of *Achyuta-kalpa*, one of the 16 heavens, in the light of which we can identify the scene as one showing the Achyutendra, the next birth of Suvidhi.

On the termination of earthly life, Suvidhi's soul appeared in the sixteenth heaven, the *Achyuta-kalpa* referred to; he became the lord (Indra) of this heaven and enjoyed the distinction of being the Achyutendra. He was invested with miraculous powers and enjoyed untold power and pomp. The four *Āryas* or princes who had been the lion, the pig, the monkey and the mongoose respectively in their earlier existences were also born in this heaven, as a result of the various austerities that they had practised and became friends of the Achyutendra, constituting as it were a single family.

In all probability, as in other paintings, the persons that are represented are the Achyutendra and his wife, if he had one¹.

6-b. Illustrates the life of Vajranābhi.

ஜம்பூத்ரிபு வகுத்து விரிந்த லாஷ்டிராவதி விஷய புண்டரிகினி நகரத்தில
வஜ்ரநாபியென்னும் வகுத்துப் பாயினார் || சிவர்க்கு வஜ்ரநாக்கள் எண்மர் உ

*Jambūdvīpa - pūrva - Videha - Pushkalāvati - vishaya-Pundarikini-nagarattil Vajra-
nābhi-yennum chakravartī yāyinār || Yivarkku brātakkal eṇmar. உ*

"He (Achyutendra) became a monarch (*chakravartī*) by name Vajranābhi in the city of Pundarikinī, situated in the country of Pushkalāvati in the Eastern Videha of Jambūdvīpa . . . || He (Vajranābhi) had eight brothers."

Achyutendra died and was born again in the world, this time as a mortal. As a mortal he was the greatest among the mortals, for he became a mighty monarch under the name of Vajranābhi. He was blessed in his brothers who were eight in number. They were respectively called Subāhu, Mahābāhu, Pīthan, Mahāpīthan, Vijayan, Vajjayantan, Jayantan and Aparājitan. The first four were in one of the previous births Vajrajaṅgha's minister, general, priest and merchant respectively, while the latter four were the lion, pig, monkey and mongoose. In addition to his brothers there was a merchant-friend of his, Dhanadeva² by name, whom he looked upon as a pillar of support for himself. Aided by this merchant-friend of his and by his brothers, the king was ruling over an extensive kingdom and was hailed as a *chakravartī* or universal monarch. After a time all the ten, *i.e.*, the king, his merchant-friend and his eight brothers got disgusted with worldly life and commenced observing penance (*dikshā*) and the austerities prescribed. And Vajranābhi was enabled by his penance to leave embodied existence and enjoy the condition of a class of *devas*, called Ahamindradeva³.

¹ The *Sri Parāṇa* is silent on this.

² His previous births in succession were: 1. Śrīmatt, 2. Deva. 3. Keśava, son of Suvidhi. 4. Pratāpdrā in the sixteenth heaven.

³ See *below*, pp. 77-78.

In the painting Vajranābhi is sitting between two of his queens, one on either side. Two attendants stand outside, on the right, waiting to minister to his wants. As the life of Vajranābhi was considered important it is done elaborately in the paintings and five more rows (Nos. 7-11) are devoted to it. The next two (Nos. 7 and 8) show the king's eight brothers and his merchant-friend who, as has already been said, helped him to rule the land.

Painting No. 7 (pl. ix).—Shows a procession of men on palanquin and elephants which continues into the next row (No. 8) also.

7-a. . . . செந்தியார் பல்லக்கு மெல் பொறது சிவடம் ||

. . . . Śreṣṭhiyār pallakku mel poṇadu yivadam ||

" Śreṣṭhi (merchant) going in a palanquin."

A palanquin is carried by men, and from the label, we learn that the king's merchant-friend, Dhanadeva-Śreṣṭhi is carried in it. The letters in the label giving the name of the merchant have unfortunately been rubbed.

7-b. அபராஜிதது ஆ(யா)னை மெல் பொறது சிவடம் ||

Aparājitan ā(yā)ṇai mel poṇadu yivadam ||

"Here (is shown) Aparājitan going on an elephant."

The elephant is driven by a mahout, and Aparājita is seated within a howdah on its back.

7-c. வைஜயந்தனும் ஜயந்தனும் ஆ(யா)னை மெல் பொறது சிவடம் ||

Vaijayantanum Jayantanum ā(yā)ṇai mel poṇadu yivadam. ||

"Vaijayantan and Jayantan are here (shown as) going on an elephant."

A mahout is shown seated on the neck of the elephant as in the previous panel (7-b). The brothers, Vaijayanta and Jayanta are within the howdah.

Painting No. 8 (pl. ix).—Here is a continuation of the procession.

8-a. . . . ம் சேதாபாசுரமவும் ராதத்தின் மெல் பொறது சிவடம் ||

. . . . m Mahābhuvum radattin mel poṇadu yivadam ||

"[Subāhu and] Mahābāhu [are shown] here going in a chariot".

Two persons are seated in a chariot shaped like a double-pavilion and they are, as indicated by the label, Subāhu and Mahābāhu, two other brothers of the king. The chariot is driven by a charioteer, whose form can be made out in front of the brothers. A flag and parasol can be made out above and in front of the chariot. Apparently they were carried by attendants who are now rubbed out in the painting.

8-b. பிதன ஆ(யா)னை மெல்ப பொறது ||

Piṭhan ā(yā)ṇai-mel-p-poṇadu ||

"Piṭhan going on elephant."

An elephant is shown here as being driven by the mahout and as carrying a man who is seated within a howdah on its back and who, as indicated by the label, is Piṭhan, another brother of the king.

8-c. சேனாகரீஞும் விஜயனும் குதிரைமேல் பொறது யிவடம்.

Mahāpīṭhanum Vijayanum kudirai-mel poradu yivadam.

"Here [are shown] Mahāpīṭhan and Vijayan going on horses."

Two men are shown on horseback, one on a red horse and the other behind him on a black one. They are, as the label proves, the remaining brothers of king Vajranābhi, Mahāpīṭha and Vijaya. Three attendants are accompanying the party in a row, the one in front holding a festoon, the second in the middle holding a half-spread umbrella and the third who comes last of all holding a flag.

Painting No. 9 (pl. x)—

. . . வரதாக்கனாரடும் டுகடு(வ) . . . கெழக்க . . .

. . . *Bratakkalodum Dhanade(va)* . . . *kelkka* . . .

" . . . going to hear . . . with brothers and Dhanade(va) . . . "

Being disgusted with worldly life and being painfully aware of the miseries attendant on it, Vajranābhi renounced everything and repaired to sage Vajrasena, accompanied by his eight brothers and his merchant-friend besides 16,000 kings in order to obtain at his hands *dikṣhā* or consecration after listening to an exposition of *dharma* by the said sage. The Śrī Purāṇa says that the sage was Vajrasena Tirthaṅkara. It is not clear if Vajrasena is really the old father of Vajranābhi himself who renounced kingship, after entrusting the kingdom to Vajranābhi and who took to the life of an ascetic. According to C. R. Jain, Vajrasena Tirthaṅkara was the father of Vajranābhi.¹

The king is sitting in a chariot drawn by horses. His brothers and merchant-friend precede him on horseback while some attendants go in front of him and some others follow him. Some of these attendants hold in their hands lances, the heads of which are done in white.

Painting No. 10 (pl. x)—This painting is rubbed out, especially its lower half, and nothing remains of its label, not even the border lines of the labels, nor even a few letters. Still the scene represented is obvious. It is just a continuation of the procession consisting of Vajranābhi, his brothers and merchant-friend that had started in painting No. 9 for *dikṣhā*. The members of the procession that formed the front are shown here. Such for instance are, from right to left, horsemen, one of whom blows a trumpet, men on elephant-back, one holding a flag and the other beating a drum, a horseman and two attendants with flag and festoon respectively. Surely the scene is intended to portray the paraphernalia that are always associated with royalty when it is moving.

Painting No. 11 (pl. x)—

11-a. . . சம்ப . . . த்தில் வஜ்ரகாகியவகுலத்தி-ல் டுகடு-வடு . . . ஜாக்களுட
னும் . . . க்க . . . டும் இடுகெத் தைக்கெசண்டு கவலு . . . யிவடம் வ ||

¹ *Rukhshandesa*, p. 44.

... rsa . . . ttīl Vajranābhi-chakravartti dharmmañke . . . jākkaḷaḍaṇum
 . . . kka . . . dum dīkshai-kaikkonḍu tapasu . . . yivaḍam .

"King Vajranābhi, after hearing an exposition of Dharma from . . . with kings
 . . . underwent *dīkshā* or consecration and (adopted) a life of deep austerity-here."

Vajranābhi, who was seen marching with his brothers and merchant-friend and 16,000 kings in painting No. 9 to obtain *dīkshā* at the hands of Vajrasena was admitted into the order by Vajrasena, whose example very much inspired him. His brothers and the merchant-friend and the kings that followed him, all of them, followed his example and entered the order too.

In the painting, on the extreme left, Vajrasena Tirthaṅkara is seen seated cross-legged on a pedestal under a tree. He is engaged in addressing or teaching Vajranābhi, who is similarly seated in front of him, the sacred *dharma*. His right hand is in the *upadeśa* position and his left rests on the lap—a very common pose in meditation. His nakedness is in clear contrast to the dressed figure of Vajranābhi, who is still in kingly attire, the crown being prominent, and has his hands folded in *añjali* or worship. Some other figures that can be made out in the painting as standing behind Vajranābhi and under trees represent some among the party that followed him.

II-b. . . வ . . . வரோசி(தி)ஸ்தாயிவால் ஸரீரம் கிடந்து ஸர்வார்த்தம் முதல் . . . 16

. . . வஸ்து-பாதிவிரஜிதில் கமலிதழ்-பெவனாமினார் நிவடம் வ.

. . . va . . . samādhi(ni)shthayiyal(yināl) sarīram viṭṭu Subāhumudal . . .

du . . . Sarvārddhasiddhiyil Ahamindra-dēvaḷā-yiṅār yivaḍam .

" . . . va . . . by the virtue accruing out of meditation and penance he (Vajranābhi) left the body and along with Subāhu and others reached *Sarvārthasiddhi* where he was born as an *Ahamindra deva*-here."

Vajranābhi performed at the end of his life the greatest of austerities, the *sa'lekhanā*¹ and leaving the body of gross matter reached along with Subāhu and others the region of the super-heavens called *Sarvārthasiddhi* where he was born as an *Ahamindra* god. His brothers and merchant-friend also attained to the same heaven as the result of following Vajranābhi's good example by practising several soul-purifying austerities.

In the painting we can hardly make out anything more than a seated figure which may be taken as probably representing Vajranābhi in his next birth, *viz.*, that of an *Ahamindra*. The term *Ahamindra* which means "I am Indra" indicates that the *Ahamindras* are conscious that they are all Indras (lords) and have no lords over them. They treat one another as absolute equals. Their abode is one of the super-heavens called *Sarvārthasiddhi* which literally means "all desires gratified." Those who are born here can have no further ambitions for they have nearly reached their journey's end and have only one more life to undergo in the region of the earth. They have "no regrets, no needs, nor longings for any kind of sense-produced pleasure," and do not care to go to

¹ *Ratna Koraṇḍāka*—"Dharmāya tannvimochanam-āhuh sa'lekhanāny-āryāḥ."—*i.e.*, a process of death by slow starvation whereby liberation of the spirit from the body is sought for the sake of merit.

the other heavens or to the earth as they are ever filled with "the innate delight of the soul." Sexual craving being unknown to them their heaven as also the other super-heavens are free from the presence of women. They all lead very long lives in the enjoyment of peace and the term of their lives is reckoned not in years but in oceans of years (*sāgaras*). Thus they are supposed to live for thirty-three oceans of years without experiencing premature death. They require food once in 33,000 years, the quantity of food taken being much less than in the lower heavens and breathe only after thirty-three fortnights. They are all of handsome appearance, their bodies being endowed with symmetry and resplendence. The size of an *Ahamindra* is only one cubit. These *Ahamindras* are all gifted with unusual wisdom, and mutual love and jealousy, unlike the lower heavens, find no place in *Sarvārthasiddhi*.

Painting No. 12 (pl. x).—Both the painting and its label are so badly obliterated that while nothing remains of the label to elucidate the scene intended a few figures that can be made out on the extreme right of the painting itself warrant only a conjectural interpretation. The standing figures, barring the one on the extreme right, probably represent the brothers and merchant-friend of Vajranābhi who, as has been narrated above, became also "Ahamindras" like Vajranābhi. But as the figure on the extreme right represents a woman I am not sure if the above identification can be correct, for as has already been said the *Ahamindra* heaven is devoid of women. But no other event is recorded either in the Śrī Purāṇa or the Ādi Purāṇa as happening between the last scene narrated in painting No. 11 and the next painting (No. 13). There is little scope for any scene other than the one I have suggested as probably intended here. If this is correct, then the woman can be explained as serving a negative purpose, *i.e.*, she is only intended to show by way of contrast that though she is denied admission into the *Sarvārthasiddhi* heaven the residents of the heaven experience divine joy and bliss, a joy that beats to shame the joy that an ordinary mortal can experience in the company of his lady-love.

Painting No. 13 (pl. x).—*உணவுதராமல் || உடைதராமல் || மதுதராமல் ||*

"*Bhōjanāṅgam : Bhājanāṅgam : Vastrāṅgam :*".

Three trees are found in the painting and they are, as the labels prove, three out of the ten *kalpaka-vrikshas* or "wish-trees" that catered to the needs of humanity till the time of Nābhi Mahārāja, the fourteenth Manu, who became the father of Rishabhadeva. The three trees that are shown are named *bhōjanāṅgam*, "food-giving," *bhājanāṅgam*, "vessel-giving," and *vastrāṅgam*, "cloth-giving." The other trees that are not shown here but the intended presence of which we can infer are, according to the Śrī Purāṇa, *madyāṅgam*, "drink-giving," *turyāṅgam*, "music-tree," *bhūṣaṇāṅgam*, "ornament-giving," *mālyāṅgam*, "flower garland-giving," *dīpāṅgam*, "lamp-giving," *grihāṅgam*, "house-giving" and *jyoti-rāṅgam*, "light-giving."

These trees are appropriately shown here as the story leads on to an account of the fourteen Manus¹ or sages or saviours who arose from time to time and kept on

¹ See below, pp. 223-225.

enlightening the people. The last of these Manus was Nabhi Mahārāja till whose time the *kalpakavyikshas* catered to the needs of mankind. It was given to Nabhi to become the father of the first Tirthāṅkara.

Painting No. 14 (pl. xi).—

• • •	10th Manu.
• • •	11th Manu.
• • •	12th Manu.
• • •	13th Manu.

The foundation of civilization was laid by wise men who arose from time to time. These are the Manus or saviours who are fourteen in number. They are also called *kulakaras*¹.

The left half of the painting is completely obliterated. On the right half we can discern seven Manus sitting in a row on a long platform serving the purpose of a pedestal. They all have their right hands lifted up to the level of the face which suggests that they probably hold in them flowers which they are in the act of drawing near their noses to smell. Such a representation is common in these paintings especially where seated figures otherwise unengaged are shown. Three, out of the seven, have one of their legs hanging down from the seat, while the rest have both legs on the seat, crossed in a typical Indian style. The last three bear the labels "Tenth Manu, Eleventh Manu, Twelfth Manu, Thirteenth Manu," thereby proving that the four figures on the right represent the Manus, Abhichandra, Chandrabha, Marudeva and Prasenajit. The fourteenth Manu, Nabhi,* being the most important among them,† as one destined to become the father of the first Tirthāṅkara, does not find a place here but is separately and more elaborately dealt with in the succeeding paintings.

The obliterated portion of the painting might naturally have been supposed to have contained pictures of the first six Manus; but this space is much less than that occupied by the six later Manus, there being room for only three of them. This must either mean that the other three were left out of the painting altogether, or that some of the standing figures of men in painting No. 12 (pl. x) are intended to represent them. The only objections to this are that the figures in painting No. 12 are all standing in clear contrast to the later seven Manus represented here as sitting, and that one of the former represents a woman as remarked already (p. 78).

Painting No. 15 (pl. xi).—Shows scenes from the life of Nabhi Mahārāja, running from right to left. The life story of this Manu is here painted elaborately not only for the reason that he was the father of Rishabhadeva but also because he is said to have

¹ See Appendix III, pp. 223-225.

* Wilson, *Vishnu Purāṇa*, Vol. II, pp. 100-103—Nabhi, his son Rishabhadeva and Bharata, the latter's son, find a place in the Hindu purāṇic lines, where Nabhi is said to be the son of Agnidra, king of Jambūdvīpa, son of Priya-vrata, king of Antarveda. Also see *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxx, p. 248.

† *Asiatic Researcher*, vol. 9, p. 259.—Nabhi allotted to men the means of subsistence, viz., *asi* (sword), *masi* (letters, lit. ink), *āpīśi* (Agriculture), *māsiya* (commerce), and *painpālana* (attendance on cattle).

established the line of the *Ikshvākus*, who took their name from the fact that he taught men the use of sugarcane, *ikshu* being its Sanskrit name. This is also claimed for his son.¹ Though the painting is much defaced sufficient details still remain to indicate the scenes.

The label below the panel on the extreme right runs as follows :—

ஜம்புதீபம் ஸாரதா க்ஷேத்ரத்து ஃரியா க்ஷந்தத்து திருவயோத்யா நகரத்து அராமணை
(நை)யில் நாபிமஹாராஜனும் மருதே(வெ)வியாரும் யிருக்காது யிவடம் உ.

*Jambū-dvīpa-Bharata-kshetrattu Ārya-khandattu-tiruv-Ayodhyā-nagarattu aramaṇai
(nai)yil Nābhi-mahārājānūm Marute(de)viyārum yirukkuradu yivadam u.*

"Here (are shown) Nābhi-Mahārāja and his wife Marudevi sitting in their palace in the beautiful city of Ayodhyā, in Ārya-khaṇḍa of Bharata-kshetra in Jambū-dvīpa."

In the light of the label it is evident that the two crowned figures shown represent the king on the right, and his wife on the left, facing each other.

The next panel, in the centre, shows Marudevi sleeping on a swing while two of her attendants, one on either side of her, are moving the swing to and fro. The label below runs as follows :—

மருதேவியாச் சி உறவியத்து பதினாறு ஸ்வப்னங்களைச் காணுகுறது யிவடம் ||

Marute(de)viyār nidra-samayattu paṭināru svapnaṅgaḷaik-kāṇukuradu yivadam ||.

"Marudevi is here (shown as) having sixteen dreams, while sleeping."

These dreams are drawn up in the next row (No. 16) and will be described under No. 16.

The next panel, the one on the extreme left, shows the king and queen facing each other as while conversing. The label runs as follows :—

. . . மருதேவியாருக்கு . . . நைச் சொல்லுகுறது யிவடம் ||

. . . *Marute(de)viyārūku . . . laichchollukuradu yivadam ||.*

"Here (is shown) . . . narrating to Marudevi".

Though the label is obliterated it is easy to find out what the painting above originally showed. According to the Śrī Purāṇa, Marudevi went to her lord immediately after waking up from her sleep and narrated to him in detail all the sixteen dreams she had and the king explained to her their consequences (*phalas*) or significance².

Painting No. 16 (pl. xi).—Marudevi's dreams³ are shown here with their respective labels below, excepting the first four, which together with their labels are completely obliterated. The sixteen things that she saw in her dreams are as follows :—

(1) An elephant, (2) a bull, (3) a lion, (4) the goddess Lakshmi⁴ as being bathed by elephants, one on either side, (5) two flower garlands, (6) the full moon in all its

¹ See below, p. 92.

² See under painting No. 16, pp. 81 and 82.

³ Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, p. 22. —These dreams are to-day often graven round the silver treasures in Jaina temples and Jaina women love to recall them, for it is given to all the mothers of the great Jaina saints to see them.

⁴ Another version is that she saw a ship instead. As the painting has been completely rubbed out here we are unable to make out what was painted.

radiance, (7) morning sun (*Bāla-Sūrya*), (8) fish, (9) two filled pots or vases (*kalāṣas*), (10) a lotus pond, (11) the ocean, (12) a lion-throne or *simhāsana*, (13) a vehicle or chariot of the gods on which they fly everywhere, (14) *Nāga-bhavana* or palace of the *Nāgas* or a seat designed like a snake, (15) a heap of precious stones, and (16) flames of fire¹.

The king to whom these dreams were narrated by his queen, said that they all foretold the birth of a very great being who was to become a Tirthaṅkara. He also explained that these dreams had some significances² individually, which are as follows:—

- (1) The elephant signified that the child to be born to them would become great.
- (2) The bull signified that the child would become the lord of the world.
- (3) The lion meant that he would become mighty and strong.
- (4) The goddess Lakshmi signified that the child would be taken to Mount Mandara and be bathed with celestial waters by the gods. This bath, called *Janma-abhisheka*, is considered very sacred and is denied to all except those that are born to become Tirthaṅkaras.
- (5) The flower garlands meant that the child, after becoming a Tirthaṅkara would expound *Dharma* or the Sacred Law to the world.
- (6) The full and radiant moon signified that he would please, just as the moon, one and all.
- (7) The sun meant that he would be resplendant and glorious.
- (8) The fish meant that he would taste all the pleasures of life.
- (9) The two filled pots meant that he would become the lord of all the treasures or *nidhis*.
- (10) The lotus-tank indicated that he would be endowed with good qualities and a beautiful appearance.
- (11) The ocean meant that he would acquire that knowledge which should be essentially acquired by a Tirthaṅkara. This knowledge is referred to in the *Śrī Purāṇa* as *kevala-jñāna* or omniscience and one who acquires it is called *kevali*.
- (12) The lion-throne meant that he would ascend it as the monarch of the whole world.
- (13) The vehicle of the *devas* indicated that he would descend down to the world from heaven and be born.
- (14) *Nāga-bhavana* meant that he would acquire all preliminary knowledge technically called *avadhi-jñāna* or visual knowledge.
- (15) The heap of precious stones meant that he would himself be a heap of all the good qualities, known and unknown to mankind.
- (16) Flames of fire meant that he would burn by his potentiality all the actions (*karma*) that follow the doer.

On the queen adding that the bull, which she saw in her second dream entered her face, the king explained that the Tirthaṅkara had entered her womb that day and that as he chose to enter in the form of a bull (*ṛishabha*), he should be called "*Ṛishabhadeva*."

¹ For a slightly different account of the dreams and their significances see C. R. Jain, *Ṛishabhadeva*, pp. 76-9.

The labels run from left to right as:—

. . . மாலையு|| வளையு|| வளையு|| சிவசூரிய|| பஞ்சபாகையு|| சிவசூரிய|| வளையு||
உரு|| வளையு|| வளையு|| வளையு|| வளையு|| வளையு|| வளையு||

. . . *Malai || Chandran || Sūryyan || Matsyam || Pūrṇakumbham || Tatākam || Samu-*
dram || Sinhāsana || Devavimānam || Nāgālayam || Ratnarāsi . . .

" *Gariand || Moon || Sun || Fish || Filled vase || Pond || Ocean || Lion-*
throne || Vehicle of the Devas || Nāga-shrine || Heap of precious stones . . ."

These dreams are represented in the painting from left to right.

While the first four dreams are completely obliterated, including their labels, we can hardly make out anything more of the others whose labels are preserved than the sun and moon, pond, ocean, vehicle of the *devas*, Nāga-shrine resembling the vehicle of the *devas* and a circular heap standing probably for the "ratna-rāsi." On the extreme right of the painting are visible flames of fire, the sixteenth and the last dream, the label of which has disappeared.

Painting No. 17 (pl. xi).—This illustrates the birth of the Tirthāṅkara and the events closely preceding and following his birth.

17-a. *Devastriṅgaḥ kuradu yi(va)dam.*

. *Devastriṅgaḥ kuradu yi(va)dam.*

" *Deva-ladies (attending) here.*"

Marudevi, who is seated on an elevated platform on the extreme left is attended by three *Deva-ladies*, one of them (probably Śachi) sitting on the same platform in front of Marudevi and the other two standing. All the three are eagerly looking in the direction of Marudevi as if to express their willingness to minister to her wants. As already noted *Deva-ladies* attended on her during the period of her pregnancy.

17-b. *Svāmi pirakkuṇadu yiva (dam).*

. *Svāmi pirakkuṇadu yiva (dam).*

" Here (is shown) the birth of the Svāmi (God)."

The central panel shows Marudevi giving birth to the divine child. Two attendant women (probably they are *Deva-ladies*) are supporting her, holding her hands and she is delivered of the child behind a screen which hides her from the waist downwards. According to the Śrī Purāṇa (Vol. I) she carried the child in her womb for nine months, without however showing any of the signs of pregnancy, and when the period was over she gave birth to Rishabhadeva, also called Trailōkyanātha (Lord of the three worlds) in the month of Chitrā, Kṛṣṇa-Navamī, Uttirāḍha-Nakshatra and Brāhma-Yoga. At the time of his birth the name given to him was Sadyo-jāta.

17-c. Shows an event which immediately followed the birth of the Tirthāṅkara. Saudharma-Indra, the Indra of the first heaven¹, started for Ayōdhya with his wife

¹ See Appendix III, p. 231.

Śaṅkha and retinue to pay his homage to the child and to carry it to the peak of Mount Mahā-Meru to bathe it with celestial waters and make it, thereby, divine. All the *devas* reached the palace and stopped in the court-yard while Śaṅkha following his instructions, went to the room where the child was born. She worshipped the child, and after producing sleep on Marudevi removed it and placed by her side a magic child (mock-child) instead. The child was then handed over to Saudharma-Indra who immediately placed it on the back of his elephant Airāvata and started with his retinue for Mahā-Meru.

In the painting, Śaṅkha is shown twice, first as facing the room, where Marudevi gave birth to the Tirthaṅkara, evidently to take the child from there, and secondly as returning and delivering the child to her husband, who is followed by another *deva* called Īśānendra, the Indra of the second heaven¹ who spreads a white umbrella, an emblem of dignity.

Painting No. 18 (pl. xi)—

உருவெழுது ஸாங்கியை வெணாசுவதகினைமெல் எழுத்தருளு(னி)விசூத்தகொண்டு . . .
ஷகம் பண்ண சேற . . . ருபெழுதுதந்தகூக்குப் பொருது . . .

Devendra Svāmiyai Airāvataṭṭiṇ mel eṇḍaruṇu (i) vittukkondu . . . shakam paṇṇa
Maha . . . maru-parvatattukku-poradu . . .

"Devendra proceeding to Mount Mahā-Meru to perform (*Janmābhi*) sheka (of the child), placing the god on the back of Airāvata."

Saudharma-Indra mounted his vehicle, Airāvata and placing the child on his lap started on a procession towards the sacred mountain, Mahā-Meru, where the child was to be bathed with the celestial waters. This ceremony, which every Tirthaṅkara has to undergo at the time of his birth, is described as *Janma-abhisheka*. He was preceded and followed by other *devas*, chief among them being Sanatkumāra and Māhēndras² who spread *chāmaras* or fly-whisks before the child and Īśānendra who held a white umbrella over him. There were other *devas* also who held flags and festoons and joined in the procession. In the painting, the white elephant carrying Devendra with the child on his lap and Īśānendra holding an umbrella behind is shown on the extreme right while the various other *devas* who formed a procession are marching in front, some walking, some on horseback and some on elephant-back, the last mentioned beating a drum.

Painting No. 19 (pl. xii).—Here the *Janmābhisheka* of the child takes place in the left half (a) after which the party returns to the city of Ayōdhya. A brief description of the ceremony and its preliminary settings must be told here in explanation of the painting, which is unfortunately largely obliterated. Mahā-Meru mountain situated in the centre of Videha,³ which is said to be the pedestal (*Jina-Janmābhisheka-piṭha*) on which the child was to be bathed is flanked by four celestial gardens (*vanas*) called *Bhadraśāla*, *Nandana* (this is the garden known to Hindu mythology as situated in *Svarga*, the world of Indra), *Saumanasa* and *Pāṇḍuka*⁴ and surrounded on all the four directions (east, west, south and north) by niches or temples of the Jina (*Jinabhavanas*). The dimensions of the pedestal are rather exaggerated for the height is said to be 1,000 *yojanas* and the breadth 10,000 *yojanas* and that it was situated very high in the sky, about 99,000 *yojanas* above

¹ See Appendix III, p. 231.

² Pl. xxxvii.

³ *Trilohatāra*, v. 607.

the earth. Devendra and the procession circumambulated this mountain and reached one of the gardens called Pāṇḍuka, in the centre of which was situated a *maṇḍapa*, built of precious stones, over a polished rocky surface shaped like the disc of the moon, the dimensions of which were 100 *yojanas* of length, 50 *yojanas* of breadth and 8 *yojanas* of height. To such a *maṇḍapa*, the child was led and was gently deposited in its centre by Devendra. The child, being a divine one, was able to sit cross-legged like grown-up men, facing east. To face east when a ceremony is performed is considered not only as auspicious but as the correct procedure.

When the child was thus seated, two of the principal *devas*, Saudharmendra (the Devendra of Hindu mythology) and Īśānendra performed the *Janmābhisheka* of the Tirthaṅkara by emptying over him celestial waters collected in pots (*kumbhas*) from the milk ocean, each standing on either side of the child, while the other *devas* witnessed the event with reverence and deep interest. After the ceremony was over and the child was sufficiently wet, Śacī, the wife of Saudharmendra took the child in a motherly way and rubbed away all the water-particles from its body and lovingly decorated him with flowers and ornaments. Once again Saudharmendra lifted the child and placing it on his lap, himself sitting on the back of Airāvata, returned to Ayōdhya, in the same processional manner in which he proceeded to the mountain, preceded and followed by the other *devas*, holding flags, festoons and umbrellas and other insignia appropriate to the occasion.

19-a. . . . யின்மெவெ எழுந்தது(ரு)ளினித்து வெணயுவெசே-புராதெயுர்கள்
. . . . சேவரிஷேகம்பண்ணுகுறது சிவடம் உ||

. . . . *Yinmēle eṇḍaru (ru) ḷi vittu Saudharmma-Īśānendrargal* . . .
mābhishekam paṇṇukuraḍu yivadam ||

"Saudharmendra and Īśānendra are here performing *Janmābhisheka* seating him on"

In the painting four high towers or *gopuras* are shown, one above the other. Probably they are situated on the mountain Mahā-Meru, at equal heights. To the right of the topmost tower can be seen, though faintly, Rishabhadeva sitting cross-legged, being bathed by two gods, one on either side of him. Four other gods stand to the right with pitchers in their hands.

In what looks like a chamber below, with a canopy over it can be seen a big vessel placed on the ground and a *vimāna* by its side. Two *devas* stand on the right of the vessel, one of them appearing to stoop over it. Probably they are taking celestial waters from the big vessel in which they are evidently stored for bathing the child.

19-b. ஐதூலிஷேகாகுறது ஸ்ரூதியை டெவெயுது டெ-ராவுதகூன்மென் வைத்துக்
கொண்டு டெவர்க்கொருங்குட மயொயிரவாசுக்குப் பொறது சிவடம் உ

*Janmābhishekānantaram Svāmīyai Devendran Airāvatattiṇ mel vaittukkoṇḍu Devark-
kaḷoḍunkūḍa Ayōdhyāpurattukku-poradu yivadam உ*

"Devendra is here shown returning to the city of Ayōdhyā after the *Janmābhisheka* was over placing the Svāmi (Rishabhadeva) on the back of Airāvata, followed by the other *devas*."

In the painting the child is shown seated in a howdah on the back of the elephant with Devendra behind him. It is crowned and ornamented and smells a flower held in its left hand. Īśānendra is seated further behind and is holding an umbrella over the child. The mahout who is sitting on the neck of the elephant in front of the child is carrying a goad in his left hand while a flag rests on his right shoulder. Three other *devas* are walking in front with flags in their hands.

Painting No. 20 (pl. xii).—All along Marudevi and the people at Ayōdhyā were in a state of drowsiness from which they were enabled to recover on Śachī removing the sleep she had wrought, when the procession had entered Ayōdhyā. Śachī explained to Marudevi what had happened. Saudharmendra placed the child on a throne and danced with joy, after which he undertook the *nāma-karāṇa* or naming the child. All the people agreeing, the child was named Rishabhadeva¹. The work of the *devas* being over for the time being they all took leave of the child and Nābhi Mahārāja and departed to their various worlds.

The painting runs from right to left and shows the procession returning to the city. On the extreme left we find a pavilion in which is seated Rishabhadeva who is worshipped by some *devas* near by, while Saudharmendra with his hands placed together in worship and knees bent is dancing with joy. The label below is completely defaced only the letter *ॐ* (*ne*) remaining.

Painting No. 21 (pl. xii).—Rishabhadeva gradually grew into a handsome youth and was the *yuvārāja* or the heir-apparent to succeed to the throne after his father. His father greatly desired that his son should marry and become the father of illustrious sons who would continue the *Ikshvāku* lineage of which he was the founder. The son was for a long time averse to marriage as he knew what worldly life meant. But owing to the repeated persuasions of his father who requested him to marry to teach to the world what the life and duties of a *grihastha* or householder were and how life would be and what it meant to one who would, in course of time, detach himself from such a worldly existence (*nivṛtti-dharma*), he married two women, Yaśasvatī and Sunandā. The former bore him hundred sons beginning with Bharata, who was the foremost *Kshatriya* in the dynasty of *Ikshvāku* and a daughter named Brāhmī. To the latter were born a son, Bāhubali², and a daughter named Sundarī³.

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II, p. 135.—It may be noticed that Rishabhadeva and his father Nābhi and son Bharata occur in the Hindu Purāṇic lists, where Nābhi, who is reckoned as the fourteenth Manu by the Jains, is mentioned as the son of Agnidra, King of Jambūdvīpa, who in turn was the son of Priyavrata, king of Antarvāta. The kings of various other nations also derived their descent from him. See Wilson, *Purāṇa*, pp. 162, 163 and 164 ff.

² See pl. xxvi, fig. 1; a colossal statue of him on the top of the Vindhya-giri hill at Stavāga-Belgoja is even now worshipped by the Jains under the name of Gommatesvara.

³ For details about the progeny of Rishabhadeva and his previous *dharmas*, etc., see C. R. Jain, *Rishabhadeva*, pp. 90-94.

Rishabhadeva taught his sons and daughters the various arts or *kalās* and sciences or *śāstras*. His father, Nābhi Mahārāja, desirous of seeing him rule the kingdom crowned him, hailing him as "the monarch of the three worlds" or Trailokyanātha and as the first king of the *Ikshvaku* dynasty or *kula*. As he was hailed Trailokyanātha on this occasion this name got perpetuated and the Tirthānkara came to be called so.

And Rishabhadeva proved a model monarch and was ruling the land righteously and skilfully by dividing the kingdom into five convenient parts for purposes of administration and establishing governors or representatives over them.

One day, while he was in the midst of his court, witnessing a dance performed by one of the dancing girls called Nīlāñjanā, he saw her drop down dead and immediately disappear. The king understood that the time for her to die had come and that death awaited everyone that was born. This made him melancholy and contemplative and he began to dissociate himself from those bonds that tied him to the world and to the so-called pleasures that the world was believed to have in store. In a short time he was disgusted with life and was only abiding his time awaiting the divine call, for he believed, as every other Tirthānkara or for the matter of that every prophet or founder of faiths believed, that he had a mission to perform.

21-a. . . . ஸ்ரீபதியை கருணம் பண்ணிக்கொள்ளச் செல்லி தாழிசையாநாஜது
கெழ்தருது சிவடம் உ ||

. . . Svāmīyai kalyāṇam paṇṇik-kollachchollī Nābhi-mahārājan kēḷkuradu
yivadam. உ ||

"Nābhi Mahārāja is here requesting the Svāmi (Rishabhadeva) to marry . . ."

The scene is obvious. The prince is standing in front of his father Nābhi who is seated in a pavilion and is addressing his son on the lines indicated by the label; the prince is requested to marry to show to the world *grihastha-dharma* or the life of a householder. The prince was sent for by his father who, though he knew his son's real thoughts and inclinations concerning life, and also his mission, put very cautiously before him the proposal for marriage thus:—

"O Lord, thou really art the Father of the three worlds, for Thou art the Preceptor of all living beings. I am thy father merely like an accompanying cause. Be pleased to recognize the need for the establishment of the marriage sacrament, so that humanity may not misdirect themselves in that regard, and come to grief, through sheer inability to follow the example of great Celibates." And Rishabhadeva assented by silence, accompanied by a smile and the monosyllabic "om." The two persons on the left of Nābhi, other than the attendant who is gently fanning the king, are princes of a rank lower than that of Rishabhadeva, friends of the heir-apparent who are overjoyed on hearing the marriage talk between the father and the son and the subsequent assent of the prince to the proposal. They are visibly demonstrating their joy at the news, one of them actually plunging himself into a dance while the other is preparing himself by stretching his hands and so forth to follow suit. It is said that the prince had some play-mates, who were none other than some *devas* who were born in the world to keep him company and to delight him in all ways. So assuredly these two are his friends, though.

in the painting they are shown as holding in their hands festoons or banners which they need not hold. But their presence can however be justified, for it is said that though they were the prince's playmates they could not help being his attendants also, feeling as such their inferiority in his presence. So there is nothing strange in their being associated with banners or festoons which are but marks to show respect to the hero. The ornamental knots on their heads reminding us of similar designs called *konḍai* found on the head of child Kṛishṇa (*cf.* paintings Nos. 69-72) mark these figures out as the friends of the heir-apparent rather than as ordinary attendants or courtiers of the king.

21-b. வென் விடியாநாரசர்களுட் அழைத்து . . .
 *reñ* *Vidyādhara-rajakkaluḍa* *alaittu*
 " *rep* taking or inviting with Vidyādhara kings "

The story shown in the above scene is as follows—After obtaining the assent of the prince for marriage king Nābhi set about hunting for a suitable wife for his son and in his quest he was aided by Saudharmendra. Their combined efforts were crowned with success and their choice fell on two accomplished and lovely girls, Yaśasvati and Sunandā by name, the sisters (but according to another version the daughters) of two brothers who were ruling the Vidyādhara kingdom called Kachchha and Mahākachchha. The brothers who were apprised of the intention of Nābhi readily agreed and the marriage was arranged. The ladies came to Ayodhyā, the capital of Nābhi, being escorted by their valourous brothers and were given to Rishabhadeva in marriage.

In the painting the prince is marching ahead followed by the two brides while an attendant *deva* holding an umbrella goes in front of the prince. The prince who is dressed and decorated much in the same way as in fig. *a* betrays himself as the bridegroom (a bridegroom of the Indian type) by displaying a certain amount of shyness and feigned unconcern by looking away from his brides. All the three, *i.e.*, the prince and the brides carry in their right hands the auspicious flower, the lotus. That in the hand of the prince is a big one while those in the hands of the brides are small. The attitude of the prince may also be explained as indicating the disinterestedness of the prince who consented to marry to oblige more his father than to derive any pleasure out of it. He is shown here as receiving his brides and escorting them to the marriage *pandal* or *maṇḍapa* (*kalyāṇa-maṇḍapa*) where the marriage ceremonies had to be undergone before they could be declared to be husband and wives. This custom of the bridegroom escorting the bride is common in India especially among the South Indian Brahmans¹.

¹ In fact among the Brahmans there appears to be no end to these escortings which, however, take sometimes the form of processions in which the bride's and the bridegroom's parties mingle; and it is a matter of deep interest to note that the attitude of the bridegroom in these processions, seated or standing as he ought to be with his bride by his side, will be invariably one of extreme delicacy, shyness and consequent feigned indifference towards the bride by his side, the feigned nature of which is more than ever betrayed by the stiffness of the bridegroom's pose in keeping his person and particularly his face away from the bride by his side. His relatives and friends whom particularly he wants to assure by his feigned unconcern that he is not in the least overjoyed or elated at the prospect of the pleasures of wedlock are not deceived but see through him and to his utter discomfort cut jokes at his expense within of course the hearing of the bride, the last person in the world that the bridegroom would wish should hear them.

Though the label contains the term "Vidyādhara Rāja" which would mean that the prince is taking the brides to the marriage hall accompanied by the Vidyādhara kings, who happen to be in this case the brides' brothers, Kachchha and Mahā-Kachchha, the fact that no other figures than those of the prince, the brides and the attendant with the umbrella in front of the party are to be found in the painting goes to prove that the Vidyādhara kings were not drawn at all, there being no room for them in the painting.

Painting No. 22 (pl. xii).—Both the painting and its label are badly damaged more particularly the label, of which nothing remains. Still the scene is obvious. The marriage ceremonies are carried on here in Brahmanical style, for during Brahmanical ceremonies the fire is lit and offerings like ghee (*ajya*), flour and rice (*puroḍāṣa* and *lāja*) are poured into the flames. The idea underlying these offerings is that Agni, the fire-god, being the agent of the *devas* carries to the respective *devas* the offerings of their devotees¹. The *yajamāna* or person who has the ceremony performed either by himself or by a priest on his behalf, must always be present and is supposed to direct it himself. If his wife is to share in the merit she must be present also.

In the painting the prince and his brides (badly damaged) are seated on the right on a raised platform and under a *pandal*, two supports of which (ordinary sticks) can be seen. The fire is lit and is placed on a raised seat placed between the sticks that support the *pandal* which probably is intended for the *hōmakunda* or homa-pot, in which fire should be kept before the ceremony is begun. Two priests can be seen on the left of the fire, one of them sitting very near the fire and pouring into it the offering (probably ghee) collected in a ladle, and the other sitting behind him and probably assisting him by chanting the necessary *mantras*, as is indicated by his pose with the right hand raised up to the level of the mouth with the tips of its thumb and the first finger joined so as to form a ring—a pose of the hands that is frequently adopted by chanters of *mantras* to indicate the different grades of sound technically called *svaras*. Three other figures are seated behind the priests and come next to the priests in importance, being the allying parties (*sambandhins*) that were chiefly responsible for bringing about the marriage. The first two in this trio, sitting immediately behind the second priest, are the Vidyādhara kings, the brothers of the brides representing the brides' party, while the third who is seated behind the couple must be Nabhi Mahārāja, the father of the prince representing the bridegroom's party. They are all in kingly dress, the crowns on their heads marking them out as the persons we have suggested above. While Nabhi Mahārāja has got his right hand raised as if he was speaking, the Vidyādhara kings who are alike are sitting close together and have their hands in their laps. All are intently watching the

¹ Thus we can see in ceremonies priests who enjoy the confidence of the *yajamānas* doing *homa* or the ceremony involving the consigning to the flames of ghee, flour, etc., to the accompaniment of chants. In such cases the *yajamānas* for whom the priests officiate should be present accompanied by their wives if the merit said to accrue from the performance of the particular ceremonies is to be shared by the performers with their wives, and without their wives if the merit is to go to the *yajamānas* alone. The rituals forming part of the ceremonies demand the performers' presence, as their agent, the priest, has to take instructions from the *yajamānas* before he should proceed further.

ceremony. The space in the panel on the extreme left which shows nothing now presumably contained other members of the party that had come to attend the marriage.

Painting No. 23 (pl. xiii).— . . . இது . . . கிறத்து யிவடம்.

. . . laka . . . kiyadu yivadam.

" . . . laka . . . being here."

As the painting and its label are badly damaged, the few letters of the label that still remain being unintelligible, it is only possible to give a conjectural interpretation. In all probability the scene intended is one of the marriage festivities that followed the religious ceremony described under No. 22 (pl. xii). As is always the case with marriages in South India the prince's marriage was followed by entertainments and musical performances in which nautches played a great part. On the right a nautch is proceeding, the dancing girl dancing in front with her hands lifted above her head and legs bent, suggesting that she is swaying her legs to the accompaniment of music and the beating of time. A party of three men form the rest of the nautch and do the singing and drumming part of the work. The foremost among the three seems to be singing, the next beating time and the third (the one on the extreme right) beating the drum with both his hands. The drum hangs from his neck and can be discerned in front of his waist. This is a typical nautch with which most South Indians are familiar. The party that is entertained can be found on the left of the painting. This part has suffered particularly badly, but what remains of it shows two seated figures each fanned by an attendant. These figures probably represent Nābhi and his son or the Vidyādhara kings for whose delight the nautch would have been arranged by the bridegroom's party, as this marriage took place in the city of the bridegroom.

Painting No. 24 (pl. xiii).— . . . நாடுவோயால் . . . க்குப்பொருதுயிவடம்.

. . . nāḍṇaiyāl . . . kkupporadu yivadam.

" . . . by order . . . going to-here."

The label is not helpful in explaining the scene. But in the light of the account of events found in the Śrī Purāṇa it becomes clear.

As the *kalpa* trees had by now disappeared and spontaneous growth was not yielding sufficient food for the people whose number was nevertheless increasing, people did not know what they should do for their livelihood. They therefore went in a body to Rishabhadeva and falling at his feet requested him to find a way for them out of the impasse. Rishabhadeva was moved by deep sympathy for them and was planning in his own mind how best he could serve them. Just then Saudharmendra, the lord of the *devas*, divining his thoughts entered and announced himself as ready to carry out the plans of Rishabhadeva for the benefit of mankind. Rishabhadeva taught the people first agriculture, particularly the cultivation of sugarcane (*ikshu*) and other crops and then various crafts and arts. He then laid the foundations of civic life, housing the people in suitable houses, palaces and the like, and taught them also how to co-operate with one another for mutual benefit. He then divided the country into provinces, the provinces into various districts and the districts into towns and villages and appointed kings and

chieftains to govern these provinces and regulate civic life so that they could become general and permanent factors of government. Among the occupations and crafts that he taught men mention may be made of letters, warfare, cultivation, trade, carpentry, goldsmith's work, music, dancing and painting. He then did what is called *varnāśrama-vyavasthā* or the classification of people into castes or classes. There were three castes that were founded by him which are:—

- (1) *Kshatriyas*, who were the warriors,
- (2) *Vaiśyas*, who were the traders, and
- (3) *Śūdras*, who earned their living by manual labour or handicraft, and by service under the *Kshatriyas* and the *Vaiśyas*. These were at first called *jaghunyaja* (small), later *avara* (lowest or last), and finally *śūdras*. Later on those that had wrestling as their profession were also counted as *Śūdras*.

There were no Brahmins then and the classification of the Brahman caste as such takes place later on during the time of Bharata, the illustrious son of Rishabhadeva. Thus it will be seen that the above classification was on the basis of occupation and not on blood, all enjoying the liberty to pursue literature and education if they liked.

With regard to the origin of the Brahman caste which is assigned to the time of Bharata, the Jainas have an interesting story. Bharata one day invited the male residents of Ayodhya to see him in his palace. He had so arranged that a small path alone was left for them to pass along, unless they chose to go over extensive and neatly trimmed grass meadows, that were found on either side of the narrow pathway. The idea was to single out those who were very tender-hearted and who would prefer walking in the small path rather than in the extensive grass meadows lest they should injure the souls that abode in the blades of grass. Those that did not tread on the grass he called *Brahmanas* because of their knowledge of *Brahman*, i.e., the divinity of life. This action of his was condemned by his father and the *Brahmana* class found no place in the Jaina caste system till the time of the Ādi Purāṇa¹, the author of which Jināsena² lays emphasis on this distinction "to placate the Brahmanical hatred and win them over to protect the Jainas against bitter persecution at the hands of their co-religionists (Hindus)."

In all his work Rishabhadeva was assisted by the lord of the *devas* who is usually referred to in the Jaina Purāṇas as Indra and sometimes as Saudharmendra. In all the cases where he is referred to as merely Indra we should understand that the person referred to is the Indra of the first heaven (*kalpa*) who derives his name from the heaven of which he is a resident and the lord; the name of the first *kalpa* being Saudharma he comes to be called Saudharmendra³. It should also be borne in mind that Śacī, the wife of Indra or Śakra in Hindu mythology, who plays a great part in the *janmābhisheka* ceremony of the Tirthankaras (pp. 83-84) and who is an associate of Saudharmendra in all his activities is Saudharmendra's wife⁴. Saudharmendra is also referred to in many

¹ Ādi Purāṇa is part of the Jaina Mahā-Purāṇa. Commenced by Jināsena in the latter half of the eighth century A.D., it was completed by his disciple Guṇabhadra in about 897 A.D. See *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, part II, p. 407.

² For details see *Appendix III*, p. 231.

places in the Jaina Purāṇas as Devendra or the Indra who is the lord of the *devas*. Thus wherever either the term Indra or Devendra is used Saudharmendra, the lord of the first *kalpa* known as Saudharma is meant.

In the painting we can discern seven men standing turning to the left where evidently Rishabhadeva was shown seated. Though the left half of the painting is obliterated we can infer the presence of Rishabhadeva by the attitude and the dress of the seven persons that are standing in front of him. That they are common-folk is clear from their ordinary attire consisting of an under-garment, an upper cloth (*aṅgavastra*) which covers their breasts and a turban of the type that we find most *cheffis* of South India using to-day. Six of them are in an attitude of worship or supplication with their hands folded in the *añjali* pose against their breasts, while the seventh, the last in the row standing on the extreme right of the group, though similarly dressed and in a similar attitude looks away from the left, the direction in which the other six are looking. The action and the attitude of the first six and the seventh are significant. While the first six indicate by their attitude that the party had come to request the prince to show them a way by which they could find means for their livelihood, the *kalpa*-trees having disappeared and spontaneous growth not yielding sufficient food for the people whose number was increasing, the seventh who has also come on a similar mission but has got his face turned away from the prince on whom the attention of the other six is rivetted is looking at the figure of a crowned person, who is no other than Saudharmendra, who, as has already been narrated, announces himself before the prince, when he was so engaged, as one ready to carry out the projects of the prince. The figure of Saudharmendra can be made out on the extreme right of the painting as that of a tall person with a conical crown on his head, the usual *kirita*, with his right hand in a pose indicating *vismaya* or wonder or gratification and with his left hand hanging loose by his side. The hand which is in the *vismaya* pose may also be taken to be in an attitude indicating that he is singing the praises of Rishabhadeva as he is entering the assembly hall in Ayodhyā where the prince was then seated. The attitude of the seventh in the group suggests that he had caught sight of Saudharmendra who was just then entering the apartment but had not yet been seen by those who were nearer to Rishabhadeva.

Painting No. 25 (pl. xiii)—

25-a. . . . கிரீடம் சூட்டிவருதல் யிவடம் உ

. . . . *Kirīṭam sūṭṭukuraḍu yivaḍam u*

“ . . . here (is shown) the placing of the crown [on the head of Rishabhadeva].”

As nothing remains in the painting of the scene that the label indicates we can do no more than give a brief description of the coronation of Rishabhadeva as found in the Śrī Purāṇa.

As a result of the reforms that the prince had introduced which were zealously and skilfully carried out by Saudharmendra the people were happy and prosperity reigned everywhere in the land and all the people were grateful to him and never wearied of singing his praises. Some time after this, Saudharmendra came to Ayodhyā with his *devas*

and his wife Śachi and made the necessary preparations for the coronation of Rishabhadeva as the king of the land in succession to Nābhi Mahārāja, who was himself very anxious that his illustrious son should take up the reins of government so that the land could have a better lord and so that he could rest and pursue a life of austerities that would lead him on to spiritual uplift. The event was made the occasion of great celebrations in which the *devas* under the leadership of Saudharmendra participated. After doing the *abhisheka* ceremony, i.e., pouring celestial waters on the head of the prince, in which all the *devas* took part, beginning with Saudharmendra, Saudharmendra requested Nābhi and several other kings of this world to do likewise, after which Nābhi was required to perform the actual coronation ceremony which consisted of placing the crown that he had himself worn for a long time on the head of his worthy son. This Nābhi gladly did, naming his son "the Lord of the three worlds," a cry, which the *devas* took up and kept up for such a long time that the vibrations of their cries still lingered in their heavens when they reached them after the coronation of the prince was over. After enjoying dancing and other festivities at Ayodhyā the *devas* departed for their respective worlds.

25-b. ஐயவாஜு கருவம்சம் முதலாகிய வம்ச திரட்டியம் பண்ணுகுமது யிவடம்||

Bhagavān Kuruvamśam mudalāgiya vaṁśanirṇayam paṇṇiṅguraḍu yivadam||

"Bhagavān (the Lord) is here (shown) doing the classification of families like *kuruvamśa*, etc."

கருவம்சாதிபதி கருவாஜு யிவ(டம்)||

Kuruvamśādhipatī Kuru rājan yivadam||

"King Kuru, the lord of the family of the Kurus."

Rishabhadeva sent for four great *Kshatriya* warriors, namely, Somaprabha, Hari, Akampana and Kaśyapa and appointed them to rule over a thousand chieftains each. He gave Somaprabha the new name Kuru and called him the first member or the founder of the Kuruvamśa; then he called Hari, gave him the name Harikānta and made him the first member of the Harivamśa; then he called Akampana and changing his name into that of Śrīdhara made him the first member of another family which he called the Nāthavamśa. The last to be called was Kaśyapa who was named Maghavā and was hailed as the starter of the Ugravamśa. These kings were then sent to their respective provinces. Thus in Rishabhadeva's time there were five *vaṁśas*, the above four, and the *Ikshvāku* family of which Rishabhadeva was the founder,¹ all created by Rishabhadeva himself. It is said of the *Ikshvāku vaṁśa* that it arose in this way; the first thing that Rishabhadeva taught his men on the disappearance of the *kalpa* trees was the use of the sugarcane juice (*ikshurasa*) which earned for him the title of "Ikshvaku." Subsequently this term came to be applied to his family. The *Sūrya* and *Chandra vaṁśas* arose out of the *Ikshvāku vaṁśa* somewhat later, being founded by two of the grandsons

¹ According to other authorities Nābhi Mahārāja is the founder of the *Ikshvāku* family.

of Rishabhadeva, the former by Bharata's son Arka Kirti, and the latter by Bāhubali's son, Soma Kirti, also called Mahābala.¹ While Kuru and the other three were *mahārājas* there were also several *adhirājas* created who were smaller chieftains. They were allowed to rule over 500 feudatory chiefs each and were placed under the above *mahārājas*. The first *adhirājas* to be appointed by Rishabhadeva were Kachchha, Mahākachchha and other *kshatriya* princes.

On the left we can make out the figure of Rishabhadeva seated on a throne. He is evidently determining the classification of *vaṃśas* as indicated by the label. The figures of four kings (their dress and the *kirita* on their heads mark them out as such) standing on the right of Rishabhadeva represent the four starters of the families, Kuru, Hari, Natha, and Ugra respectively. The first in this group of four is King Kuru, the lord of the Kuruvamśa, as borne out by the label below. The labels of the other three are much obliterated; so also the last king, the one standing on the extreme right of the painting. Their attitude with their hands folded against their breasts in *añjali* or worship is indicative of their submission to Rishabhadeva both as their leige-lord and as their benefactor. They are ready to take charge of their respective provinces after receiving the necessary instructions from him. The *añjali* pose is also indicative of their extreme reverence for him, which was shared by one and all of his subjects, not to speak of the beings in the heavens, the *devas*.

Painting No. 26 (pl. xiii)—

• • • (K)  • • •
 • • • [Ni]lāñjanai • • •
 " • • • Nilāñjanai • • • "

When a great part of the life of Rishabhadeva was spent, one day he was witnessing a dance in his court, sitting on his throne, among his sons beginning with Bharata, and among various kings like Kuru and others. This dance, it is said, was arranged by Indra of the first heaven, i.e., Saudharmendra who had brought for the dance Nilāñjanā,² a celebrated dancing girl of his world whose clock of life had only a few minutes left to run. At a signal from Indra she danced before the Lord and entertained the audience with her celestial dance. She probably knew the reason why she of all others had been asked to dance at that particular moment, and "she danced as she had never danced before. The presence of the World-Teacher in the closing moments of life filled her with courage and contentment and joy; she knew that her end was quite safe, and cared for nothing else." All at once, while in the midst of her swift and serpentlike movements, she staggered, reeled back, and stopped, and in the next instant she dropped down dead. The last spark of life had left her frame. This incident reminded all assembled, more particularly the king, that life was not stable and everything was subject to decay. The spirit of *vaivāgya* or detachment or world-flight filled the mind of the

¹ Cf. C. R. Jain, *Rishabhadeva*, p. 106.

² Nemichandra, *Trilokaśūra* (*Vaimānika-adhikāra*), *gāthā* 496.

king. He made up his mind there and then to say good-bye to the world and to the good things of the world and set his face towards the work ahead—the grand object of becoming a World-Teacher.

In the painting we can make out Nīlāñjana, who is dancing in the centre between two other nymphs who keep her company, while those producing the accompaniment to the dance consisting of the musician, the drummer, etc., are on the right. Only one of them can be made out, a singer as is evident from his raised hand. The party that was being entertained including the king must have occupied the left of the painting which is now obliterated. But the top of a *vimāna* or pavilion in which the king was evidently seated can be made out.

Painting No. 27 (pl. xiv).—The Jainas believe that there are *devas* of a special kind called the *Laukāntikas* or *Lokāntikas* who do menial service for the other higher gods.¹

When they came to know that Rishabhadeva was beginning to get tired of life, the eight chief classes of these *devas* felt that the time had come for them to discharge their work and so went to him and requested him to save the world which was groping in unreality by pouring on it nectar-like *Dharma* or the spiritual law. Rishabhadeva too felt that the time for such work had come and hastened to place the administration of the kingdom in safe hands so that he could start observing the necessary austerities. After crowning Bharata as king and Bāhubali as the *yuvārāja* and after dividing among his other sons a number of territories, he felt that he had no more worldly mission to discharge. From that time onwards he detached himself thoroughly from the world and repaired to a forest called "Siddhārtha-vana" where he hoped to seek *dīkshā*.

27-a. அரிஷ்டன் | அய்யாபாத்தன் | துஷிதன் | மத்தகொய்யன் | அருணன் | வஹி | ஆதித்யன் | சாரஸ்வதன்
வாராஹத்தன் முதலாகிய லோகாந்திகர் எண்மரும் வம்வாறுகி யிது திக்ஷா
காலமென்று சொல்லுகிறது சிவடம் உ.

Arishṭan | Ayyābādhan | Tushitan | Gardatōyan | Aruṇan | Vanhi | Ādityan | Sārasvatan
mudalāgiya Laukāntikar eṇmarum Bhagavāṇukku yidu Dikshākālam-eṇu
sollukuraḍu yivadamஉ.

"Arishṭan, Ayyābādhan, Tushitan, Gardatōyan, Aruṇan, Vanhi, Ādityan, Sārasvatan—these eight *Laukāntika-devas* are here telling him (the *Svāmī*) that it was time for *dīkshā*".

¹ Umāsvāmi Āchārya, *Tattvārthasūtra-Sūtra*, ch. IV, sūtras 24-25:

(1) *Brahmalokālaye Laukāntikāḥ*, (2) *Sārasvatīdītya-vahnīyurum-gardatoya-tushitā-ayyābādha-rishṭakāḥ*.

The *Laukāntikas* are heavenly beings that live in the highest parts of the fifth heaven, called *Brahmaloka*. They are so called because their connection with the world (*loka*) has come to an end. In their next birth they will be born as human beings and attain liberation. They are of eight chief classes, Sārasvata, Āditya, Vahni, Aruṇa, Gardatoya, Tushita, Ayyābādha and Arishṭa. There are sixteen subsidiary classes of these *devas*, two between each pair of the above eight classes. Thus there are 24 classes of them in all and the heavens where they live take their names after them. Their total number is said to be 407,806. They are all alike and are independent. They are also called *devapūṣhāḥ* because they have no sexual desire. Those of the eight chief classes descend and go to the Tirthankaras to strengthen them in their resolve when the latter decide to renounce the world. For details see below, p. 232. See also Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, p. 270.

In the painting these eight *Laukāntika-devas* are shown on the left as standing in front of Rishabhadeva sitting on a throne and addressing him with their right hands extended and palms hanging down, except the sixth from the left, in whom the position of the hands is reversed.

27-b. ஸ்வாமி ஸம்ஸார வெவாராமுடி யிருக்குறது யிவடம் உ.

Svāmi saṁsāra vairāgyam yirukkuṛadu yivadam u.

"The Svāmi (Rishabhadeva) is here disgusted with worldly life."

After listening to the *Laukāntika-devas* Rishabhadeva lost even the little attachment that he had for the world.

He is shown sitting on a throne in a contemplative mood while an attendant is fanning him.

Painting No. 28 (pl. xiv).—This row which runs from right to left shows Rishabhadeva departing for the forest for *dikshā*.

The *devas* brought a palanquin or *vimāna* called Sudarśana and Saudharmendra helped him to get into it. It is said that at first the *vimāna* was lifted seven feet high from the ground by the kings of the world. Then Vidyādhara from the *Videha Kshetra* took it from them and raised it seven feet more, from which height the *deva*-kings or the *Sura-patis* took it on their shoulders and proceeded to a forest called *Siddhārtha*.¹ Saudharmendra held a white umbrella in front of the Svāmi, Sanatkumāra and Māhendra, two other *devas*, held *chāmaras* on either side of him, *Apsaras* or heavenly nymphs danced and sang in front of him while bugles and drums were sounded to announce to the world that the Svāmi had started for *dikshā*. Thus in a pompous manner the Svāmi was carried to the forest *Siddhārtha* where Saudharmendra came forward and lifted him down.

ஸுடர்ஸன-தமென்னும் விமீனத்து ஸ்வாமி எழுந்தருளி திகெசுடபன்(ண்)றி(ணி)கொ
ன்னபொறது யிவடம் உ.

Sudarśanam-ennum vimānattule Svāmi eṇḍurūṇi Dikshai paṇ(ṇ)ri(ṇi)kolḷaporaḍu yivadam u.

"Here the Svāmi is going on a *vimāna* called Sudarśana, to perform *dikshā*."

The painting which is in a good state of preservation shows the procession. Four gods carry him in the *vimāna*. The Svāmi's right hand shows the *jñāna-mudrā*, the pose of knowledge. Saudharmendra holds an umbrella in front. Another *deva* of comparatively small figure stands below the *vimāna* waving a *chāmara* on the Svāmi's side. Yet another, probably Īśānendra, carries a flag in front. Two heavenly nymphs or *Apsaras* are dancing while a *deva* behind them is beating time with his hands. Another *deva* who has turned away from the party and has his back to them beats a drum, which is so big that he has placed it on the ground. Yet another, the last in the painting, is blowing a bugle or trumpet.

¹ This forest is supposed to be close to Allahabad. See C. R. Jain, *Rishabhadeva*, p. 110.

Painting No. 29 (pl. xiv).—On reaching the "Siddhārtha-vana" Rishabhadeva got down from the *vimāna* and commenced performing *diksha*. He sat crosslegged on a white moon-stone slab under a banyan tree, facing east, and divested himself of all kingly ornaments and dress even as the Buddha did. After offering his salutations to the *Siddhas*¹ to ensure success in his efforts he plucked out in five handfuls, with cheerfulness, the hair on his head and face and deposited them along with the ornaments he had on his person in bowls² made of precious stones, which were carried immediately by the *devas* headed by Saudharmendra and thrown in the milk-oceans (*kshīra-sāgara*). After the preliminaries were over he commenced standing nude and observing a very rigorous penance to exhaust all his remaining *karma*, this being necessary before he could obtain the *kevala-jñāna* or omniscience, that every Tirthāṅkara must needs acquire.

Among those that followed him to the garden were 4,000 kings, the chief of them being his brothers-in-law, Kachchha and Mahākachchha, who, out of love for him, followed him to the forest. Finding him doing penance and thinking that it was easy work which they could also do, and in a fit of passing enthusiasm, all of them plucked out their hair, removed their clothing and stood like him exposed to the weather, little realizing what they were doing and why.

Within a very short time they all regretted the step they had taken, for hunger, thirst, and the biting cold began to tell on them. They left the Svāmi to his fate and went in search of food and clothing in the forest. Though they could have returned to the city they did not do so for fear that they might be branded by Bharata and the other kings as insincere and fickle-minded and thus become objects of ridicule. With sticks they beat down fruits from trees and dug up roots from the earth and fed themselves with them wondering how the Svāmi could endure hunger. Unable to bear cold and heat they clothed themselves with the bark of trees and wondered how the Svāmi could stand for such a long time nude and exposed to the weather.

As they ceased to pluck out their hairs, the process being too painful, they soon had long *jatās* or locks on their heads. For this reason they were called *Jatilas* or people with long locks of hair and *Pashandins* or "Unbelievers". The *Pashandins* are those that do not conform to the particular tenets of a faith. Thus the Jains would call all of alien faith *Pashandins*. The Śrī Purāṇa calls them *Pashandins* and from the fact that they happened to acquire *jatās* would compare them with the Kāpālikas and the Paśupatas, a set of extreme or fanatical Śaivites who grew *jatās*.

It now remains to see what details in the above episode are shown in the painting. The painting, which is in a fair state of preservation with, however, the labels rubbed here and there can be divided into three convenient panels (*a*, *b* and *c*).

29-a. ஸ்ரீ விநாயக-பூசனம் செய்து அந்நேரம் திருவிடைமருதூர் கிணற்றுக்கு அருகேயுள்ள பஞ்சவர்ண
கொல்லுருத்தி யிடம் உ ||

¹ See *below*, pp. 187-189.

² Another version is that Indra picked up these hairs, and placed them in a jewelled casket and that they were subsequently dropped into the milk-ocean. See C. R. Jain, *Rishabhadeva*, p. 110.

Svāmi Siddhārtha-vanattile chandrakānta śilaiyil melirundu dīkshai paṇṇikollu-guṇadu yivadam. ௨ ||

"The Svāmi is here (shown) doing *dīkshā* seated on the moon-stone slab in Siddhārtha-vana."

Three figures are here shown, two standing and one sitting on a white slab. The sitting figure represents Rishabhadeva who is observing one of the preliminaries of *dīkshā*. Sitting crosslegged on the moon-stone slab (the slab is hence painted white) and removing his crown, dress and ornaments which are shown in the painting to the left, he is plucking out the hairs on his head with his right fingers (*pañcha-mushti*), a painful but necessary process in *dīkshā* called *Loch*. The two other nude figures on the right probably represent Kachchha and Mahākachchha, the Svāmi's relations, who are trying to imitate him. They are watching him plucking out his hairs.

29-b. The Svāmi is here shown standing nude under a tree, engaged in a rigorous penance. Indeed this is one of the processes in penance called *kayotsargu*, the party standing immovable, exposed to the weather and heedless of hunger and thirst. The same two figures, which occurred in 29-a, and which represented Kachchha and Mahākachchha are here similarly engaged, watching the Svāmi perform the penance and are trying to imitate him in the belief that form meant everything and not realization of what the form meant. They thought that they had only to imitate the Svāmi and the object that the Svāmi himself aimed at would be theirs also.

29-௮. கச்சுக்கா . . . முதலாகிய . . . மஹாகச்சுக்கா பரமசிவனாகிய சிவபெருமான் ||

Kachchha-Mahāka . . . mudalāgiya . . . haṁ tālāmaḥ Paṣaṇḍigaḥ-ānadu yivadam ||

"Kachchha and Mahākachchha and others . . . unable to bear thirst . . . are here (shown) becoming *Paṣaṇḍins* (the unbelievers)."

Kachchha, Mahākachchha and the others who tried to imitate the Svāmi soon realized that they were failures. They are here shown with *jaṭas* or long locks of hair on their heads, with sticks in their hands with which they beat down fruits from trees and dig up roots and with bark-clothing round their loins. Three of them have the *jaṭas* hanging down while the other two have secured them in knots. Three out of five that hold staffs in their hands are beating down fruits from trees. The fourth who has a beard and who is probably old and is therefore unable to do the work that others are engaged in is merely standing leaning on his staff. The fifth with the staff in his hand is kneeling on the ground and is digging in search of roots. Yet another who is standing in the middle of the panel is a man of comparatively small size. He is tasting a fruit which he holds in his left hand. They have all smeared their foreheads, hands and chests with *vibhūti* or the sacred ash, which is a Śaivite mark, suggesting that they probably represent the *Kāpālikas* and *Pāsupatas*. Indeed the fact that the figures bear the marks of Śiva, the sacred ash, in stripes on the forehead, chest and hands removes any doubt that one may entertain on this point, for the *Kāpālikas* and the *Pāsupatas*, being the followers of Śiva, smeared their bodies with ashes. This custom survives

to-day, every Śaivite being expected to rub the sacred ash called *vibhūti* on the parts where the figures in the painting are smeared. This and the *jalās* make the possibility a certainty, *viz.*, that Kachchha and Mahākachchha and others who failed to conquer hunger and attachment to their bodies are here ridiculed for it, the highest form of ridiculing them being, in the eyes of the Jainas, a representation of them as the *Kāpalikas* (the *Pashandins* or the unbelievers).

Painting No. 30 (pl. xiv; Coomaraswamy, pl. lxxx, 256).—This row, which is in a very good state of preservation, consists of three panels and illustrates an incident that happened in the Siddhārtha-vana, where Rishabhadeva was doing penance, after Kachchha and Mahākachchha and the others had left him.

Kachchha and Mahākachchha had two sons called Nami and Vinami who were not present when Rishabhadeva divided the kingdom on the eve of his retirement from worldly life and consequently obtained no share in the divisions. These sons repaired to the forest to demand their shares from the Svāmi, little dreaming that he was different from what he was while he was king and that he had no attachment to the world. As worldly people they approached him with crowns on their heads and weapons of war in their hands. Not knowing that he was engaged just then in a rigorous penance, without taking food or drink, and that he must therefore not be disturbed, they prostrated themselves before him and stood humbly by his side being, as worldly people, bent upon attending to their own work as soon as possible. Soon they announced to him the object of their visit and requested him to do justice to them then and there. But their representations fell on deaf ears for the Svāmi's attention was devoted elsewhere, so deep and severe was the penance he was engaged in.

Meanwhile the throne of Dharaṇendra, one of the two Indras of the Nāga-Kumāras, a class of the *Bhavanavāsi-Devas*¹, shook and Dharaṇendra immediately recognized some disturbance to the Svāmi's penance, and sped to his protection. Taking the form of a man he approached Nami and Vinami and scolded them for disturbing the Svāmi, who had dissociated himself from the world long ago and who was just then engaged in a wonderful penance. He then advised them to depart and to seek the things they wanted at the hands of the Svāmi's son, Bharata. The princes resented his interference and asked him to go away saying that they would seek what they required from Rishabhadeva himself who resembled the *kalpaka-vriksha* or the "wish-tree" and not from ordinary and useless people like Bharata and others who resembled useless trees. Admiring their regard and devotion to the Svāmi Dharaṇendra revealed to them his real form and explained to them that the Svāmi, who had heard their prayers and who did not like to be disturbed just then had given him, a *dāsa* or humble servant of his, instructions in the matter. At first the princes felt doubtful but the sincerity and the grand appearance of Dharaṇendra with the snake-hoods spread over his human head infused confidence in them and they agreed to abide by his decision. As there was no portion of land left in this world which Dharaṇendra could give them he asked them to accompany

¹ See Appendix III, pp. 228-229.

him in his *vimāna* which they did. He took them to the *Vidyādhara* world and told the *Vidyādhara*s that Nami and Vinami were their future kings. On their agreeing to Dharanendra's proposal, he divided their world between the two princes and anointed each as king in his own part.

30-a. ஸ்வாமிநெய் ததி விநமி ர(இர)ண்டு பெரும் ராஜ்யக் குடுக்க பிரார்த்திக்குறது சிவடம் உ.

Svāmiyai Nami Vinami ra(ira)ṇḍu perum rājyam kuḍukka pirārthikkuradu yivadam u.

"Nami and Vinami, these two people, are here requesting the Svāmi for kingdom."

Rishabhadeva is here standing in the *kāyotsarga* attitude, doing penance. Nami and Vinami are twice shown, one on either side of him, first as kneeling before him and worshipping at his feet with flowers and next as standing expecting a reply from him. They are holding battle-axes in their hands.

30-b. யானெனஞ்ஞ வந்து சீத-ஹ்யா-ஞபங்கொண்டு சொல்லுறது சிவடம் உ.

Dharanendran vandu manushyarūpan-konḍu sollukuradu yivadam u.

"Here is (shown) Dharanendra coming, and taking the form of a man speaking (to them)."

Dharanendra is here shown twice, first as an ordinary man with a turban on his head addressing the princes, who can be distinguished by the crowns on their heads, and perhaps scolding them for disturbing the Svāmi, and next as a Nāga-king, with serpent-hoods raised over his crowned head, revealing to them his real form when they asked him to mind his own business. The first finger of his right hand is in a threatening attitude (*tarjini*). He is of large size as it is said that his person coupled with his sincerity infused confidence in the minds of the princes.

30-c. This illustrates what followed.

பிரகு தகது வடிவிகொண்டு குமாரரிருவரையும் விநாயகமெற்றிக்கொண்டு விஜயார்த்த பரவாதத்துக்குப் போது சிவடம் உ.

Piragu tanadu vadivukonḍu kumārār-iruvārāiyum vinānamerrik-konḍu Vijayārtha parvatattukku poradu yivadam u.

"Here (is shown) Dharanendra going to the mountain Vijayārtha after assuming his real form and taking the princes in his *vimāna*."

Dharanendra, who can be distinguished by the snake-hoods over his head is here shown as taking the princes in his *vimāna* to the *Vidyādhara* world. He is seated at the extreme right of the *vimāna* and the princes are seated behind him, one behind the other.

Painting No. 31 (pl. xv).—This row which is also in a good state of preservation as also its label below, is in two parts and shows the coronation of the princes, Nami and Vinami as partners-in-kingship of the *Vidyādhara* world.

Dharanendra divided the *Vidyādhara* world into two and gave one half, consisting of fifty cities, to Nami and the other half consisting of sixty cities to Vinami. He himself

attended to the coronation ceremony of both. Establishing Nami in the land to the south of a mountain called Vijayārtha, which stood as a convenient mark of division of the land, he anointed him there. In the land to the north of this mountain Vinami was similarly established and anointed.

யாரணேந்திர விஜயார்த்தபர்வதக் கிழக்கின் மெய்யணிமீதே தனிகுமாரனை ஸ்தாபித்தான் || விஜயார்த்தபர்வதக் கிழக்கின் மெய்யணியில் விக்கி குமாரனை ஸ்தாபித்தான் தருமமும் உ

Dharanendra Vijayārtha-parvata-dakshina-śreṇiyile Namikumārāṇai sthāpittanāṇ || Vijayārtha-parvata-uttaraśreṇiyil Vinami-kumārāṇai sthāpittanāṇ yivadam.

"Dharanendra established the prince Nami in that half which fell to the south of Vijayārtha mountain."

"(Dharanendra) establishing the prince Vinami in the half, north of Vijayārtha mountain is (shown) here."

The painting shows the coronation of Nami by Dharanendra on the left and the coronation of Vinami on the right. Dharanendra is performing in both ceremonies and four Vidyādharas, one of them holding a *chāmara* in each case, are witnessing the function on each side. As an indication that Nami's coronation took place earlier than Vinami's, Dharanendra is shown on the left with two crowns in his hands. One he is placing on the head of Nami and the other he is holding in his left hand. When he is shown again on the right as crowning Vinami he has only one crown which he is placing on the head of Vinami. In both the scenes he can be distinguished by the snake-hoods over his head.

Painting No. 32 (pl. xv).—This row which is well preserved as also its labels is in three parts and represents the Svāmi going to the cities in search of food and returning without obtaining any.

In accordance with a custom among the Jaina ascetics that perform such a penance as the Svāmi was doing, the Svāmi roused himself from his penance after six months and went to the cities for food. He was not expected to tell anyone what he wanted but had to be silent. If any one offered him food in the manner prescribed in the Jaina texts he was to take a little of it, just enough to prevent his body from withering away, and return to the forest again where he should start his penance forthwith for another six months. This silent quest for food is called "charyā" and the Svāmi, by so going for food is said to teach to the world how a "charyā" should be done and how one who supplies food to the Svāmi acquires untold happiness.

The Svāmi went into the cities where everyone knew him. As he was silent nobody knew what he wanted or why he came there. The kings of the land brought elephants, horses, clothes, cash, and ornaments and offered them as presents to him. Some brought him water for bathing and even offered him lands. Others brought their girls and showed them to him. In short they brought him everything but food¹. And the Svāmi, finding

¹ Another version is:—Some did bring him food also, but it was not prepared and offered in the proper way, and could not be accepted. See C. K. Jain, *Śiṣyabhāṣya*, p. 115.

that there was no prospect of any of them feeding him returned to the forest where he once again commenced his penance.

32-a. ராஜாக்கள் கரிதூர மாடிகளைக்கொண்டு எதிர்கொள்ளுறது யிவடம் உ ||

ஸ்வாமி சரிகைக்கு பொறது யிவடம் உ ||

Rājakaḷ kari-turagā-digalaik-konḍu eḍirkolluradu yivadam || *Svāmi charikaikku poradu yivadam* ||

"The kings (of the land) are here (shown) receiving (him) with elephants, horses, etc."

"The Svāmi is here going for 'charyā'."

In the painting the kings are shown welcoming him in a worldly manner befitting a royal person. They are here presumably presenting him with an elephant, horse, clothes and women. The leader of the party is accosting him with hands placed in worship.

32-b. ஸ்வாமி ஸ்ரீவிஷ்ணுமாய் தவ்வாவதத்துக்கு பொறது யிவடம் உ ||

Svāmi charyā-vikṣnamāy tapōvanattukku poradu yivadam ||

"The Svāmi is here (shown) going back to the forest for penance when his *charyā* became (thus) fruitless."

The Svāmi is here shown turning away from them and returning to the forest, where he resumed his penance.

He is shown again (on the extreme right), for a third time, this time in the *kāyotsarga* attitude, the attitude prescribed for doing penance standing erect.

Painting No. 33 (pl. xv).—This row, which consists of four parts, represents one of the events relating to the Svāmi's second "charyā".

Somaprabha, a king or rather the founder of the Kuru dynasty, who was ruling over the city of Hastināpura was noted for the very virtuous life he was leading. He had an younger brother called Śreyānkumāra¹ who excelled even his brother in piety. One day, while sleeping, Śreyānkumāra dreamt that he saw the mountain, Mahā-Meru, the wish-giving tree (*kalpaka-vriksha*), a lion, a bull, the sun, the moon, the ocean and several gods and goddesses with eight kinds of auspicious things² in their hands. These dreams gave him some unknown pleasure and he hastened to narrate them to his brother. And Somaprabha, whose curiosity was aroused, sent for a *purohita* or preceptor whom he requested to explain their significance. The *purohita* explained that they all foretold that the Tirthaṅkara Rishabhadeva would come to the city for food or *charyā* on the following morning.

33-a. ஸோமபுரஹ ||

Somaprabhan ||

"Somaprabhan."

¹ Also called Śreyāmsa. See C. R. Jain, *Rishabhadeva*, p. 117.

² See *Idam*, p. 130.

Somaprabha is shown sitting on a throne, fanned by an attendant.

33-b. *செய்யாது கூரோது ஸ்ரீயங்குமாரது ||*

Śreyāṅkumāraṇ svapnaṁ kāṅguraḍu ||

"Śreyāṅkumāra dreaming."

Śreyāṅkumāra is here shown lying on a couch, while two men are attending on him, one massaging his legs and the other fanning him. He is evidently dreaming as explained by the label.

33-c. *செய்யாது கூரோது ஸ்ரீயங்குமாரது ஸொரீபுறமுடெ சொல்லுருது ||*

Śreyāṅkumāraṇ svapnaṁai Somaprabhaṇode solluguraḍu ||

"Śreyāṅkumāra narrating his dreams to Somaprabha."

Two figures are shown here, one representing Śreyāṅkumāra and the other Somaprabha. Probably the figure on the right represents Śreyāṅkumāra for he is shown as holding his right hand in an attitude suggesting that he is speaking.

33-d. *புரோகிதன் ஸொரீபுறமுடெ செய்யாது கூரோரு ஸ்ரீயங்குமாரது சொல்லுருது யிவடம் உ ||*

Purohitaṇ Somaprabha-Śreyāṅkumārarku svapnaphalattaichchollu(ku)raḍu yivaḍam u.

"The *purohita* narrating to Somaprabha and Śreyāṅkumāra the significance of the latter's dreams."

The two brothers are here shown listening to the *purohita* who is seated on the right, in front of them. He is holding his right hand in the same attitude in which Śreyāṅkumāra is holding in fig. 33-c, suggesting that he is engaging them in a conversation, himself being the speaker. He is evidently explaining the significance of the dreams to the brothers.

Painting No. 34 (pl. xv).—This painting is in the centre of the ceiling and is marked by a square projection of the stone within which a full-blown lotus is designed. The lotus petals were carved on the stone and have been painted over. The whole is well finished with *yāli* heads marking the four corners. Unfortunately, however, a hook has been driven into the centre of the lotus and a rod inserted in it to suspend lamps from it. There are two scenes, one on the right and the other on the left of this square projection.

34-a. *செய்யாதுகூரோடு ஸ்ரீ சரியைக்கி வாரூரென்று தாதன் வந்து சொல்லுருது யிவடம் உ ||*

Śreyāṅkumāraṇode Svāmi chariyaikki vārāreṇu dūtaṇ vandu solluguraḍu yivaḍam u.

"A messenger narrating to Śreyāṅkumāra that the Svāmi was coming for *charya*."

The brothers are here shown sitting eagerly awaiting the arrival of Rishabhadeva when a messenger enters and with hands held together in worship announces the arrival of the Svāmi.

34-b. *ஸ்ரீ சரியைக்கி வர செய்யாதுகூரோது யெதிரகொண்டு அழைக்குருது யிவடம் உ ||*

Svāmi chariyaikki vara Śreyāṅkumāraṇ yedirkondu alaikkuraḍu yivaḍam u ||

"The Svāmi coming for *charyā*, Śreyānkumāra is here (shown) receiving him and inviting him."

The brothers are here shown approaching the Svāmi bareheaded and worshipping him by kneeling at his feet, and then standing up and with their hands placed together in worship (*añjali*) requesting him to accept food from them.

Though in both the labels only Śreyānkumāra is mentioned, Somaprabha finds a place in the painting probably because he too felt like his brother in the matter.¹

Painting No. 35 (pl. xvi).—Rishabhadeva was taken into his palace by Śreyānkumāra who led him to a top-floor in the palace. Arrived there, Śreyānkumāra served him with a few morsels of food mixed with the juice extracted from sugarcane. His brother assisted him by getting water ready for washing hands and feet and for drinking. It is said that when the Svāmi was fed the gods of the heavens poured down on the party flowers, and in the palace gold pieces, in commemoration of the feeding.

After partaking of the food thus offered the Svāmi left for the wood, accompanied by the brothers till the city limits where they respectfully took leave of him. On reaching the wood he once again commenced his penance, at one time doing one kind of *yoga* or meditation called "Sthavira-kalpa" and at another, closely following this, another kind of *yoga* more rigorous than the former, called "Jina-kalpa." These two kinds of *yoga* he practised in a standing attitude. During the intervals he travelled widely.

Thus for 1,000 years he did severe penance and austerities, till one day he entered a city called Purimatālapura and in it a garden called "Śakata-mukhya." There he found a rock convenient for further penances, under a big spreading banyan-tree and sitting on it in the *pariyāṅka-āsana* or cross-legged he attained the state of a *kevali* or one endowed with *kevala-jñāna*² or omniscience.

This is the final preliminary stage in the career of any Tīrthaṅkara on the eve of his becoming one. And after he becomes a *kevali* the gods create for him a heavenly pavilion called "Samavasaraṇa," seated in the centre of which every Tīrthaṅkara expounds *dharma* and is accessible to all.

35-அ. ஸ்ரீயாந்குமரன் ஸ்வாமிக்கு உணவு கொடுத்தான் பண்ணுது டிவடம் உ ||

Svāmikku Śreyānkumāraṇ aṅṅaradānam paṇṇadu yivadam u ||

"Here did Śreyānkumāra give food to the Svāmi."

¹ For details about Śreyānkumāra's past births as (1) Svayamprabha and (2) Śrīmati see C. R. Jain, Rishabhadeva, p. 117.

² The Jinas recognize five kinds of knowledge—

- (1) *Mati-jñāna*, sense knowledge.
- (2) *Śruta-jñāna*, scriptural knowledge.
- (3) *Avadhi-jñāna*, direct visual knowledge or clairvoyance.
- (4) *Manah-pariyāya-jñāna*, direct mental knowledge or telepathy.
- (5) *Kevala-jñāna*, perfect or all embracing knowledge or omniscience.

For details see Umāsvāmī, *Tattvārthadhigama-Sūtra*, Ch. 1, sūtras 13-29; Jaini, *Outlines of Jainism*, pp. 61-65.

The Svāmi is shown here as standing on an elevated lotus-pedestal. Śreyānkumāra is offering him something round, probably the food said to have been mixed up with the juice of sugarcane, taken from a tray near by which contains some more of the same kind of food. Somaprabha stands behind Śreyānkumāra with a water-vessel in his hands. Both the brothers are in an attitude of reverence and humility, bareheaded and bare-footed and with their upper clothes tied round their waists.¹

The various star-like things behind the Svāmi indicate the shower of flowers and gold that the gods are said to have dropped down. The feeding is said to have taken place on the top-floor of the palace. Three small *vimānas* and two finials between them indicate the palace.

35-b. ஸ்வாமி தடுவரவதகூங்கு டெரமு சிவடம் உ ||

Svāmi tapovanattukku poradu yivadam u ||

"The Svāmi is here (shown) going to the forest."

The Svāmi is here departing for the forest accompanied by the brothers up to some distance, who, this time have crowns on their heads and clothes covering their chests while their hands are respectfully placed together in worship probably indicating that they are taking leave of the Svāmi.

35-c. ஸ்வாமி கர்ப்பகாயம் பண்ணுகுறது சிவடம் உ ||

Svāmi karmmakshayam pannuguradu yivadam u ||

"The Svāmi exhausting his *karma* here."

The Svāmi is shown here in two stages, first as standing under a small tree and next as sitting under a big tree. Standing he is doing the *yoga* called "Sthavira-kalpa" and "Jina-kalpa." He is shown next in the attitude in which he is said to have become a *kevali*. The painting here strictly answers the description given in the Śrī Purāṇa (Vol. I). The big tree over him is the spreading banyan-tree and the Svāmi is sitting under it in the *pariyāṅka-āsana*.

Painting No. 36 (pl. xvi).—Such an event as the acquisition of *kevala-jñāna* by the World-Teacher (Tirthaṅkara) was not likely to remain unnoticed. The first to observe it were naturally the *devas* by some specific signs that happened in their heavens from which they realized the importance of the event and ran to the place where the Svāmi was, in order to worship him and to enable him to teach and preach the Truth to the world. Under instructions from the Indra of the first heaven celestial artisans erected a heavenly pavilion called the *Samavasaraṇa*. The World-Teacher was expected to take his seat in it, above a lotus and deliver discourses, to hear which all the *devas*, men and animals flocked and were given places in this heavenly structure. Thus the *samavasaraṇa*, which consists of two words, *sama* and *avasaraṇa*, was just a construction made by an Indra, "and in default of him, by the gods and pre-eminently amongst them, the

¹ The Jains share with the Hindus the custom of being bare-bodied and bare-footed when visiting sacred places, like temples, etc., and when paying obeisance to great men and elders.

Vyantaras",¹ for the World-Teacher to sit in the midst of a huge congregation consisting of all the gods and other forms of creation and preach the Truth, immediately after he attains to the condition of a *kevali*. All the 24 Tirthaṅkaras have their own *samavasaraṇas*. Like all other objects, sacred to the Jains, such as *Ashtāpāda*, *Sammata*, *Śatruñjaya* and so forth, *Samavasaraṇa* is also sculptured. "Not a single Jaina temple of eminence exists without a sculpture of *samavasaraṇa* in it . . . like the *Chānmukh* or *Ashtāpāda*, even temples are built dedicated to *samavasaraṇa*".²

Dr. Bhandarkar, the eminent archæologist, who has an interesting article on the *Samavasaraṇa* in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XL, pp. 125-130, 153-161, exclaims on page 160, "I have not yet found any *samavasaraṇa* which faithfully depicts all or even almost all the details set forth in the works." The pictures of *samavasaraṇa* that he is illustrating and describing in his article clearly follow the description of the *samavasaraṇa* found in Hemachandra's *Trishashti-śalākāpuruṣa-charitra*³ (first and second *parvas*) published by the Śrī-Jaina-Dharma-prachāraka-sabha of Bhavnagar, and Dharmaghoshā-sūri's *Samavasaraṇa-stavana*. They consist of only three "ramparts with battlements" and are therefore less in details and elaborateness than representations of the *samavasaraṇa* at Tiruparuttikunṇam, which follow the descriptions found in the Digambara works such as the Śrī Purāṇa, Merumandara Purāṇa⁴ and Ādi Purāṇa⁵. In contrast to those described by Dr. Bhandarkar the *samavasaraṇas* here are elaborately painted and faithfully depict almost all the details set forth in the above works. It is necessary that a brief description of these details should be set forth first before attempting to describe the paintings themselves:—

The word *samavasaraṇa* is a compound of two words, *sama* meaning general or common, and *avasara*, meaning opportunity, the whole giving the idea that it denotes a place where all have a common or equal opportunity of hearing the World-Teacher and acquiring divine knowledge, or "where souls get the opportunity to attain to dispassion".⁶

This structure was the work of the *devas* and as such excelled everything that the human eye had ever beheld in the world. It stood above ground, circular in form, with a

¹ See Appendix III, pp. 229-230.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, p. 160.

³ Hemachandra who converted to the Jaina faith King Komārapāla of Gujrat and must therefore have lived in the latter half of the twelfth century. For discussion on this, see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. 11, "Papers on Śatruñjaya", pp. 15 and 195.

⁴ A Tamil classic, relating to Jaina philosophy and religion, the author of which is Vāmana also called Malliṣṇa, who flourished at Tiruparuttikunṇam in the fourteenth century. The best edition of this work is by Professor A. Chakravarti of the Presidency College, Madras, published 1923.

⁵ A Jaina compilation ascribed to Jināsena Āchārya, who is said to have lived in the reign of Vikramāditya, but who was probably much later. A tradition current in South India speaks of him as the *guru* of king Amoghavarsha, who is said to have ruled in Kāñchi in the sixth century. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. 11, p. 198.

See also Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, pp. 394, 406-8, where Ādi-Purāṇa is said to have been done by Jināsena in about 814-5 A.D.

See also *above*, p. 6.

⁶ C. R. Jain, *Rishabhadeva*, p. 134.

diameter of twelve *yojanas*.¹ Its floor was paved throughout with blue-crushed gems (*nīla-maṇi*). On its four sides were 20,000 steps of gold, for all creatures to climb up to hear the World-Teacher's sermons. Above these steps were four wide roads, one from each cardinal point, which crossed the ground of the blue gems and led towards the centre. On either side of these roads there were *vedikās*² made of crystal provided with doorways, above which arches and flags and festoons flew producing a pleasing effect.

On the outer side of this ground, that is to say, enclosing it, was a wide *Sāla* or wall³ called *Dhūlisāla* which was made of gems and other precious stones of different colours, which glistened in the sun, producing rainbow effects all round. On the top of the wall were fixed banners and flags and festoons that fluttered in the breeze as if they were beating time to the music that the celestial damsels were producing in theatres situated within the wall near the entrances found on the wall.

Enclosed by this wall was the first region called *Chaitya-prāsāda-bhūmi*, one *kroṣa* × $\frac{1}{2}$ *kroṣa* which consisted of palaces (*prāsādas*) and *chaityas* or *Jina-bhavanas* or temples of the Jina, the latter being placed between every five palaces. The four roads continued here too and were flanked by theatres and dancing halls where celestial nymphs entertained those that were lucky enough to reach that region with songs and plays from the previous lives of the World-Teacher. Where each of the four roads reached this region was a huge column called *Mānastambha* (literally pride-pillar), the sight of which was sufficient to deprive the onlookers of pride and attachment to the body. These *Mānastambhas* were placed on pedestals which rose up in three terraces and were reached by a flight of sixteen steps, eight for the lower terrace, four for the intermediate and four for the top terrace. On the tops of these columns flew flags and festoons, while niches below these flags and festoons contained images of the Jina, the sight of which was sufficient to remove darkness and misconceptions in the minds of the faithful. The platform on which each of the *Mānastambhas* stood was surrounded by three enclosures with doors facing the four cardinal points and opening on to four beautiful lakes filled with crystal water in which the faithful washed their feet before proceeding further.

Bounding the first region (*Chaitya-prāsāda-bhūmi*) on its inner side was a *vedikā* lined with gold which was provided with four gateways, one for each cardinal point, over which

¹ 24 *āṅgulas* (inches) make one *hasta*; 4 *hastas* make one *dhanus* or *chōpa*; 2,000 *dhanus* or *chōpas* make one *kroṣa*; 4 *kroṣas* make one *yojana*. There are two kinds of *yojanas*, one small which is equal to 8 miles, and the other big equalling 4,000 miles. Here the bigger *yojana* is meant.

² *Vedikā* or *Vedi* has been interpreted in different ways in accordance with its definitions found in the *Sūtraśāstras* such as *Mānassara* and *Aśvamedha-śāstra*. Such are:—A platform, an altar, a talling (see P. K. Acharya, *Indian Architecture according to Mānassara-Sūtraśāstra*, pp. 61, 87 and 92), a dais, a basis or basement, a pedestal, some platform other than pedestal or throne of the idol, rail-moulding, a moulding such as that of a column, "bands of string course carved with rail-pattern," portion above the neck-part of a building, a stand, bench, arbour, a kind of covered veranda or balcony in a court-yard, a hall for reading the *Vedas* in (see P. K. Acharya, *A Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*, pp. 564-7), marriage pavilion, plinth, and a mode of sitting (*āsana*) (see A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Indian Architectural Terms* (J.A.O.S., Vol. XLVIII, p. 273).

³ *Sāla* or *Sālā* means generally a wall or rampart and sometimes an apartment and a house (see P. K. Acharya, *A Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*, p. 628).

flew flags, etc., and where sweet jingling bells sent their pleasing notes to far off places where the faithful heard them and were thrilled by them.

This *vedikā* formed the boundary of a region of water called *Khātikā-bhūmi* which was filled with crystal water, water-beings like fishes, etc., lotuses and water-lilies and water-birds like the swan (*hansa*). It was provided with steps made of precious stones. Its dimensions were like those of the first region (*Chaityaprasāda-bhūmi*).

Within this again there was the second *vedikā* which enclosed a forest called *Vallī-bhūmi* full of pleasant scenery consisting of creepers like jasmine, etc., and wooded bowers and raised seats in the midst of clear spaces as in modern parks. This was intended for the faithful who required an airing. The dimensions of this third region were twice those of the first region.

Bordering the forest was a wall (*sāla*), the second wall in the structure, which resembled in all respects the *Dhūlisāla*. This was provided with tower-like gateways which were guarded by the *Yaksha-kumāras*.¹ These gates were as usual, one facing each cardinal point, and were decorated with paintings of animals and female figures.

Within this wall and enclosed by it was a garden (*Upavana-bhūmi*) where wooded avenues of *aśoka* (*Saraca indica*), *chāmpaka* (*Michelia champaka*), *chūta* (the mango), and *saptachchhada* (a kind of tree whose leaves range themselves in clusters of seven, whence its name) delighted the hearts of the faithful that came to attend the World-Teacher's discourses. The dimensions of this fourth region were twice those of the first region. As in the previous region there were theatres in it where dances and music were a permanent feature.

Within this again there was a third *vedikā* resembling the second, the four gates of which were guarded by the *Yaksha-kumāras*. On going in through the gates the spectator's gaze fell on a row of fluttering banners for which reason the region enclosed by it came to be called the region of flags (*Dhvaja-bhūmi*). Its dimensions were twice those of the first region. These flags were 108 of each specific mark, in each direction, and the total number of them in the whole region came to 470,980. They bore the following marks, lion, elephant, bull, Garuḍa (the brahman-kite), peacock, moon, sun, swan, lotus, and discus (*chakra*).²

Behind the row of flags was a wall (*sāla*) resembling the *Dhūlisāla*, but twice its dimensions, again provided with the four gates, on either side of which were the usual music halls and the theatres. Within this wall and enclosed by it was the *Kalpaka-vriksha-bhūmi*, the sixth region, of dimensions twice those of the first region, and containing rows of the ten kinds of *kalpa* trees called *pānāṅga*, *turyāṅga*, *bhushaṅga*, *vastrāṅga*, *bhōjanāṅga*, *ālayāṅga*, *dīpāṅga*, *bhājanāṅga*, *mālyāṅga* and *jyōtirāṅga*.³ These trees were scattered about in the wood in elegant confusion, and from their illuminations produced a fairy scene of

¹ See Appendix III, pp. 229-230.

² In other texts, in the place of the sun and the moon a garland and a piece of cloth are given. Also see C. R. Jain, *Nishubhadra*, p. 129.

³ See *utava*, p. 78.

exquisite loveliness. Images of the Jinas were installed on platforms of gold which were placed under trees of bewitching beauty that shed brilliant light all round. There were as usual theatres and music halls from which celestial music went round and delighted the hearts of the faithful.

Within this region again there was the fourth *vedikā* which resembled the first and which was provided with four gates, one for each direction, guarded by the *Nāga-kumāras*¹. Within this *vedikā* and enclosed by it was the seventh region called *Bhavana-bhūmī*, which consisted of mansions and other habitations built of precious stones and metals. Its dimensions were like those of the first region. In it were innumerable mansions over which flew triumphantly flags and banners, and from within which rang sweet notes of celestial music produced by the *devas* and their damsels. Again, in this region, in every street, there arose a line of nine *stūpas* or places of worship and these *stūpas* were called Loka, Madhyamaloka, Mandara, Graiveyaka, Sarvārthasiddhi, Siddhi, Bhavya, Moha and Bodhi² respectively. Within these *stūpas* were installed images of Jinas and *Siddhas*³ to whom worship was offered to the accompaniment of celestial music and dance. Between every two *stūpas* were hung *makara-toranas* which by waving in the wind appeared to invite in the faithful (*bhavyas*) so that they can do *abhisheka* or the bathing ceremony to the gods and *Siddhas* installed in.

Within this region was another wall (*sāla*) called *Ākāśa-sphatika-sāla*, so called because it was made of white crystal. It was provided with the usual four gates, one for each cardinal point, guarded by the *Kalpavāsi-devas*⁴. Its dimensions were like those of the *Dhūlisāla*. Beyond this wall was a clean open space, one *yojana* by one *yojana* (here *yojana* equals eight miles)⁵, which was set apart for the grand congress that was to assemble to listen to the World-Teacher's discourses. In the centre of this open space was erected a *mandapa* or pavilion called *Lakshmīvara-mandapa*. This *mandapa* was divided into twelve equal compartments or halls (*kośhas*) by sixteen walls of crystal that were supported on pillars of gold.

The people that were assembled in these halls were as follows: commencing from the eastern direction, in the first hall were apostles (*Gaṇadharas*) and many other saints of seven classes (*Pūrvadharas*, *Vikriyāridhi-prāptas*, *Avadhijñānins*, *Kevalins*, *Munah-paryaya-jñānins*, *Vadis*, and *Śikshakas*); in the second hall *Kalpavāsi-devīs*⁶ or the ladies of the

¹ See Appendix III, pp. 228-229.

² This term meaning "enlightenment" is common in Buddhist parlance, being associated with Śākya Muṇi Buddha's attainment of divine knowledge under the pipal tree at Bodhi Gaya. Later on the tree became to the Buddhists an object of worship under the name "bodhi" tree.

³ The *Siddhas* are liberated souls and are many in number. They are exactly like the Tirthankaras in all respects in so far as innate virtues and attainments are concerned. They are endowed with all the attributes as the Tirthankaras, even with *brahma-jñāna*, but no "samavasāraṇa" is created for them. No such pomp surrounds them for they do not preach to people like the *Pachchake-Buddhas* in Buddhism, for teaching is not their mission in life in the same way as it is that of the Tirthankaras. The place of these liberated souls is called *Siddha-kṣetra*. For details see Appendix III, pp. 187-190.

⁴ See Appendix III, pp. 231-234.

⁵ See Appendix III, pp. 231-234.

⁶ See C. R. Jain, *Śūkrahadeva*, p. 130.

heavens (*kalpas*); in the third hall nuns and women in general (*Āryakāśrāvaki-samūha*); in the fourth hall *devīs* of the *Jyotiṣhka* or stellar regions¹; in the fifth hall *devīs* of the class of celestials called *Vyantarās* or *Vānavyantarās* or the peripatetics²; in the sixth hall *devīs* of the class of celestials known as the *Bhavana-vāsins*³ or the residential; in the seventh hall *Bhavana-vāsins* or the residential celestial beings, consisting of ten orders, viz., *Asura*, *Nāga*, *Vidyūta*, *Suparna*, *Agni*, *Vāta*, *Stanita*, *Udadhi*, *Dvīpa*, and *Dik-kumāras*⁴; in the eighth hall another group of celestials called the *Vyantarās* or the peripatetics which consisted of eight orders, viz., *Kimbara*, *Kimpurusha*, *Mahoraga*, *Gandharva*, *Yaksha*, *Rākshasa*, *Bhūta* and *Pisācha*; in the ninth hall the five kinds of the *Jyotiṣhkas* or the *Stellars*, viz., the sun, moon, planets, constellations, and scattered stars; in the tenth hall *Kalpavāsi-devas* or heavenly beings consisting of twelve classes corresponding to twelve heavens in which they live⁵; in the eleventh hall kings, chieftains, men and other common beings that move on the ground and in the sky; and in the twelfth hall animals such as elephant, lion, tiger, deer, rat, cat, etc., and birds.

Within these compartments and enclosed by them was a *vedikā*, the fifth in the list, which was similar to the fourth wall or *sāla* above described. Within this *vedikā* was the first pedestal or platform (*prathama-pīṭha*) which had sixteen steps on each side, where Yakshendras stood with *dharma-chakras* on their heads. All the members of the assembly (such as *Gaṇadharas*), got on this pedestal and after circumambulating on it and offering worship to the World-Teacher returned to their respective halls. On this pedestal there was a second one (*dvitīya-pīṭha*) which had eight steps facing each cardinal point, on which were placed objects of worship like flags bearing the marks of bull, lotus, *chakra*, Garuḍa, elephant, incense-vases, nine *nidhis* or treasures, other auspicious things and materials necessary for *pūja* or worship. And over this pedestal again there was the third and last pedestal (*trītiya-pīṭha*) which was round like the sun and made of various precious stones. On its four sides, answering the four cardinal points, were eight steps as in the case of the second pedestal.

In the centre of this pedestal was erected a bower called *Gandhakūṭi* "that attracted every eye by the loveliness of its design"; fragrance from heavenly incense and illumination from innumerable lights filled the atmosphere. In the centre of this *Gandhakūṭi* was placed the throne of God, a lion-throne (*siṃhāsana*) in which were embedded all the precious stones and gems of the world and the heavens put together. In the centre of this throne was placed a blossomed thousand-petalled lotus flower with the seed-vessel showing prominently, over which sat the World-Teacher, without however touching it, but suspended in the air about four fingers or two inches above it. "His face shone radiant like a thousand suns shining in one place. Sixty-four Indras (heavenly kings) stood in attendance on him, waving *chāmara*s". While he was thus seated, the faithful were able to observe that they were all able to conquer gravitation and possess the power of levitation, that they could live without food or water, that their eyes never closed or

¹ See Appendix II, p. 182.² *Ibid.*³ See Appendix III, pp. 229-230.⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 231.⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 228-229.

winked, that their bodies cast no shadow, that their hairs and nails grew no more, that ferocious natures and forces were tamed, animals that were naturally hostile became friends before him, that flowers and fruits appeared in seasons when they were not expected and that "peace and plenty" (*śānti*) prevailed everywhere. When seated in the *samavasarāṇa*, the World-Teacher, who now fully deserved the title of Tirthaṅkara, appeared to be looking in all the four directions, though he only sat facing the east. This was also the case with all the other Tirthaṅkaras. When he spoke, he spoke in the *Sarvārtha-māgadhi* language which resembled the roar of surging oceans and was distinctly heard by every one present. With regard to his speech it is said in many works on Jainism that it was produced independently of the movements of the glottis, "and is for that reason termed *anukshari* (without letters)." The *Gaṇadhara*s who were in the first hall heard his speeches and interpreted them to all assembled. It is said that they arranged all his teachings under twelve main heads which later on came to be called *aṅgas*¹, and the whole subject matter of these *aṅgas* is termed *Śruti* or *Śruta-jñāna*, because of its having been heard from the World-Teacher. These *aṅgas* are nowadays symbolically represented by a book resting on a folding book-rack (pl. xxxvi, fig. 2) or by a tree with twelve branches which is called the "tree of Wisdom Divine."²

Immediately after the discourse by the World-Teacher was over, many men and women determined to follow the Lord on the path of virtue (*Dharma*) set forth by him. The foremost among them was Rishabhasena, one of the younger brothers of Bharata, who was formerly the pandit of the Tirthaṅkara when he was born as Vajrajaṅgha, and

¹ The twelve *aṅgas* according to Hemachandra are :—

- (1) *Āchāra-aṅga*, a work on sacred usages like the rules of conduct for ascetics.
- (2) *Sūtrakṛta-aṅga*, a work on general instructions, religious rites and differences between the rites of one's own religion and those of the religions of others.
- (3) *Śikṣā-aṅga*, a work on the sense organs and the conditions of life—a work dealing with *sthānas* or points of view regarding soul (*jīva*), matter (*padgala*) and other *dravyas* or substances.
- (4) *Samavāya-aṅga*, a work on the categories (*padārthas*).
- (5) *Vyākhyāṇa-praśṅgati* or *Śhaṅkavati* or *Vivāha-praśṅgati*, gives an account of the 60,000 questions put to the Tirthaṅkara by his chief disciples. Most of these relate to ceremonies attendant on divine service (*archanā*).
- (6) *Jñātipiḍhama-kathā-aṅga* also called *Dharma-kathā-aṅga*, a work representing the knowledge that is communicated by the knowers on subjects like the nature of the nine categories (*padārthas*), *jīva*, etc.
- (7) *Upāśaka-dāśū* or *Upāśakadharmā-aṅga*, a work on the manner of living enjoined on the *Śrāvakas*, who are only lay people.
- (8) *Antaśrid-dāśū-aṅga*, speaks of the doings of the Tirthaṅkaras and gives an account of the ten ascetics who, in the period of each of the twenty-four Tirthaṅkaras, undergo tortures of asceticism and finally become liberated from bondage.
- (9) *Anuttara-paripūlaka-dāśū-aṅga*, speaks of the ten ascetics who as a result of their asceticism took birth in the *Anuttara* heavens (*vimānas*). Here is also mentioned the future births of the Tirthaṅkaras and the question of salvation is discussed.
- (10) *Pratīkṣyātārāṇa-aṅga*, a code of Jain law (*dharma*) in the shape of questions. It furnishes an account of the four kinds of narration.
- (11) *Vipākā-sūtra-aṅga*, detailing the fruits of actions, contains an exposition of bondage, operation of *karma*, etc.
- (12) *Drishṭi-pravāda-aṅga*, a work divided into five parts :—5 *Parikarmas*, *Sūtra*, *Prathamānujoga*, 14 *Pūrvagatas*, and 5 *Chalīsās*, for details of which see *Tattvārthasūtrigama-sūtra*, Ch. I, *sūtra* 20, pp. 29-38.

² C. R. Jain, *Rishabhadeva*, plate to face p. 136.

who now became the first *Gaṇadhara*¹ or apostle of the Tirthaṅkara. Then came the turn of Somaprabha and Śreyāṃśa or Śreyāṅkumāra, those illustrious brothers who were associated with the Svāmi's *charyā* or feeding described on pp. 102-4. Bharata, the son of the World-Teacher, to whose care he had entrusted the kingdom, worshipped his father in the *samavasaraṇa* and after getting enlightened as to spiritual science, a subject that could be explained only by a Tirthaṅkara, left for his kingdom in the world.

After he had departed, Saudharmendra (the Indra of the first heaven) summoned his retinue of dancers and performed a dance more to express his feelings of joy than to entertain anybody in the *samavasaraṇa* for no one had time to witness his performance, so engrossed were they with the work that they then had on hand, *viz.*, to take advantage of the Tirthaṅkara's presence in their midst and in the *samavasaraṇa*, a structure which is not to be found often but only occasionally. After thus entertaining himself and his host he requested the Tirthaṅkara to leave the *samavasaraṇa* and proceed to the other parts of the world where many *bhavyas* (the faithful) were in need of his discourses. The Tirthaṅkara assenting, a procession was formed, and the Tirthaṅkara proceeded on his divine mission, "surrounded by *devas* and men, in the midst of scenes of great enthusiasm and heavenly pomp, which the residents of heavens brought together to glorify the World-Teacher".

In the painting the *samavasaraṇa*², which is circular in form is shown in plan on a red back-ground which should be taken to represent the region that stood above the earth, five thousand *dhanus* in height. Rishabhadeva, now the World-Teacher (Tirthaṅkara), is seated in the centre of the *samavasaraṇa* facing east, though he would appear to the congregation as facing all directions. To the west of the *samavasaraṇa* a long column is shown in elevation. This represents the *mānastambha* or "pride-pillar". Though placed here outside the circular structure, its legitimate position should be within the first circular enclosure. But such a representation can, perhaps, be justified, for in the case of many Jaina temples the *mānastambha* finds a place not within the temple enclosures but outside their *gopuras* or entrances, the idea being that the visitor to these temples should first cast his eyes on the *mānastambha* so that his misconceptions may get removed on sight of it. Additional authenticity is given to such a representation by some North Indian Jaina paintings representing the *samavasaraṇa* in which also the *mānastambha* occupies a similar place³.

This pillar is placed on a pedestal which does not appear to be in three terraces nor is it flanked by the steps mentioned in the description. On this base rests a long shaft, the region of its capital showing a circular abacus and over it a pavilion in which images of the Jina were installed. Here we can make out within the pavilion the seated figure of the Jina with the *bhā-maṇḍala* or the halo over his head. Though there were, according

¹ *Tattvārthasūtra*, Ch. I, sūtra 20—*Gaṇadhara*s are apostles who arrange the *uṣṇas* and *gṛantas*. They have all the five kinds of knowledge except *kevala-jñāna* or perfect knowledge.

² The *samavasaraṇa* forms also the subject of the ceiling paintings at Sittannavālai and Tirumalai. For discussion see above, p. 62, l. n. 1.

³ See painting in the Jaina Siddhanta Bhavan, Arrah, figured in C. R. Jain's *Rishabhadeva*, facing p. 129.

to the text, four such pillars, one for each direction, only one is shown here as also in the painting at Arrah because it was evidently felt that even one was sufficient to indicate the purpose for which these pillars were intended.

The flower-like circular designs shown in white at the four corners serve merely purposes of decoration¹. Four Gandharvas, two on the north-west and two on the south-west of the *samavasaraṇa* shower down flowers which are supposed to be falling upon it but are actually shown outside it leaving, however, space for the steps that lead to it. This shower of flowers will be further explained below.

The circular structure is divided into its various regions by concentric circles which are crossed by the four roads from the four cardinal points. Their 20,000 steps are indicated by transverse white lines.

The first circle represents the wall called *Dhūlisāla* and enclosed by it is the region called *Chaitya-prāsāda-bhūmi*. This is the wide band that lies between the first circle and the second. A row of pavilions running all along the circle represents the *prāsādas* and the *Jina-bhavanas* with which this region was filled.

The second circle represents the *vedikā* between the first and second regions. The space enclosed by the second and third circles constitutes the *Khātika-bhūmi* or region of water. Water-creepers and other water-plants including the lotus and the water-lily are shown, though it is difficult to make them out easily.

The third circle represents the second *vedikā* between the second region and the third or *Vallī-bhūmi*. This (*Vallī-bhūmi*) is bounded on the inner side by a fourth concentric circle. In it can be made out the creepers and other plants with which it was filled.

The fourth circle represents the second *sāla* or wall resembling the *Dhūlisāla*. Though in the description this and the other *sālas* and *vedikās* were said to have gateways guarded by various *devas* they are not indicated in the painting, it being scarcely possible to show them. Similarly the various music-halls and theatres that were situated beyond the gates and from which celestial music emanated to please the *bhavyas* do not find a place in the painting. Within this *sāla* lies the fourth region, the *Upavana-bhūmi*. This is indicated in the painting by a space containing a row of trees which represent no doubt the wooded avenues of *aśoka*, *chāmpaka*, *chūta*, *saptachchhuda*, etc., that delighted the hearts of the *bhavyas* that came to that region.

The fifth concentric circle represents the third *vedikā* which enclosed a region where flew a number of banners, for which reason it was called *Dhvaja-bhūmi*. Though some of the flags which, according to the text numbered 470,980 are shown, the emblems that they bore, such as the lion, elephant, etc., can hardly be made out in the painting.

The sixth concentric circle represents the third *sāla* or wall which enclosed the sixth region called *Kalpaka-vriksha-bhūmi*, where were found "wish-trees" belonging to the ten categories described above (p. 78). In the space between the sixth and seventh circles a row of trees can be made out which represent them.

¹ Cf. Painting No. 45.

The seventh circle represents the fourth *vedikā* which enclosed the seventh region called *Bhavana-bhūmi*¹, which consisted of mansions and habitations of precious stone and metals. Within the space between the seventh and the eighth concentric circles can be made out a row of houses looking more like pavilions or temples such as we find in the first region (*Chaityaprasāda-bhūmi*), than like ordinary houses. This has no doubt been done for the sake of symmetry and uniformity as mansions would vary in form. The nine *stūpas*, the *makara-toranas* and other music-halls mentioned in this region do not find a place in the painting for obvious reasons.

The eighth concentric circle represents the fourth *sāla* or wall called *Ākāśa-sphatika-sāla*. The circular space enclosed by this *sāla* represents the clean, open space which was set apart for the Grand Assembly and in which the *Lakshmiwara-maṇḍapa* was installed. Radial lines resembling the spokes of a wheel divide this region into 12 halls or compartments (*koṣṭhas*), divided into groups of three by the four roads that pass from the first region to the World-Teacher in the centre, and the white patches in them represent four gateways to which steps from below lead and through which the faithful will have to pass to reach the actual place where the World-Teacher is seated. The twelve halls contain two representatives of their respective occupants in each.

Starting from the east and proceeding clockwise, we find in the first hall two naked men who are presumably two of the *Gaṇadhara*s who heard the Lord's sermons and collected them into twelve *aṅgas*. For the other sages and saints such as the *Pūrvadhara*s etc., there is no room. Another possible interpretation would be that the man in front represented the *Gaṇadhara*s and that the one seated behind was a representative of this saint-class. In either case the former probably represents Rishabhasena, the first *Gaṇadhara* of Rishabhadeva. He is squatting with crossed legs, the right hand raised up to the level of his breast in the *upadeśa-mudrā* or teaching pose while the left hand rests on his lap indicating *yoga* or meditation. The pose of the right hand would mean that he is interpreting the discourses of the Lord for the ordinary folk to understand. The second person in the hall is similarly seated and posed. Hence he may be taken to be more probably the second *Gaṇadhara*. If so, it is not clear whom he represents, Śreyāṃśa or Somaprabha.

In the second hall two representatives of the *Kalpavāsi-devi*s are seated. They are dressed figures and have small crowns on their heads befitting their status while their hands are folded against their breasts in *añjali* (worship).

In the third hall two ladies are seated; they are the representatives of the class of nuns and other women (*āryakā-śrāvakīs*). While their hands are in poses like those of the occupants of the first hall they are dressed in white cloth which are drawn over their heads as is the case with widows in South India, particularly in the Brahman community. Next to this hall comes the road from the south, containing the entrance into the region above, which is represented by a *gopura*.

¹ Or *Gṛihāṅga-bhūmi* according to *Meyyāṇḍara Purāṇa* (p. 39). *Gṛihāṅga* means the same as *Bhavana*.

In the fourth compartment are two other figures, the representatives of the *devīs* of the *Jyotishka* or stellar heavens. In the matter of dress and decoration they are like the *Kalpavāsi-devīs* in the second compartment. In the fifth hall two representatives of the *Vyantara-devīs* of the peripatetic heavens are seated who also resemble the *Kalpavāsi-devīs*. In the sixth hall two representatives of the *devīs* of the *Bhavanavāsi* regions, resembling the *Kalpavāsi-devīs*, are seated. Next to this hall comes the road from the west, with a *gopura* through which the faithful should pass to go above.

Then comes the seventh hall where two representatives of the *Bhavanavāsi-devas* are shown sitting. They wear conical crowns on their heads (*kirīṭas*) and are dressed with an undergarment and a shirt, the latter showing in yellow a corset against the breasts, such as we find in the dress of actors in Indian dramas that impersonate ancient kings. Their hands are posed like those of the occupants of the first hall. Next to this is the eighth hall in which two *Vyantara-devas* representing the whole *Vyantara* heaven are seated. They are dressed and posed as the two *Bhavanavāsi-devas* in the preceding hall.

The ninth hall comes next and in it are seated two representatives of the *Jyotishka-devas*, dressed like the *Bhavanavāsi-devas* but not similarly posed. They have their hands folded against their breasts in *añjali*, a pose that the text prescribes for all these *devas*. Next to this hall is the road from the north where a *gopura* can be discerned similar to the southern and western *gopuras* already mentioned.

Then comes the tenth hall in which are two representatives of the *Kalpavāsi-devas*, who resemble the *Bhavanavāsi-devas* shown in the seventh hall. One of these two, the one sitting behind the other, has his hands folded in *añjali* against his breast. In the eleventh hall are seated two persons representing all ranks of mankind. They are dressed and posed like the occupants of the ninth hall. Next and last we come to the twelfth hall where were assembled all the animals of God's creation. In the compartment we can make out three animals, all facing the right and standing one below the other. The one on the top is a lion of the conventional type known to South India,¹ the next is a deer in the act of leaping, and below it stands a spotted leopard or cheetah. The tail of the lion ends in a loop. Between this hall and the first one comes the road from the east with its *gopura*.

Enclosed by these halls is the last circle in the whole structure, which represents the fifth *vedikā*. Within this, on a throne, the pedestal or the base of which is in the form of a pyramid agreeing with the description that it arose in three successive terraces, is seated the World-Teacher with legs crossed and hands placed on lap in meditation. Behind him is a cushion or rest on which he leans. Its white colour indicates that it was made of crystal (*sphaṭika*). The eight marks of honour (*pratihāryas*) which are associated with the World-Teacher are as follows:—the *āśoka* tree, shower of heavenly flowers, celestial music accompanying the sermon, *chauri* or the *chāmara*,

¹ Cf. similar lions in temple architecture and sculpture of the Vijayanagara times.

siṃhāsana (lion-throne), nimbus (*bhā-waṇḍala*), drum and parasol.¹ Some floral designs over the head of the Tirthaṅkara suggest the *aśoka* tree²; the shower of flowers is found outside the circle thereby meaning that the whole structure received the shower. Celestial music can only be inferred for it cannot be shown in a painting. The waving of the *chāmara*s or cow-tail fly-whisks is attended to by two Indras standing behind the throne of the Teacher, one on either side of it.³ The *siṃhāsana* is the throne on which the Teacher is seated. It is not however shown as a lion-throne but as a lotus-throne, with three tiers. The nimbus or halo is painted in white and can be seen behind the Teacher's head. The drum can only be inferred for it is said that the drum was beaten to keep time with the celestial music. The parasol is technically called *mukkoḍai* or the three-tiered parasol. In the painting it rises above the head of the Teacher in three tiers, the central shaft standing vertically over the centre of his head. Though he is shown as facing east it should be understood that he appeared to be looking in all the four directions.

Each of the four roads leading to the centre has a *gopura* on either side of it in each of the first seven regions.

Painting No. 37 (pl. xvii)—

. . . பண்ணுரது யிவடம்.

. . . pannuguradu yivadam.

" . . . doing . . . here".

The scene shown here represents the dance performed by the Indra of the first heaven (Saudharmendra) as soon as Bharata, the son of the World-Teacher had left the *samavasaraṇa*. Saudharmendra, who is four-handed, is dancing in the midst of six of his damsels who have so arranged themselves that three of them stand on either side of him. These damsels are keeping him company by dancing also, looking at the same time at him as if to be inspired by him. In contrast to them Indra faces forwards, suggesting that he is looking at the World-Teacher seated in the *samavasaraṇa*. He wears a conical crown (*kirita*) on his head, *patra-kuṇḍalas* in his ears and a long flower-garland, to the ends of which are suspended lotus flowers, on his neck. Two of his hands, the upper ones, are in poses suggestive of singing, while the two lower hands are held in the *añjali* pose against his breast. The damsels are similarly decorated but the garland is missing. On the left of this dancing party stand two men, one small and the other big. The small figure represents an attendant as is evident from the *chāmara* that he is holding in his right hand. The bigger person is also an attendant who, with hands folded against his breast in *añjali*, is intently watching the performance. He and his companion have turbans on their heads and these turbans are of the type that we come across in South India.

¹ *Alokaṅkṣitkaḥ suraṅgushpaṇḍitḥ divyodhvaṇḥ chāmaramūṣanum cha| Bhūmaṇḍalam dundubhīrūṭaṇḍaṇḍam utprātihāryāni Jineśvarāṇām||*

See also *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XL, p. 159.

² Cf. painting from Arrah in C. R. Jain's *Śikhahadeva*, p. 129.

³ Cf. painting in C. R. Jain's *Śikhahadeva*, p. 126.

With this row the scenes from the life of Rishabhadeva come to a close. The events that followed the above scene may, however, briefly be described:—

The 4,000 kings and chieftains who had slunk away from the severe penance and were therefore called *pāshandins*¹ now came to the Tirthaṅkara and entered the Congregation (*saṅgha*). Bharata visited his father in the *samavasaraṇa* and when he left, Saudharmendra sang the praises of the Tirthaṅkara by composing an adoration (*stuti*) describing the Lord by 1,008 auspicious names. Then he and the other *devas* besought him to proceed to the other parts of the world to enlighten all *bhavyas* (those who "possess the realisable potentiality of divinity in their nature") by his divine discourses. The Tirthaṅkara agreeing, a procession was formed by the *devas*, and the Tirthaṅkara proceeded on his divine mission surrounded by both men and *devas* and with all pomp.

When a fortnight remained in his life, the *samavasaraṇa* structure disappeared. The Tirthaṅkara applied himself now to destroy the remaining *kārmic* forces of a "non-inimical type" that still clung to his indomitable spirit. On the last day (*paurṇamāsī*) in the month of *Pauṣa* he sat, facing the east, between the two summits, *Śrī-śikhara* and *Siddha-śikhara* of Mount *Kailāsa*, and practised self-contemplation of the highest type. At last, on the fourteenth day of the dark half of the month of *Māgha*, at the time of sunrise, when the moon was passing out of the *Abhijit* constellation, "the Lord resorted to the third form of the holy *śukla dhyāna* (self-contemplation) termed *śūkshmakriyāpratīpatti* (lit. having the slightest bodily tinge) and destroyed the three channels of the approach of matter, *viz.*, the mind, speech and the body! He immediately attained to the fourteenth and the last *guṇasthāna* (psychological station on the Path), whence, adopting the last form of the holy self-contemplation (*vyūpratakriyānivṛtti*, signifying a cessation of all kinds of organic activities), he passed into *nirvāṇa*, in the space of time required to articulate the five vowels, *a, i, u, ri, ṛi*! The next instant marked the appearance of another One to grace the Holy Land of the Abode of Gods in *nirvāṇa*, at the top of the Universe." As already noted (p. 66) his body disappeared like burnt camphor, only some hairs and nails remaining. Saudharmendra collected these relics and creating a mock-body of the Tirthaṅkara cremated it and with its ashes besmeared his body, the *devas* following him.

II

SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF VARDHAMĀNA.

Twenty-seven rows of paintings (Nos. 38 to 64, both rows inclusive, pls. xvii-xxiv) represent scenes from the life of Mahāvīra or Vardhamāna, the twenty-fourth Tirthaṅkara. The life history of Vardhamāna is similar to that of Rishabhadeva; but in this temple it is not so elaborately painted. Fortunately most of the paintings retain their colouring to-day. Below every row is the usual space for the explanatory labels but none contains any writing. This does not mean that they once contained these writings which have now been rubbed away. The spaces are such clean black blanks with white borders that one

¹ See painting No. 29.

can easily see that no writing was ever attempted. With the aid of Śrī Purāṇa (Vol. IV) and the Vardhamāna Purāṇa I have, however, been able to identify the scenes.

The life story of Vardhamāna is briefly as follows:—

Vardhamāna or Mahāvīra as he is popularly called had, like Rishabhadeva, previous existences or *bhavas viz.*—(1) Lion¹, (2) a *deva*, (3) Kanakoṃjyala, a *Vidyādharma* king, (4) a *deva*, (5) Harisheṇa, king of Ayodhya, (6) a *deva*, (7) Priyamitra, a monarch (*chakravartin*), (8) a *deva* by name Sūryaprabha, (9) Nanda, king of Chhatrakāranagara, (10) Achyutendra. He was born to King Siddhārtha of the Nātha-lineage (*vamśa*), who was the lord of Kuṇḍapura (Kuṇḍagrāma), and his wife Priyakāriṇī². Just as the first Tīrthāṅkara entered the face of Marudevi in the form of a bull so also Vardhamāna entered the face of Priyakāriṇī in the form of an elephant.

As soon as he was born the gods headed by Saudharmendra came to the city and took him to mount Meru to anoint him with celestial waters (*janma-abhisheka*). When the celestial waters were poured on him, he sneezed and the sneezing was so very forcible that many *devas* that were near by were pushed down by the strong wind issuing out of his nostrils. Thereupon the gods named him Vīra (*i.e.*, a hero) and Vardhamāna (ever increasing) and took him back to his parents.

Gradually he grew into a handsome youth and became renowned for his might. While, one day, Saudharmendra, was holding court, he spoke very highly of Vardhamāna's strength. On hearing this, one of the *devas*, Saṅgama by name, became curious and wanted to put it to the test. He came to the city where Vardhamāna lived and was wondering how to get an opportunity for the desired test. Vardhamāna, just then happening to be sporting with his friends in a garden, Saṅgama took the form of a big snake and stood in his way twisting himself round a tree with the tail down and the hood over the tree. Vardhamāna, on perceiving the snake, walked over its body, crushing it at every step. When he reached the region of the hood and began to crush the hood, even as Kṛishṇa of the Hindu mythology crushed the serpent Kāliya, Saṅgama could no longer bear the pain nor disbelieve Saudharmendra's statement regarding Vardhamāna's strength. He assumed his real form and begged Vardhamāna's pardon for the trial he had put him to.

According to the Śvetāmbara tradition³ he married a lady called Yaśodā and a daughter was born to them named Anujā or Priyadarśanā.⁴ But the Śrī Purāṇa which is a Digāmbara text makes no mention of Vardhamāna marrying. "Modern research

¹ Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, p. 45:—

1. Nayasāra, a carpenter.
2. Maricht, the grandson of Rishabhadeva.
3. A *deva*.
4. A Brahmin.

5. Born alternately as a god and Brahmin, with the occasional interlude of being born a king, for countless ages.

6. Vāsudeva or Triprishṭha, a king.

7. Lion.

² She is called in most texts Trīśālā.

³ See *Kālpasūtra* by Bhadrabāhu-Svāmī (A.D. 454) for Vardhamāna's life; also *Jad. Ant.*, Vol. II, pp. 139-

140.

⁴ Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, p. 29.

would seem to favour the Śvetāmbara belief that Mahāvīra had married, but this the Digambaras strenuously deny for an ascetic who has never married moves on a higher plane of sanctity than one who has known the joys of wedded life¹."

His parents died when he was twenty-eight years old and at the age of thirty he felt a longing to dissociate himself from worldly life, a longing which every Tirthaṅkara shared. No sooner did he experience such a longing than the *Laukātika-devas* came down from their heavens and reminded him of *vairāgya* or world-flight and of the initiation ceremony called *dikshā* that had to be performed before he could become a Tirthaṅkara. This ceremony, as has been explained while speaking of the first Tirthaṅkara consists of the observance under trees or in parks or forests, of certain rigorous austerities like the plucking out of hairs, etc.²

Accordingly Vardhamāna repaired to a garden outside Kuṇḍapura, mounted on a divine palanquin called Chandraprabha and performed *dikshā* seated on a crystal stone under a tree. After discarding dress and ornaments he plucked out the hairs of his head with his fingers in five handfuls (*pañchamushṭi*) and commenced a rigorous penance, sometimes standing and sometimes sitting under trees. Even as he had discarded dress he discarded hunger and thirst. Once in every six months, however, he came to cities, where men lived, in accordance with the practice among the Tirthaṅkaras, called "charyā" to visit cities periodically and to partake of food, if offered. The first time he went out for "charyā" he happened to pass through the city of Kūlagrāma, whose king, Kūla offered him food in the prescribed manner. After twelve years³ of rigorous *dikshā*, intermixed with periodical visits to the cities for "charyā" he obtained *kevala-jñāna* or omniscience while seated on a stone under a *sāla* tree in a garden called Manohara on the banks of the river Rījugatī⁴ and adjoining a village called Vijrīmbhikā.⁵ When the *devas* learnt that he had become a "kevali" they raised the *samavasaraṇa* or heavenly pavilion, worshipped him there and along with all other beings heard discourses on *Dharma* from him. About a year after gaining omniscience Mahāvīra became a Tirthaṅkara, "one of those who show the true way across the troubled ocean of life", the true way that he showed to his followers being that they should become members of one of the four *Tirtha*, a monk or nun, if possible, otherwise a devout lay-man or lay-woman⁶. He died in his seventy-second year, in the village of Pāpā, the modern Pāvāpurī near Rājagriha sitting with clasped hands and crossed knees (the *samparyāṅka* position). With regard to the date of his death there are differences in the Jaina traditions, one giving it as B.C. 502, another as B.C. 526 and a third as B.C. 539⁷.

¹ Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, pp. 30-31.

² See *above*, pp. 96-7.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II, p. 140-121 years is the duration of his *tapaścharaṇa* according to *Kalpa-sūtra* and other texts.

⁴ Rījugatī or Rījukulā or Rījuvālikā.

⁵ Also called Jīrīmbhikāgrāma or Jīrīmbhikā.

⁶ Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, p. 42.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II, p. 140.

Mahāvīra died in 527 B.C. after preaching for thirty years. He was not the founder but only a reformer of a previously existing creed, of which the head was Pārśvanātha, who died in 776 B.C. Jaina tradition has it that Mahāvīra attained *nirvāṇa* 250 years after Pārśvanātha which is confirmed by historical research. For details see Jaini, *Outlines of Jainism*, p. xxxiii.

Painting No. 38 (pl. xvii).—This illustrates the events that preceded the birth of Vardhamāna.

One day, while sleeping, Priyakāriṇī, wife of king Siddhārtha, of Kuṇḍapura, had the same sixteen dreams that Marudevī, the mother of the first Tirthaṅkara, had (pp. 80-82) with, however, this difference, that, while Marudevī dreamt that a bull entered her face, Priyakāriṇī saw an elephant entering her face. She related her dreams to her husband who explained to her that they all signified the birth of a great soul and that the *deva* Achyutendra had entered her womb.

38-a. The painting which is rubbed away, seems to have shown king Siddhārtha and Priyakāriṇī sitting.

38-b. Priyakāriṇī is here shown reclining on a swing which is gently moved by two attendant-women who hold the chains. She is evidently dreaming the sixteen dreams.

38-c. Siddhārtha and Priyakāriṇī are here shown as conversing with each other. Priyakāriṇī is evidently narrating to her lord her dreams and seeking from him an explanation for them.

38-d. Though the painting is obliterated, we can see that the king, who is fanned by an attendant-woman, is seeking an explanation for his wife's dreams from the *purohita* or preceptor, seated on the right of the picture. Though such a representation is a deviation from the text, for the Śrī Purāṇa says that the king himself offers his wife the explanations necessary, it can be justified by comparing this with painting No. 33 (pl. xv), where Śreyāṅkumāra's dreams are explained to him by a *purohita*. It would appear, therefore, that the work of explaining the significance of dreams is usually assigned to *purohitas*.¹

Painting No. 39 (pl. xvii).—This illustrates the birth of Vardhamāna which was followed by the *devas*, headed by Saudharmendra, carrying the child on the back of the elephant, Airāvata for *janma-abhisheka*.

As soon as they learnt that the child was born, the gods headed by Saudharmendra came down to the city. Śācī, the wife of Saudharmendra, entered the room where the child was born, and taking it placed it in the hands of her husband. The child was then placed on the back of Airāvata and carried with all pomp to mount Mahā-Meru, the *devas* forming a procession and holding flags and festoons.

39-a. Priyakāriṇī is half-concealed by a screen, the idea in the introduction of the screen being that she had given birth to the child². Śācī is standing on the left and is shown twice. She is first receiving the child either from Priyakāriṇī or from the attendant-woman who stands on her right and then turns back and delivers the child to Saudharmendra, who is accompanied by Īśānendra holding a *chhatra* or umbrella above.

¹ Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, p. 25.

² "All these dreams Trīśālā related to Siddhārtha on the next day . . ."

³ Cf. painting No. 17-b, pl. xi.

39-b. The child is shown as sitting in a howdah placed on the back of the white elephant, Airāvata, with Saudharmendra and another Indra seated behind in the howdah while a *deva* who plays the part of the mahout is sitting in front of the child and driving the elephant with a goad held in his right hand. Four other *devas* hold flags and festoons and walk before Airāvata. They form the end of a big procession which is continued in paintings numbers 40, 41 and 42 which will consequently be described from behind forwards.

Painting No. 40 (pl. xvii).—Some more members of the procession are shown in this painting which runs from left to right. Three *devas* hold flags and walk while five travel on the backs of animals. One goes on a tiger, another evidently Sanatkumāra¹ on a lion and a third probably Īśānendra on a spotted deer and all the three hold flags. The fourth from behind travels on horse-back and can therefore be identified as Lāntava. He holds the *chhatra*. The fifth goes on some animal (the painting is here much obliterated), perhaps a *makara*, in which case he would be Prāṇata, and holds a banner.

¹ Thanks to Mr. Mallinath, the editor of the local *Jaina Gazette*, who procured for my use a copy of Nemi-chandra's *Trīlokaśāstra*, the identification of these *devas* has been made easy, in spite of the bewilderingly long list of *devas* known to the Jaina. As the verses (*gāthās*) of this work are in Pāṣkṛit with a corresponding rendering of them into Sanskrit and as there are no translations of these either in Tamil or in English I quote below the particular *gāthās* from the text that throw light on the identity of the *Kalpataru-devas*, as the principal *devas* of the Jinas are called:—

- (1) *Narasurāṣṭha Bhavanatrayadevāṣṭha cā sahitāḥ Saudharmādaye dvādaśa Kalpēndrāḥ.*
Gaya-ka-va-kasari-vatahe tārara-pika-hamsa-loka-garudeya!
Mayara-sikhi-bamalapuppha-yatimānapahnuṣim samārūḍhā || 974 ||
Gaja-ka-va-kasari-vatikhākūṃ sārara-pika-kuntia-loka-garudā cā |
Mahara-sikhi-bamalapupphapakarimānapratihiti samārūḍhā || 974 ||
Dioyaphalapupphakhatthā tatthāḍḍharanā sachāmarūḍhā |
Bakudha-yatūrārāvā gattā kumanti kullānam || 975 ||
Dioyaphalapupphakhatthā tatthāḍḍharanā sachāmarūḍhā |
Bakudhavyatūrārāvā gattā kumanti kullānam || 975 ||
 (2) *Sohamādibhāsa rūṇaḍa āraṇagaṇagavi kamā |*
Devāna manlichinham varāhamayamaḥitānācchāvi || 486 ||
Saudharmādibhāsatara Anātāranakayugrā kramāt |
Devāna manlichinham varāhamayamaḥitānācchāvi || 486 ||
Kumārā dadduraturayā tē kuḍḍara chanda rappa bhaggi ya |
Chagale karakḍattā choddānāḍḍā kōḍi kappatarā || 487 ||
Kūma darduraturagattatāḥ kuḍḍarā chandrah sarpaḥ bhaggi cā |
Chagale karakḍattāḥ chaturdāśame bhavati kalpatarā || 487 ||

Translations of these are as follows:—

Gāthā No. 974.—The twelve Indras of the *Kalpat*, viz., Saudharmendra, Īśānendra, Sanatkumārendra, Māhendra, Brahma, Lāntava, Śakra, Sātara, Anata, Prāṇata, Arapa, and Achyuta accompanied by the other *devas* (Bhavaravāṇa, Vyantara, and Jyotiṣka) are mounted on their *vāḥanā*, like elephant, horse, lion, bull, the Indian crane (*sārara*), cuckoo, swan, ruddy goose, *garuḍa* (brahman-kite), crocodile or a kind of sea animal, peacock, and *pupphakata-vimāna* or vehicle made of lotus flowers respectively.

Gāthā No. 975.—With celestial fruits and flowers in their hands, adorned with excellent and auspicious ornaments, followed by a number of attendant gods holding *chāmara*s, and holding many flags and banners and producing divine music on musical instruments these *Kalpa-Indras* go to the place where the Jina is installed to worship him.

Gāthā Nos. 486 and 487.—The crest-bearers of the following *devas* of the *Kalpat*, Sandharma, Īśāna, Sanatkumāra, Māhendra, Brahma, Brahmoṭara, Lāntava, Kāpiṣṭha, Śakra, Mahāśakra, Sātara, Sahasrara, Anata and

Painting No. 41 (pl. xviii).—This runs from right to left. At the back comes Māhendra on his bull holding a white flag which bears a design of stars. Before him walks another *deva* with a white flag. A third is on the back of a *yāli* and is preceded by a fourth who walks with an yellow flag in his hand. The next *deva* holds a banner and is seated on the back of a *hansa* and is therefore either Śukra or possibly Mahāśukra. He is preceded by two other *devas* holding a *toraya*. Yet another evidently Āraṇa goes on a peacock. The ninth (defaced) who heads this row of *devas* walks before with a white spotted flag in his hand.

Painting No. 42 (pl. xviii).—In the painting which runs from left to right the band and dance which preceded the procession are represented.

Three dancing girls of the heavens (*apsaras*) are dancing to the accompaniment of music produced by three *devas* who stand behind them. One of these *devas* beats time with cymbals, another blows a bag-pipe and the third is beating a drum (*mṛdaṅga*). An elephant with a big drum (*muraja*) on its back beaten by a *deva* goes in front of them. Another *deva* seated on its neck is acting as mahout. Two other *devas* go in front. One of them walks with a flag while the other rides a horse and blows a trumpet.

Painting No. 43 (pl. xviii).—This illustrates the *Janma-abhisheka* or the anointing ceremony of Vardhamāna.

The *devas* took him to mount Mahā-Meru and placed him on a lion-throne (*siṃhāsana*) in one of the parks called *Pāṇḍuka-vana*. They bathed him with celestial waters brought from the milk-ocean (*kshīrabhī*). When he was being bathed in this manner, particles of water got into his nostrils and brought on sneezing, as a result of the force of which several of the gods that stood near him fell down like dead twigs or straw.

Prāṇata, and Āraṇa and Achyuta are fourteen, viz., boar, deer, buffalo, fish, tortoise, frog, horse, elephant, moon, serpent, rhinoceros, goat, bull, "wish-tree" (*kalpa-tree*). The Ānata and Prāṇata *kalpa-devas* have the bull while the Āraṇa and Achyuta *devas* share the *kalpa* tree. The other twelve *kalpa-devas* referred to above share the other animals respectively beginning with boar and ending with goat.

The vehicles and the crest-devices of the *kalpa-devas* as indicated in the above verses may be represented in tabular form below:—

Crest-devices.				Kalpa-devas.				Vāhanas or vehicles.			
1.	Boar	...	...	...	Saadharmendra	...	...	...	Elephant.		
2.	Deer	...	...	...	Liānendra	...	...	...	Horse.		
3.	Buffalo	...	...	...	Sanatkumārendra	...	...	...	Lion.		
4.	Fish	...	...	...	Māhendra	...	...	...	Bull.		
5.	Tortoise	...	...	...	Brahma	...	...	...	Indian crane (<i>sānta</i>).		
6.	Frog	...	...	...	Brahmottara	...	...	...
7.	Horse	...	...	...	Lāntava	...	...	...	Cuckoo.		
8.	Elephant	...	...	...	Nāpishṭa	...	...	...
9.	Moon	...	...	...	Śukra	...	...	...	Swan.		
10.	Serpent	...	...	...	Mahāśukra	...	...	...
11.	Rhinoceros	...	...	...	Śatara	...	...	...	Ruddy goose (<i>loti</i>).		
12.	Goat	...	...	...	Sahasrara	...	...	...
13.	Bull	...	...	...	Ānata	...	...	...	Garuda.		
14.					Prāṇata	...	...	...	Makara.		
15.					Āraṇa	...	...	...	Peacock.		
16.	Wish-tree	...	...	...	Achyuta	...	...	...	Paṭāpaka-vimāna.		

In the centre of the painting Vardhamāna is shown seated cross-legged on a pedestal placed on a white crystal slab. He is in an attitude of meditation with his hands placed one over the other on his lap. Two gods stand symmetrically, one on either side of him and are evidently pouring milk on him from a vessel that each is holding. The white patch on either shoulders coupled with the fact that according to the Śrī Purāṇa, the waters for the anointing ceremony were got from the milk-ocean lends support for the inference that it is milk that is shown as being poured on him. On either side stand five more *devas*, each with a pitcher in his hand. All hold the pitchers in both their hands except one, the second from the right, who carries a pitcher in his left hand which he has raised to the level of his shoulder, while his right hangs down. Three more *devas* with similar pitchers in their hands are shown on the left of Vardhamāna, falling down on their backs. These evidently represent the many *devas* that were pushed down by Vardhamāna's violent sneezing.

Painting No. 44 (pl. xviii).—This illustrates less elaborately the return of Vardhamāna to the city in the same processional manner as he was taken to Mahā-Meru.

The elephant Airāvata, which is depicted as moving, evidently carried Vardhamāna seated in a howdah, but the painting is here mostly obliterated. A *deva* who perhaps held a *chauri* or a *chhatra* is shown behind, as standing on a projection attached to the back of the elephant near its tail. Two *devas* walk behind the elephant, one holding the *chhatra* and the other a flag. Eight others go before and carry emblems of dignity. What the last three in the group that are close to the elephant carry cannot be learnt as the painting is obliterated. Two others that go before them carry a circular banner and a half-spread umbrella respectively. They are preceded by another *deva* who carries a flag. Two more *devas*, who form the front of the procession carry between them a *torana*.

Painting No. 45 (pl. xix).—This illustrates the celebration in the palace at Kuṇḍapura when Vardhamāna was brought back.

45-a. It is said that the *devas* returned to the city with the child and placed him on a *siṃhāsana* in the king's court. Saudharmendra danced for joy before Vardhamāna and gladdened the hearts of the Jina's parents, after which all the *devas* departed for their respective worlds.

Vardhamāna is shown seated on a throne attended by two *devas*, one on either side, who wave *chamaras* before him. Another figure stands on the extreme left probably witnessing the celebration. It is likely it may represent Siddhārtha, the father of Vardhamāna, who is admiring his son with legitimate pride or witnessing the dance performed by Saudharmendra on the right. Saudharmendra is shown with eight hands. The two front hands are folded in *aijāli* against the breast, while the other six hands are all in singing attitudes. Two lotus flowers, one on either side of him, mark the two ends of a garland that he is wearing round his neck. The two star-like designs above are perhaps intended to divide this scene from the next one (45-c).

45-b. Here is shown the humiliation of the *deva* Saṅgama (see p. 117).

In the painting Saṅgama in the form of a serpent is shown as twisting round the tree with the tail on the ground and the hood spread at the top of the tree. Vardhamāna is standing on the tail evidently with the intention of climbing up and reaching the hood.

Two flower-like designs are so placed as to show clearly the purpose for which they were let in. They are marks dividing this scene from the next one (45-c).

45-c. Saṅgama is here shown begging Vardhamāna's pardon for his foolishness in attempting to test his strength.

In the painting Saṅgama is shown on the right in his true form worshipping Vardhamāna with hands pressed against each other (*añjali*), an attitude of worship and humility. Vardhamāna has his right hand lifted up in an attitude indicating that he is either warning Saṅgama or excusing him, or more probably assuring him of protection.

Similar flower-like designs, five in number, are shown on the extreme right, just where the painting ends. They serve no purpose and I am unable to understand why they were let in here, unless they mark one end of this row of painting.

Painting No. 46 (pl. xix).—This illustrates the renunciation of the world by Vardhamāna.

46-a. After thirty years had passed he felt a longing to renounce the world and lead an ascetic's life in forests and gardens by observing austerities and rigorous penance. The *Laukātika-devas* who learnt his resolve came down to him. They requested him to dissociate himself from worldly life and reminded him that the time had come for him to undergo initiation or *dīkṣā*. Thus encouraged, he became firm in his resolve and prepared himself to renounce the world.

The *Laukātikas* are here seen addressing Vardhamāna who is sitting, leaning against a cushion in a cot, and is hearing them. Only seven *Laukātikas* are shown here, though their number, as shown in painting No. 27 (pl. xiv) is eight.

46-b. Vardhamāna is here shown as being carried in a palanquin. After taking leave of all, he got into the divine palanquin called Chandraprabha and was carried to a park known as *Nāthashaṇḍa* outside the city. Five men carry the palanquin, two wave *chāmara*s beside it, and the eighth in the group goes in front carrying a flag. Vardhamāna holds a flower in his right hand which he is drawing to his nose to smell.

Painting No. 47 (pl. xix).—This illustrates his initiation, his penance and his periodical "charyā" or partaking of food.

47-a. On reaching the garden, *Nāthashaṇḍa* he got down from the palanquin and sat, facing north, on a crystal slab under a tree. Then he stripped himself of dress, ornaments and finery and commenced the most painful ceremonies that formed a necessary part of initiation, *vis.*, plucking out the hairs on the head and face with one's own fingers. This, as the Jains believe, gives the performer power of endurance and deprives him of all attachment to worldly pleasures as it deprives him primarily of attachment to his own flesh.

In the painting he is shown as sitting naked on a white slab under a tree and plucking out the hairs from his head with his right fingers. His crown, dress and other ornaments are shown by his side.

47-b. Here he is shown as standing on a crystal slab under a tree in the *kāyotsarga* attitude, standing immovable (exposing himself to the sun and rain).

47-c. After six months of rigorous penance he went to the village of Kūlagrāma, whose king Kūla offered him food.

In the painting the feeding ceremony called "charyā" is shown in three panels. The one on the right shows the king in his palace seated with his wife, and two of his servants coming in and informing him of the arrival of Vardhamāna in the village. The king who, it is said, went out to receive him, meets him, as shown in the panel on the left. He is shown twice, first as worshipping Vardhamāna with his hands in *añjali* by kneeling before him and then standing up and requesting him to come into his palace and partake of food served by himself. The central panel shows the actual feeding. The king takes morsels of food from a tray placed on a stand near by and offers one after another to Vardhamāna, who receives them with both hands. To show respect to Vardhamāna he (Vardhamāna) is made to stand on an elevated *padmāsana*.

Painting No. 48 (pl. xix).—Vardhamāna is here shown obtaining *kevala-jñāna* and being worshipped by the *devas* in *Gandhakūṭi*, a part of the *samavasaraṇa*.

48-a. After twelve years of selfless penance and mortifications he became one day, a *kevali* under a *sāla* tree in a garden called *Manohara* on the banks of the river *Rijugati*, adjoining the village of *Vijrīmbhikā*.

He is shown here twice, first as walking to the tree, probably returning from the village after "charyā", and next as standing on a hill in the *kāyotsarga* attitude, under the *sāla* tree.

48-b. When the *devas* learnt that he had become a *kevali* they raised over him the *samavasaraṇa* or the heavenly pavilion and worshipped him there.

In the painting he is shown sitting with crossed legs and clasped hands on a pedestal within a *vimāna*. The *devas*, five on each side, have ranged themselves on either side of him and are worshipping him. The two nearest wave *chāmaras* in front of him while two more *devas*, probably *Gandharvas*, are flying above, one on either side of him, and are pouring showers of flowers over the *Gandhakūṭi*, within which the Tirthaṅkara is installed. The others have their hands in *añjali* against their breasts except one on the extreme right who holds them in *añjali* above his crown.

Paintings Nos. 49-64 (pls. xx-xxiv).—Nos. 49 to 64 are found on the ceiling of the veranda (*mukha-maṇḍapa*) in front of the Vardhamāna shrine and the *Trikūṭa-basti*. These have suffered badly owing to the fact that they are all within hand's reach, the level of the veranda being raised as entry into the shrines is from this veranda, access to which is by flights of steps from the level of the *Saṅgita-maṇḍapa*. Also the lighting of torches and other smoke-giving lights that are hung in this veranda have affected the paintings adversely by giving them a smoky tinge. As a result of this smoky tinge these paintings are losing their natural colours and before long are likely to disappear. Their damaged condition can be realized on examining the paintings figured in plates xx-xxiv where very little remains of the scenes. All means were tried to take good photographs of these and

those that are figured here are the best that could be had. None of these is labelled which proves that these are really the continuations of the Vardhamāna rows found on the ceiling of the *Saṅgīta-mandapa*. As in the case of the latter, narrow bands of black, bordered by thick white lines indicate the space for the labels. These paintings run from the northern end of the veranda and proceed south till they reach the *samavasaraṇa* paintings (Nos. 62-64). A row that could not be satisfactorily photographed comes first in this group and must now be described.

On a panel, on the right of the painting, a *deva* is sitting on a peacock with an attendant standing behind him. Both are in the attitude of moving. In the next panel stand common-folk and villagers who are all proceeding evidently to the *samavasaraṇa* to hear the Lord's discourse. As they move, they entertain themselves on the way by country-tricks like jugglery, wrestling and rope-dancing. The entertainers can be made out on the left of the painting and the entertained on the right. A few letters in modern Tamil found in one corner of the painting read as நல்ல பெய், "*Nalla pey*," which means "good devil," an expression which the jugglers of the country parts use even to-day during their performances to invoke by coaxing the aid of the devil (*kuṭṭi-sāttāṇ*), to warrant a successful culmination of their tricks.

Nos. 49-61 show the procession to the *samavasaraṇa*. The first three pictures deal almost exclusively with *devas*¹. The artist has apparently tried to avoid showing the less noble forms of *vahana* such as fish, frog, boar, etc., replacing them by the animal or bird forming the crest-device of the *deva* whenever the latter was more noble.

Painting No. 49 (pl. xx).—As has been explained above the paintings run from below and as these have been taken in groups of two, the bottom row in each case must be described before the one above it.

Two figures, evidently representing *devas* as they wear royal crowns and ride on birds—a *garuḍa* and a swan—which no king would do, are found on the right of the painting while two figures of men, one on horseback and the other on a buffalo or bull are shown moving on the left. The *devas* and the mortals are also going to attend the *samavasaraṇa* of the Lord. There are three trees in the painting, of which, the one in the centre, marks the line of demarcation between the *devas* on the right and the men on the left. The *deva* riding the *garuḍa* is Ānata and the one on the back of the swan is either Śukra or Mahāśukra, more probably Śukra, the Indra of the two heavens Śukra and Mahāśukra.

Painting No. 50 (pl. xx).—This row runs from right to left and shows more of the *devas*. The two last are on horseback, the next on a bull, the next on what looks like a rhinoceros (*khadgī*) and the fifth on a *makara* (partly defaced). The two on horseback represent Īśānendra and Lāntava. The one on the bull is either Mahendra or Prāṇata, presumably the former, for Prāṇata is found below in this row. The *deva* on the rhinoceros is Śātāra and the one on the *makara* Prāṇata. These *devas* hold in their hands lotus flowers as required by the *Trilokaśāra*². With their right hands they are holding the

¹ Concerning the identification of the *devas*, see above, pp. 120-1, f.n. 1.

² See *śāstra*, p. 120, f.n. 1.

flowers aloft. A circle behind the third *deva* from the left indicates a tree. Though the painting is much obliterated a tree is visible between every two *devas*.

Between Nos. 50 and 51, in a big space twice the size of any row of pictures in the veranda, is shown a much obliterated painting which could not be successfully photographed. It is arranged transversely to the other pictures, its top being to the west and its bottom to the east. What remains shows Devendra (Saudharmendra) riding his elephant, Airāvata. Devendra's hands hold a garland between them. Śachi, his wife, rides behind him on the elephant. She holds a tray with flowers in her hands. Above, in the same panel, two *devas* on horseback are shown, one on either side of Devendra. They are of comparatively small size.

Painting No. 51 (pl. xx).—The procession of the *devas* continues here.

On the extreme right a man with a *chāmara* in his right hand and a cup in his left (articles denoting dignity or honour) is walking briskly past a tree. Then comes a tiger with its rider. The tiger does not find a place in the list of *vāhanas* and crest-devices of the *devas* given in the *Trilokasāra*. But as some of the other animals, such as the goat, fish, tortoise and buffalo do not find a place in the paintings here it may be inferred that some of these inferior animals were removed to give place for animals of superior breed and strength. Thus the tiger comes in. But it is impossible to identify its rider with any particular *deva*. Then comes an elephant with its rider carrying a *chhatra*. The elephant is white and as such represents Airāvata, the white elephant-*vāhana* of Devendra or Saudharmendra, the Indra of the first heaven, and its rider is Saudharmendra. Then comes a lion (its mane can be distinctly seen) with its rider, its forepaws raised and tail aloft. The rider of the lion must be Sanatkumārendra. Then comes a *yāli* (a mythical animal) with its rider. As we do not find the *yāli* mentioned in the list the identity of its rider will have to remain for the present in mystery.

Then comes a deer with its rider, whose identity is also puzzling. From the list it appears that the deer is the crest-device of Īśānendra. But as he has already appeared in painting No. 50, where he rides a horse along with Lantava, also on horseback, it is impossible that he should again be represented here, unless we suppose that he is repeated, this row being different from the previous one, though both illustrate the procession of the *devas* to the *śamavasaraṇa*. Also there is the possibility of some other of the sixteen *devas* of the *kalpa* heavens being intended, especially in view of the fact that some of the inferior animals such as buffalo, tortoise, boar, etc., are replaced by animals of superior breed and strength or animals of gentle disposition. We have here probably such a replacement, the replacing animal in question being the deer of gentle disposition, while the replaced animal is not known.

The rider of the tiger holds a flag in his hand, the cloth of which can be made out. An attendant stands between the tiger and the elephant and holds also a flag. The rider of the lion has a banner, while the rider of the *yāli* carries a half-spread parasol. Another attendant stands between the *yāli* and the deer and carries a fully spread parasol, while the *deva* on the deer holds in his hand a banner which leans against his shoulder. In front of the deer can be made out another tree which probably represents the *kalpa* tree referred

to in the *Trilokasāra*. It is interesting to note that the tails of the *yali* and the lion are lifted up, the tips ending in a loop. Two other attendants standing between the elephant and the lion, and the lion and the *yali* carry flags.

The paintings here are badly damaged for reasons described above (p. 124); what has been described is all that can be made out¹.

Painting No. 52 (pl. xx).—Here celestial damsels are carrying eight auspicious articles or *ashṭa-maṅgalas*². Some are dancing singly while others are standing under trees. The one on the extreme right carries a tray with lights in it, the next a spouted vessel, the third a banner or a circular fan, the fourth a narrow-mouthed vessel with mango leaves inserted in it (*kalasa*), the fifth a flag, the sixth something that is now obliterated, the seventh a parasol, the eighth a mirror and the ninth a *chāmara* in each hand held aloft. Of the tenth nothing can be made out.

The whole represents therefore the march to the *samavasāraṇa* of celestial ladies, of whom the four on the left form a dancing party and entertain the others, the idea being that when one party felt tired another should take its place.

Painting No. 53 (pl. xxi).—Three celestial *devīs* with crowns (*kirīṭas*) on their heads are dancing in the central panel. On either side of this party stand similar parties of four dancers who take instructions from the central party and imitate them as is commonly done in dancing parties, where many members take part.

Above this row is a row of rosettes representing lotus flowers with the seed-vessel exposed. Unfortunately this row is placed in the centre of the veranda where a pole has been suspended below it on which lamps are hung, so that smoke has spoilt the painting considerably. This accounts for the dark colour in most of the paintings on the ceiling of this veranda.

A row, not photographed, is so badly damaged that hardly anything more can be made out than a dancing *deva*. He dances within a circle placed in a square, the four corners of which show two *chakras* on the top and two conches below, one for each corner. The *deva* has several hands of which sixteen can be made out, two in *añjali* against the breast and the rest in singing attitudes. Two lotuses forming the ends of a long garland hang from his neck. The long garland that he wears, the hugeness of his form and the number of his hands suggest that Saudharmendra was intended, an identification with which the temple priest agreed.³ In six panels, three on either side of the circle, can be seen six celestial damsels, one in each, in dancing attitudes.

Painting No. 54 (pl. xxi).—Here there is another party, the party entertained being perhaps commonfolk and chieftains belonging to the mortal world. In the centre stands a chieftain under a tree with legs apart. On his head rests a long conical cap with its top shaped like a serpent's hood, but not sufficiently clear to be definitely put

¹ Both the temple priest at Tiruparuttikunram and Mr. Mallinath, editor of the *Jaina Gazette*, to whom I explained the above identifications approved of them.

² See *below*, No. 60, p. 130.

³ In fact he more often agreed than disagreed with me over the identification of these *devas*.

down as such; he has a long shirt or coat girdled at the waist with a sash or belt (a type of dress with which frequenters of South Indian theatres are familiar), while his legs are provided with long trousers, the tips of which are marked by anklets (*padasara*) painted in white. The feet are so arranged that they face each other in a dancing pose. His right hand hangs down while his left holds a shaft, the top of which is fashioned like a trident or flame of fire. The significance of the latter symbol is not clear. If the person represented is one of the *Bhavanavāsi-devas* and if what is held in his left hand is taken to be fire then the *deva* represented may be taken to be one of the *Agni-kumāras*¹; but as an *Agni-kumāra* is invariably shown with the flames of fire issuing out of his head-dress as represented in painting No. 56 (to be described below, p. 129) this cannot be an *Agni-kumāra*. But if what is held in the hand can be taken to be a *vajra* or thunderbolt (only the lower line of such a weapon is shown as a semi-circle rather than as a trident turned over) then he can be taken to be one of the *Bhavanavāsi-devas* called *Stanita* or *Megha-kumāra*.¹ Six celestial damsels are dancing, five to his right and one to his left.

On the right of this dancing group stand three men, one behind the other. All the three are beating time to the song of the damsel before them. The first stands leaning towards the damsel and is beating time with his hands (*taḷam*). The next is beating a drum (*mṛidāṅga*) hanging from his neck. The third is beating time with a pair of cymbals. All these three are dressed much in the same style as the *nattuvans* (professional nautch performers) of South India. They have a turban on their heads and wear a long robe extending to the ankles firmly secured at the waist with a sash or belt which gives it an elegantly stiff appearance.

Painting No. 55 (pl. xxi).—In this row can be seen a number of the other *Bhavanavāsi-devas*, who, as described in the *Trilokasāra* (p. 120) formed the followers of the twelve *Kalpavāsi-Indras* in their march to the *samavasaraṇa* to do worship to the *Tīrthaṅkara*. The identity of eight of these in this row becomes clear from a study of their distinguishing marks as detailed in *gāthā* 213 of the *Trilokasāra*.¹ They carry in one hand the

¹ *Chūḷamāni-phani-garuḷam gaṇa-mayaram vajjamānagam vajjam |*
Horibalasasam chinham māle chettadumaha dhaya || 213 ||
Chūḷamāni-phani-garuḷam gaṇa-makaram vardhamānakam vajram |
Itari-kalala-vaam chinham mukha chaitryadrumā aha dhvajāḥ || 213 ||

The marks of the *Bhavanavāsi* or residential *devas* as indicated in this verse are summarized in the following table:—

<i>Bhavanavāsi-devas.</i>					<i>Marks on head-dress (maṭṭa-chinṇa).</i>
1. Asurakumāra	...	...	...	...	Crest-jewel (<i>chūḷamāni</i>).
2. Nāgakumāra	...	...	...	...	Serpent's hood.
3. Suparṇakumāra	...	...	...	...	Garuda.
4. Dēpakumāra	...	...	...	...	Elephant.
5. Uḷadhikūmāra	...	...	...	...	<i>Makara</i> .
6. Vajrakumāra	...	...	...	...	Powder-flask (<i>vardhamānaka</i>).
7. Stanitakumāra or Meghakumāra	...	...	...	...	Thunderbolt (<i>vajra</i>).
8. Dikkumāra	...	...	...	...	Lion (<i>hari</i>).
9. Agnikumāra	...	...	...	...	Fire or <i>kalala</i> (vessel) with fire in it.
10. Vātakumāra	...	...	...	...	Horse.

chāmara and in the other flower-garlands for worshipping the Tirthāṅkara as prescribed for all *devas*. The ends of the garlands show two big lotus flowers in each. A serpent-hood rising above the crown of each marks them out as the *Nāga-kumāras*. Two *devas*, one at either end, are without the serpent-hoods over their heads and cannot be identified.

Painting No. 56 (pl. xxii).—The first figure from the right is not included in the photograph. It is badly defaced and differs from all the others in having only two arms. The next figure (the first from the right) in the photograph has the characteristics of the *Agni-kumāras*, viz., fire (*agni*) and *kalasa*, but the others are all alike, their respective marks not being shown. He carries in his lower hands an incense-burner from the mouth of which the smoke of burnt incense is issuing. This type of incense-burner is used even to-day in some of the temples in South India during worship. Flames of fire can be seen issuing from the sides of the *kirita* on his head. The seven other *devas* to the left of *Agni-kumāra* are also four handed, the lower hands joined in worship (*añjali*) and the upper hands lifted up in attitudes indicative of singing the praises of the Jina, which they are said to do. It is not possible to decide what particular *Kumāras* these seven represent as the particular marks referred to in *Trilokasāra* are not found except the crest-jewel (*chūdāmani*) distinctive of the *Asura-kumāras*, which is present on the *kirita* of all seven. As the *Nāga-kumāras*, *Agni-kumāras* and *Asura-kumāras* are *Bhavanavāsi-devas*, of which there are seven other classes, the remaining seven figures are presumably intended to represent them, though they all resemble *Asura-kumāras* in wearing the crest-jewel.¹

Painting No. 57 (pl. xxii).—Here divine damsels are performing with sticks a kind of dance called in Tamil *kōlāttam*. Three trees separate these dancers into four pairs, each pair being engaged in the *kōlāttam* dance and beating each other's sticks in time to the music.

Painting No. 58 (pl. xxii).—Another group of dancing girls of the heavens are engaged in individual dancing, the one on the extreme left doing an axe-dance (resembling a sword-dance but with an axe taking the place of a sword). The axe is double-edged and is held in the middle by both her hands, while she whirls round keeping the axe always so close to her limbs that to the spectator it almost appears as if the weapon would hurt her. Her dexterous handling of the weapon produces an artistic effect in the performance and a sense of approbation in the spectator.

Painting No. 59 (pl. xxii).—In this row celestial ladies are carrying in their hands materials of honour like trays with flowers and lights, vessels with lights in them (*kudavilakku*) and other kinds of vessels (*kalasas*). These materials are supposed to do honour to the Jina. The lights in the vessels and trays show flames which suggest that wicks are kept burning in them. In the centre of the painting two of the ladies are clearly seen with flower trays in their hands.

¹ See above, p. 128, fn. 1.

Painting No. 60 (pl. xxiii).—This shows some of the *devas* that followed the *Kalpavāsi-devas* with the eight auspicious marks of honour (*aṣṭamaṅgalas*). These are a golden vase or pitcher used during the coronation ceremony of a king (*bhṛīṅgāra*), a vessel (*kalāṣa*) indicating plenty and prosperity, a mirror or any polished metal designed artistically (*darpaṇa*), an ornamental fan (*vijana*), a flag (*dhvaja*), a *chāmara*, a parasol, and a banner called *supratishtha*.¹ In the painting not all the eight *maṅgalas* are present, but only the most important of them. Two of the *devas* carry flags, two *supratishthas*, one the fan, one a half-spread parasol and those at the two ends a fully spread parasol each.

The fourth from the left holds in his left hand a flower, probably a lotus, the significance of which is that they are all going to the *samavasaraṇa* to worship the Lord with flowers, etc.²

Painting No. 61 (pl. xxiii).—This row appears to be intended for the nine *nidhis* (treasure-gods). Though six figures only are shown their identification as *nidhis* becomes clear on looking at the two figures on the extreme right and extreme left of the painting respectively. The one on the left is one of the *nidhis* called *Śaṅkha* or Conch who can be distinguished by four conches, two above his left hand and two below it. He is represented as a fat man,³ performing the dance shared by the others. The dancing figure on the right represents another *nidhi* called *Padma* or Lotus as is evident from a number of lotuses scattered round him. The other four that dance between these two represent four of the remaining *nidhis* whose identity is not however clear as there are no distinguishing marks by their sides.⁴ There is another reason for indicating the marks in the case of *Śaṅkha* and *Padma* alone and not in the case of the others, for they are considered by both the Jainas and the Hindus (the Hindus also have these nine *nidhis*) as the most important of all the *nidhis*. In Tamil literature there is reference to *Śaṅkha* and *Padma* alone in places where all the *nidhis* were intended.⁵ Three of the *nidhis* including *Padma* hold lotuses which signify the purpose which they all have in view, viz., to worship the Jina.⁶

Paintings Nos. 62-64 (pls. xxiii and xxiv).—This (No. 62) and the other two paintings (Nos. 63 and 64) illustrate the *samavasaraṇa* of Vardhamāna, the heavenly structure to which all the people mentioned in the previous paintings are going.

Unlike the *samavasaraṇa* of Rishabhadeva (No. 36), this is done very elaborately, on a wider space, the treatment being quite different. Except the *Lakṣmīvara-mandapa* with its inner circle (No. 64) wherein the Tirthaṅkara is seated, the rest of the structure is done flatly and in rectangular, not circular, rows one above the other. Thus, while in No. 36 all the seven regions and the Grand Assembly and *Gandhakuṭi* with the Tirthaṅkara

¹ *Trilohatāra*, *gāthā* No. 989.

² *Trilohatāra*, *gāthā* No. 975.

³ Cf. Kubera and Jambhala.

⁴ The nine *nidhis* are, according to the *Trilohatāra*, Kāla, Mahākāla, Māṇavaka, Piṅgala, Naisarpa, Padma, Pāṇḍu, Śaṅkha, and Nānārātana, of which Śaṅkha and Padma are apparent. For their description and functions see *Trilohatāra*, *Naratoryak-lokādhitāra*, *gāthās* Nos. 821, 822.

⁵ *Dīpāram* (*talavarilai*), edited by Swaminatha Pandita, Madras, 1911, p. 1230, v. 10—*Śaṅka nidi paduma nidi iṇṇaṇḍuṁ taṇḍu dharaṇṇyōṇḍuṇṇuṇṇu toruvorēṇṇuṇṇu* . . .

seated in the centre on a throne are all indicated in circular spaces formed by concentric circles, here the Grand Assembly and *Gandhakuti* with the Tirthankara in it are alone shown in spaces formed by concentric circles while the rest of the structure is done in rectangular spaces formed by straight lines. As the ceiling of the veranda where these paintings are shown is narrower than that of the *Saṅgita-mandapa*, where the majority of the temple paintings is shown, and as the scenes preceding the erection of the *samavasaraṇa* in this case have been done on a larger scale it was convenient to show the details of the *samavasaraṇa* also on a larger scale. Though only a circular representation was meant it could be shown only within a limited space. The idea of a circular representation is not materially affected by the rectangular representation of the outer seven regions, of each of which a section including one of the roads from the four cardinal points is shown. Only the *Lakshmivara-mandapa* and the central *Gandhakuti* immediately within it are treated in circular fashion.

Painting No. 62 (pl. xxiii).—Proceeding from the outside which forms the bottom of the picture, the *mānastambha* is the first structure illustrated. It is shown in elevation much in the same way as in No. 36. The image of the Jina is installed in the pavilion on the top of the pillar. The first band, starting from below, represents the wall *Dhūlisala* which encloses the first region called *Chaityaprasāda-bhūmi* shown (again as in No. 36) in plan. This contains a row of the pavilions and *Jina-bhavanas* with which the region is filled. The second band represents the first *vedikā*. This encloses the second region, the *Khatika-bhūmi* or the region of water in which fishes and lotus leaves can be distinguished. The third band represents the second wall which encloses the third region, the *Vallī-bhūmi*. In the latter can be seen some flowers and plants representing the plant-creation with which this region is said to have been filled. Up the centre of the picture through each of these regions runs the road from one of the cardinal points with an entrance-tower (*gepura*) leading from one region to the next. Smaller entrances or gateways opening into these roads are marked one on each side of them in each region.

Painting No. 63 (pl. xxiv).—The road from one of the four cardinal points, with its entrance towers, continues up the centre of this picture through the next four regions, of which the first is the *Upavana-bhūmi* or the garden-region in which can be seen a row of trees, which represent the four wooded avenues of *aśoka*, *chāmpaka*, *chūta* and *saptachchhada* referred to in the text. The band above the trees represents the third *vedikā* beyond which the *Dhvaja-bhūmi* is indicated by a number of flags fluttering. On only one flag, the third from the left, are any distinctive marks now visible, these being stars. Though according to the text the mark should be that of the moon, and though the moon cannot be made out in the painting, which is badly damaged, the presence of the moon in the midst of the stars can be inferred for it is said that the moon is the "lord of the stars" (*Udāpati*). Above these flags can be seen another band which represents the third wall beyond which is the sixth region, called *Kalpavriksha-bhūmi*. In this region the ten kinds of "wish-trees" are indicated, five being shown on each side of the central road. Though these different trees are all shown in the same way we may infer that the ten kinds of trees mentioned are intended. A band above these trees represents the fourth

vedikā enclosing the *Bhavana-bhūmi* which is indicated here by a row of houses resembling pavilions or *gopuras*. The band which runs above these houses represents the wall called *Ākāśa-sphatika-sāla* and divides the *Bhavana-bhūmi* region from the next region of the *samavasāraṇa*, the part illustrated in No. 64.

Painting No. 64 (pl. xxiv).—Here are two concentric circles. The outer one encloses the clean, open space, one *yojana* × one *yojana* in size, known as the *Lakshminivara-maṇḍapa* and divided into twelve halls or compartments in four groups of three each, separated by the four roads from the four cardinal points. The treatment of this resembles that already seen in No. 36, with the difference that the halls run counter-clockwise.

Starting from below, the rectangle evidently represents the road from the east, as the Tirthaṅkara in the central circle sits facing it. A *gopura* indicates the gateway. The first compartment to the right shows two apostles (*Gaṇadharas*), the second the *Kalpavāsi-devīs*, and the third *Āryakās* and the *Śrāvakīs*, i.e., nuns and other faithful women dressed with the cowl on their heads as in No. 36.

Next comes the second rectangle representing the entrance from the north, and then the fourth compartment with the *Jyotishka* ladies, the fifth with the *Vyantara* ladies, and the sixth with the *Bhavanuvāsi* ladies. The rectangle that comes next is the entrance from the west; it is followed by the seventh compartment with the *Bhavanuvāsi-devas*, the eighth with the *Vyantara-devas* and the ninth with the *Jyotishka-devas*. After the rectangle representing the entrance from the south, are the tenth compartment with the *Kalpavāsi-devas*, the eleventh with kings, common folk and other beings, and the twelfth with animals, of which we can make out in the painting a lion couchant and a spotted deer. In each compartment only two representatives of the respective occupants are shown as is also the case in No. 36, and the figures are all in much the same attitude as in that picture.

The inner circular band represents the fifth *vedikā* within which was the *Gandhakūṭi*, and in it the *siṃhāsana* or lion-throne for the Tirthaṅkara. The details are shown as in No. 36. The Tirthaṅkara as in that picture is shown sitting on a lotus-throne (*padmāsana* not *siṃhāsana*) rising in three tiers, in the *sampanyāka* attitude with hands placed in meditation on his lap. Some of the *prātihāryas* attending him, as for instance, *chāmara*s waved by two *devas* standing on either side of him, the nimbus, the parasol (*mukkoḍai*), the *aśoka* tree (leaves of it alone), and the throne can be made out in the painting while the rest, such as the celestial music, the shower of heavenly flowers and the drum can only be inferred. On either side of the throne, projecting inwards from the *vedikā* is a *yajñi*'s head from the mouth of which issues a lion's tail.

The circular structure including both the *Gandhakūṭi* and the *Lakshminivara-maṇḍapa* is surmounted by a *vimāna* with a spiral finial surmounted by a three-tiered parasol (*mukkoḍai*), and over this, poised in the air are some of the celestial beings presumably *Gandharvas*, scattering flowers on the *vimāna* below them. Some of them stand on either side of the *vimāna* too. Unfortunately this part of the painting could not be photographed; so it does not appear in the plate.

III

SCENES FROM THE LIVES OF KRISHNA AND NEMINĀTHA.

Krishna, the most popular of the Hindu gods, finds a prominent niche in Jaina mythology. He is said to be the cousin of the twenty-second Tirthaṅkara Neminātha. The popularity of the Krishna-incarnation even among the Jinas is proved by the fact that a larger number of paintings is devoted to Krishna's life and that the Śrī Purāṇa (Vol. IV) devotes a larger number of pages for the life of Krishna than for Neminātha himself.

The life of Krishna as given in the Jaina Purāṇas is much the same as is found in the Mahābhārata and the Bhāgavata of the Hindu. It is, however, necessary to give here in brief outline the account given in the Śrī Purāṇa, as this differs in many respects from the better known version of the Śatruñjaya Māhātmya (Sarga x) which has been critically discussed in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xxx. pp. 297-302. And it will be convenient to follow it with a similar brief account of the life of Neminātha, as the remaining series of pictures illustrate both.

Some years before the birth of Krishna, a non-Jaina ascetic Vasishṭha by name, was performing a rigorous penance in the midst of *pañchāgni*, i.e., surrounded by fire on the four cardinal points and with the sun above, when two Jaina sages (*chāraṇas*) pointed out to him that such a penance should not be performed as insects in his hair or *jaḷās* and serpents and other small living beings in the fuel were getting burnt in his fire. Vasishṭha was made a convert to the Jaina peaceful methods of performing penance and proceeded to do penance near Mathurāpura. Ugrasena, the king of Mathurāpura, who knew the custom among the Jaina ascetics of going out for food periodically, wanted to be the first to feed Vasishṭha. Accordingly he issued a proclamation that when Vasishṭha should come there for food no one should feed him as he himself wanted to receive the merit of feeding him. Three times the ascetic came to the city but got no food, as on his visits Ugrasena was otherwise busy. On the first occasion the palace was ablaze. On the second occasion an infuriated elephant was doing havoc in the city and on the third occasion Ugrasena himself did not receive the ascetic when he came, as he had heard bad news from Jarāsandha, the king of another country. As the ascetic was returning to the forest without food a passer-by remarked that Ugrasena was bent upon starving him, as he had proclaimed that none else should offer him food. The hungry ascetic got incensed at this news and vowed that he would become the son of Ugrasena and bring ruin on him.

Accordingly he was conceived in the womb of Padmāvatī, the wife of Ugrasena. When the child was born it was so ill-looking, with red looks, that the parents wanted to get rid of it as soon as possible. They placed it in a *kāṁsa-mañjūshā* or bed of bell-metal, with a cudgion leaf explaining its parentage and set it afloat on the river Jumna.

The bed reached the city of Kausāmbī, where a woman who was a sweet-meat seller, Maṇḍōdarī by name took the child and reared him up calling him Kamsa as he was found in a *kāṁsa-mañjūshā*. But he grew into such a rebellious youth and a bully to the neighbouring youths that eventually Maṇḍōdarī had to send him away.

Kamsa reached a city called Śaurya-pura, whose king Vasudeva took him in his service. King Jarāsandha, a powerful neighbouring monarch, issued a proclamation that whoever could capture king Simharatha of Paudanapura, a rebellious vassal of his, could claim half of his kingdom and also the hand of a lady called Jivadyaśā, daughter of Kaṇḍisēna, a relation of his. Vasudeva captured Simharatha alive but when he went to claim the reward from Jarāsandha he found Jivadyaśā so bad-looking that he threw the credit of having captured Simharatha on Kamsa. But Jarāsandha hesitated to give his consent for the marriage as he was not sure if Kamsa was of the warrior-caste or of some lower one. Maṇḍodari, who was sent for, produced the bell-metal bed and the cudgion leaf before Jarāsandha, who now learnt that Kamsa was king Ugrasena's son. And Kamsa was given one half of the kingdom and the hand of Jivadyaśā.

Incensed at what his parents had done with him, he imprisoned both Ugrasena and Padmavati and kept them in chains at the gate-way of Mathurāpura, which he made the capital of his kingdom. He was, however, grateful to Vasudeva, to whom he gave in marriage his cousin, Devaki, daughter of Devasena, his paternal uncle, and arranged for them to live with him.

One day, Devaki's brother, Ratimukta by name, who was an ascetic, came to the palace for "charya", i.e., periodical food. Kamsa's wife, Jivadyaśā showed him the nuptial-cloth of Devaki and made fun of her. Ratimukta prophesied that a son would be born to Devaki, who would kill Kamsa. On hearing this, Jivadyaśā tore the cloth in wrath and Ratimukta said that her action meant that Devaki's son would kill her father too. Jivadyaśā then crushed the cloth under her feet when the ascetic prophesied that this action indicated that Devaki's son would become the lord of the world.

Jivadyaśā imparted this news to Kamsa who got so nervous that he decided on killing the children that were to be born to Devaki. To carry out his resolve he feigned deep affection for Vasudeva and Devaki and requested them to stay with him in his own palace during Devaki's pregnancy. To this they agreed, suspecting nothing. Devaki gave birth to twins three times which were stealthily removed from the palace by one of the *devas* called Naigamarshaṇa and were entrusted to the care of a lady, Ālakā of the *Vaiśya* caste, who had also simultaneously given birth to twins three times. The *deva* removed Ālakā's children to Kamsa's palace, where Kamsa dashed them against rocks and killed them, under the belief that they were born to Devaki.

Seven months later Devaki gave birth to her seventh son, Kṛishṇa who was similarly removed from the palace stealthily, this time not by the *deva* Naigamarshaṇa but by Vasudeva himself and his step-son, Baladeva¹ to a village of cowherds nearby. There a cowherd, Nanda, who had a daughter born to his wife, as a result of her repeated prayers, was carrying the child to the temple to offer it to the god to whom she had prayed. Vasudeva and Baladeva gave him Kṛishṇa and took in return his daughter which they carried back to Kamsa's palace. On hearing that Devaki had given birth to

¹ For Baladeva of Jaina hagiology, see *Appendix III*, pp. 222-223.

a daughter Kamsa took the child from Devakī and crushed it under his feet. He then heaved a sigh of relief, little suspecting that Kṛishṇa, his foe, was growing up in the village of the cowherds.

But bad omens and evil portents such as earthquakes at Mathurāpura made him nervous again, for a soothsayer, Varuṇa, told him that they all indicated that his foe, who was to kill him, was still alive. He commissioned evil spirits to kill his foe but they all failed and out of shame never returned to him. In course of time he learnt that Kṛishṇa was his foe. He attempted to kill him in many ways but in vain, till finally he wrestled with Kṛishṇa and was killed.

Kṛishṇa now became the lord of the land. Ugrasena and his wife were set free and were installed at Mathurāpura as king and queen once again. Kṛishṇa stayed with his father, Vasudeva at Śauryapura.

King Jarāsandha learnt from Jivadyaśa, the widow of Kamsa, about Kamsa's death at the hands of Kṛishṇa and sent his three sons, one after another to attack Kṛishṇa, who proved more than a match for the first two sons but could not withstand the attacks of the third, Kālayava. Feeling that he and his followers would be pursued by Kālayava and his forces, Kṛishṇa led his followers to an unknown island in the sea which he named Dvārāvattī.

All were happy at Dvārāvattī and Kṛishṇa ruled the island with the help of his father Vasudeva and step-brother Baladeva. About this time Neminātha, the twenty-second Tirthaṅkara was born in the island to an uncle of Kṛishṇa, called Samudravijaya and his wife Śivadevī, and grew into a handsome youth. By his prowess and valour he overshadowed even Kṛishṇa. There grew up a mighty friendship between Kṛishṇa and Neminātha, as is common among cousins.

It so happened that Jarāsandha learnt of the whereabouts of Kṛishṇa and his men from some ship-wrecked merchants who had seen Dvārāvattī and its lord, Kṛishṇa. He sent a challenge to Kṛishṇa to come out of his hiding place and fight with him like a warrior, and Kṛishṇa accepted the challenge. Entrusting Dvārāvattī to Neminātha he started with Vasudeva and Baladeva and a big force for Kurukshetra, where in a pitched battle with Jarāsandha and his forces he killed Jarāsandha and routed his forces. When he returned victorious to Dvārāvattī the people anointed him a universal monarch (*chakravartin*), and Neminātha conferred on him his blessings.

The life of Neminātha is as follows:—

King Samudravijaya of the Hari dynasty, who was an uncle of Kṛishṇa, was staying with the Yādavas in Dvārāvattī. His wife, Śivadevī, while sleeping, saw the sixteen dreams that every mother of a Tirthaṅkara sees and like Vardhamāna's mother, Priyakāriṇī, saw the elephant entering her face. In due course she gave birth to Neminātha. The *devas* headed by Saudharmendra took him to mount Maha-Meru for *Jaumābhisheka* and after anointing him with celestial waters brought him back to Dvārāvattī. Neminātha grew into a handsome youth. A close friendship arose between him and Kṛishṇa, who always consulted him in affairs dealing with the administration of the kingdom, etc.

When King Jarāsandha challenged Kṛishṇa to come out of his hiding place and fight with him, Kṛishṇa invited Neminātha to look after the kingdom while he was away, which he did.

One day while Neminātha was sporting in a tank with Satyabhāmā, one of the wives of Kṛishṇa, he made a wager with her that whosoever got tired first in a water-fight (*jala-kriḍā*), i.e., splashing water against each other, should wear the dress of the other. Satyabhāmā got tired earlier and when asked to wear the dress of Neminātha refused to do so on the ground that he had not done *trivikrama* (i.e., getting on the *Naga-śayana*, blowing a conch and bending a bow) like her husband Kṛishṇa. Thereupon Neminātha did *trivikrama* before her and the blast that he produced from the conch was heard by all including Kṛishṇa, who learnt from his men whence the sound came. Feeling that Neminātha desired to enjoy the pleasures of life Kṛishṇa arranged for his marriage with Rātrimati, the daughter of Ugrasena.

When the day fixed for the marriage came Kṛishṇa reflected in his mind that the step he had taken was dangerous to himself as Neminātha, when married, by tasting the pleasures of worldly life, would be tempted to make himself a *chakravartin*, in which case he (Kṛishṇa) would be overshadowed by his superior might and intellect. He therefore wanted to prevent the marriage from taking place. When Neminātha was coming along the streets in procession towards the palace where the marriage was to take place Kṛishṇa got herds of sickly cattle, sheep and other animals to stand in his way so that, on seeing them, he might get disgusted with life, and put off his marriage for ever. True to his expectations Neminātha was so moved by the pitiable condition of these animals that he resolved to renounce the world.

Immediately after, the *Laukātīkas* came and reminded him of *dīkshā*. He got into a palanquin like the other Tīrthaṅkaras and left for a forest where he did penance under trees for a number of years, periodically going to various countries for *charyā*. After a time he became a *kevalī* when the *devas* raised the "samavasaraṇa" over him, seated in the centre of which he taught the world the supreme Law.¹

Painting No. 65 (pl. xxv)—

65-a. கௌரவாசனத்தில் கம்சனும் ஜீவத்யாஸையும் அரண்மனையில் யிருக்குறது பிவ
டம் உ ||

Mathurāpurattil Kamsanum Jivadyasaiyum aramāṇai (nai) yil yirukkuṛadu yivadam ||

"Here [are shown] Kamsa and his wife Jivadyaśā being (sitting) in the palace in Mathurāpura."

Both Kamsa and Jivadyaśā are shown as sitting and being fanned by an attendant while two other men with staffs held under their arms, perhaps his court-officials, are awaiting his commands with their hands placed together in respect (*añjali*).

¹ One of the links in Jaina tradition is the historicity of Neminātha, who was a prince in Kathiawar and flourished about 5,000 years before Pārśvanātha who is said to have died in 776 B.C. Indian history before 327 B.C. being so uncertain we can reject this period that intervened between these Tīrthaṅkaras as fabulous. But the authenticity of his life need not be brushed aside in like manner. He was a prince of the Vāśava clan at Dvārakā and a cousin of Kṛishṇa. For a discussion on this subject see Jaini, *Outlines of Jainism*, pp. xxxiv-v.

65-b. Illustrates the marriage between Vasudeva and Devaki.

கம்ஸது சுதர்மஜெயாசிய டேவகியை வஸுதேவனுக்கு கடுரணம்பண்ணி
குடுக்குறது பிவடம் உ ||

Kamsan annjaiyagiya Devakiyai Vasudevanukku kalyāṇam paṇṇi kuḍukkuradu yivadam உ ||

"Here is shown Devaki, the younger sister of Kamsa, being given in marriage to Vasudeva by Kamsa."

Vasudeva and Devaki are shown on the left sitting side by side on a raised seat. A fire is kindled in front of them by a *purohita* or priest who is pouring some oblations into the flames and performing the necessary marriage rites. The lighting of the fire is an important item in a marriage or in any religious function in India for it is believed that no function will be sanctified and legalized unless it is done in the presence of the fire-god, who is supposed to be a never-failing witness.

The fire is placed on a pyramidal pedestal. In the foreground are two *kalasas* with mango leaves inserted in them and a tray with what look like flowers upon it.

65-c. This illustrates the birth of Krishna.

டேவகிக்கு சூழ்ந்து பிறந்தது பிவடம்,

Devakikku Krishnan pirandadu yivadam.

"Here [is shown] the birth of Krishna to Devaki."

The birth of the child is indicated here as in similar birth scenes (pl. xvii) by Devaki standing or sitting behind a small screen which half hides her. She has her right hand extended suggesting that she is in pain. An attendant is anxiously watching her, standing on her left, and is massaging her in the region of her hips.

Painting No. 66 (pl. xxv).—This illustrates the removal of the child stealthily to Godavana, the locality of the cowherds, where it was entrusted to the care of a cowherd, Nanda.

66-a. வஸுதேவனு சூழ்ந்து வாங்குறது பிவடம் உ ||

Baladevan Krishnanai vāṅguradu yivadam உ ||

"Here (is shown) Baladeva receiving Krishna."

Vasudeva and Baladeva, who wished that Kamsa should not come to know about the birth of Krishna, removed him from the palace with the intention of giving him to someone who would rear him up without revealing his identity. Baladeva took the child from the hands of a nurse in the birth-room and reached the palace gates, accompanied by Vasudeva, who spread a white umbrella over the child, and led by the guardian-deity of the city which came in the form of a bull and removed darkness on his way by the lustre issuing from the gems (*ratnas*) with which its horns were inlaid. The city gates, which were then locked, opened of their own accord to let the party out. Baladeva and Vasudeva reached the river *Yamunā* (Jumna) which they could not cross for there was no ferry then, it being midnight. But the goddess *Yamunā*, the presiding deity of the river, stopped the flow of her waters for some time and gave them a passage. On arriving at the other shore they met a cowherd, Nanda, who was carrying a female child in his arms. On learning

from him that the child was born to his wife who had prayed to a deity near by for a child and that he was carrying the child, as his wife desired, to the temple of that deity to make of it an offering there, Vasudeva gave him Kṛishṇa and took his daughter in return, narrating to him the birth of Kṛishṇa and asking him to bring up the child in complete concealment. Nanda took Kṛishṇa home and fearing that his wife might not believe him if he told her the real account of the child told her that the deity to whom he offered the female child born to her gave him in return a boy. His innocent wife believed him and brought up the child as her own.

Baladeva, who can be distinguished by a plough¹ (which was his weapon) that leans against his shoulder is seen spreading his hands to receive child Kṛishṇa whom an attendant woman is holding in her hands. This attendant woman is shown again on the right, where presumably she is taking the child from the room before giving it to Baladeva.

66-6. வஸுதேவது யவஹததும் செக்குறது சிவடம் உ.

Vasudevan dhavaḥa-chhatram yedukkuradu yivadam உ.

"Here [is shown] Vasudeva spreading a white umbrella."

Baladeva who is again distinguished by a plough resting on his shoulder is carrying the child while Vasudeva goes before him with the umbrella spread over it. In all these paintings Vasudeva is painted yellow and Baladeva white.

66-6. கதாபுரவாசல் கதவு தானே திறந்தது சிவடம் உ ||
செல்லுக்குறது சிவடம் உ ||

Nagaradēvatāi vṛishabhāhāramāy koṇbula rattinaṅgaḷ alitti muḷsellukuruadu yivadam உ ||

"Here [is shown] the guardian-deity of the city, in the form of a bull going before them with its horns inlaid with gems."

The bull, which is shown as trotting before them towards the gate, is said to have illumined the way by the gems with which its horns were inlaid.

66-6. கோபுரவாசல் கதவு தானே திறந்தது சிவடம் உ ||

Gōpura-vāśal-kadavu tāṇē tīrandadu yivadam உ ||

"Here did the tower-gate open of its own accord."

A rectangular lattice-work surmounted by a *gopura*-tower represents the tower-gate. It is said the gate opened when the child's feet were made to touch it. Ugrasena, the father of Kamsa, who was in chains there asked them who they were and was told that the child was to become his rescuer. On hearing this Ugrasena felt glad at heart.

66-6. அப்பால் சிமநதி தானே விலங்குறது சிவடம் உ ||

Appal Yimā-nadi tāṇē vilanṅguradu yivadam உ ||

"Then the river Yamunā moved and gave way of its own accord."

The river is indicated by two wavy lines with fishes between, while the passage that the river is said to have allowed to the party is indicated by a small red band in the middle of the river.

¹ The plough is his distinguishing mark in Hindu mythology also.

66-f. ஸாதுஷெவபு பிள்ளை உ-குதுவொத்திரமெல்லாம் செல்லி தந்மொபுபு கைகிலெ
புள்ளையை குடுக்குறது கிவடம் உ ||

*Baladevan pillai pūruvottiram-ellām sollī Nanda-gōpan kaiyile puḷḷayai kuḍukkuradu
yivadam உ ||*

"Here [is shown] Baladeva placing the boy (Kṛishṇa) in the hands of the cowherd Nanda, after narrating to him the parentage, etc., of the child."

Baladeva, with his plough leaning against his shoulder, is shown here holding the child in a position suggesting that he is about to deliver it into the hands of the cowherd who, with outspread hands is eager to receive it. The cowherd is shown in the typical dress of cowherds even to-day, *vis.*, a shawl covering the head and the back and a small loin-cloth suspended from a string tied to the waist and has the *nāmam* (Vaishṇava caste-mark) on his forehead. At his feet lies the female child, painted deep-red like Nanda, which he has deposited on the ground probably in his eagerness to receive child Kṛishṇa. Baladeva, as usual, is painted white.

Nanda is shown again, on the left, with the child in his arms, departing from the place and going to his wife. His wife stands on the extreme left of the painting, in front of Nanda, with the child in her arms having presumably just received it from him.

Though the Śrī Purāṇa (Vol. IV) speaks of Vasudeva taking the child and entrusting it to the care of Nanda, this is ascribed in the painting to Baladeva. This is a clear deviation from the text.

Painting No. 67 (pl. xxv).—Here are shown the various evil spirits commissioned by Kamsa, attempting to kill Kṛishṇa.

Seven evil spirits were sent. They reached Godāvana, the locality where Kṛishṇa was growing up, one after the other. The first, a female spirit took the form of Nanda's wife and with her breasts smeared with poison, approached Kṛishṇa and took him up in her arms tempting him to suckle her breasts. Before Kṛishṇa could do so, one of the guardian-deities of Kṛishṇa caught hold of her breasts and pressed them with such force that she dropped Kṛishṇa down and fled away.

The second spirit came in the form of a wheel with the intention of running over Kṛishṇa but when it came near him he gave it a kick with such force that it was shattered into countless pieces.

On another occasion, when Nanda's wife wanted to go out to fetch water, Kṛishṇa insisted on following her wherever she went. To prevent him she tied him to a big stone mortar. But Kṛishṇa followed her even now, dragging the mortar along after him. Two of the evil spirits came and stood in his way in the form of two trees with the intention of doing him harm when he came near them. Kṛishṇa came along with the mortar behind him but when he reached the trees he pulled them up by their roots and dashed them one against the other.

Another spirit took the form of a palmyra tree with the intention of dropping its fruits on Kṛishṇa when he should pass beneath. Yet another took the form of an ass and approached Kṛishṇa intending to bite him. Kṛishṇa pulled up the palmyra tree and

beat the ass with it with such force that both the tree-spirit and the ass-spirit ran for their lives.

The seventh and last of the spirits sent by Kamsa approached him in the form of a horse intending to bite him. When the horse was sufficiently near him he caught hold of its mouth firmly and tore its jaws.

Unable to harm Krishṇa in any way all these spirits ran away to their worlds. Out of shame they did not go to Kamsa who was therefore still in the dark regarding the whereabouts of his foe.

In the painting all these details are represented in a crowded manner, the labels in two cases being in the painting itself and not in the bands below. They are dealt with here in five sections (a, b, c, d and e).

67-a. காவலு விடாட டெவதை ஏழு ரு. ஒரு டெவதை சகடம்பொலெ வந்தது யிவடம் உ.

Kāmsan viḍapatta devatai ēṇu 7. Oru devatai śakataṁpole vandadu yivadam உ.

"The spirits commissioned by Kamsa are seven, 7. One spirit comes here in the form of a wheel."

Krishṇa is here seen above kicking the wheel.

எடச்சி க்ருஷ்ணை [உர*] டெடெ க(ட)டி(ப)பொட்டு தண்ணிக்கு பொற பொது உரலை யிழுத்து(க்)கொன்(ண்)டு பொறது யிவடம்.

சென்(இரண்)டு டெவதை வுக்ஷாஹா(கா)ரமாயி வந்தது யிவடம் உ.

Edachchi Krishṇanai [ura] ḍeḍe kaṭṭi(ṭi)ṭi poṭṭu tannikku pōraṇḍu uralai yiluttu(k) koṇ(n)ḍupōradu yivadam.*

Reṇ (Iraṇ)ḍu devatai vrikshāhā(kā) ramāyi vandadu yivadam உ.

"When the cowherdess tied Krishṇa to a mortar and left to fetch water Krishṇa dragging the mortar [is shown] here."

"Here [are shown] two spirits that came in the form of trees."

The cowherdess is shown with a pitcher in her right hand going away from the child Krishṇa who is following her dragging the mortar behind him. He is pulling up the trees that stand in his way. The bodies of the two evil spirits, shown as women, hang from the trees head downwards. The evil spirits (themselves in their real forms) are here curiously associated with their assumed forms.

67-b. ஒரு டெவதை பகமாமாயி வந்தது யிவடம் உ |

ஒரு டெவதை குழிசை வடிவாய் வந்தது யிவடம் உ ||

ஒரு டெவதை கழுதை வடிவாய் வந்தது யிவடம் உ.

Oru devatai paṇamaramāyi vandadu yivadam உ |

Oru devatai kuḍirai vaḍivāy vandadu yivadam உ ||

Oru devatai kaḷudai vaḍivāy vandadu yivadam உ.

"A spirit [that] came in the form of a palmya tree [is shown] here."

"A spirit coming in the form of a horse [is shown] here."

"A spirit coming in the form of an ass [is shown] here."

Krishṇa is shown here twice. While above he is pulling up the palmyra tree evidently with the intention of beating the ass that stands in front of him, he is shown below tearing the jaws of the horse that is attacking him.

67-c. ஒரு தெவதை பொண்ணா(ணா)வாய் முலை குடுக்க வந்தது சிவடம் உ

சிவ யெழு தெவதைகளையுஞ் சூழ்ந் தாசிரிவிட்டது சிவடம்.

Oru devatai poṇṇu (ṇuṇ) vāy mulai kuḍukka vandadu yivadam உ

Yinda eḷu devataigalaiyūṇ Krishṇan turattiviṭṭadu yivadam.

"One spirit came here in the form of a female [to feed Krishṇa] with [the milk in] her breasts."

"Here did Krishṇa drive all these seven spirits."

The female spirit is here shown in the form of a giantess (with Krishṇa in her arm). Though according to the Śrī Purāṇa she is said to have assumed the form of Nanda's wife she is represented as of immense form, more in keeping with her evil nature. Moreover she was called *Bhūtā* or the demoness.

Three of these labels (67-a and 67-c) are in the painting itself contrary to the practice of writing them in the band below. The first records the commencement of the attacks on Krishṇa by the seven spirits, beginning, however, with the one that came as a wheel. The second records the coming of the ass-spirit, and the third the defeat of all the spirits.

67-d. அரிஸ்தென்பாடுருடுவது சூழ்ந் வுஷவாநகா(கா)ரமாய் பரிசுஷ்ருதது சிவடம் |

*Arishtan-eyṇḍāṇoru devan Krishṇanai vṛishabhāhā(kā)ramāy parikṣhikkuradu yivadam.*¹ |

"A *deva* called Arishtaṇ coming in the form of a bull and putting the strength of Krishṇa to the test."

Arishta¹, who admired Krishṇa's doings, chased him one day in the form of a bull with the intention of testing his strength. Krishṇa caught the bull's neck and twisted it with such force that the *deva* regretted the step he had taken and begged his pardon for his foolishness. Nanda's wife who happened to arrive on the scene when Krishṇa was twisting the bull's neck, reprimanded him for his bold and rash actions. Just then the parents of Krishṇa, Vasudeva and Devakī, accompanied by Baladeva came there to see him.

67-e. வசு-படுவது பாடுவது தெவவி இவர்கள் பின்னைய பாட(ர்க)க வந்தது சி(வடம்).

Vasudevan Baladevan Devakī ivargaḷ piṇṇaiyai pāḍ(rk)ka vandadu yi(vadam).

"Here [are shown] Vasudeva, Baladeva and Devakī (and others) who came to see the boy."

Vasudeva, Devakī and Baladeva who were duly kept informed of the doings of Krishṇa were all longing to see him but could not do so openly lest Kamsa should get suspicious and do harm to Krishṇa. It so happened that a festival called *Gomukhī*, when

¹ See above, p. 94.

cows were decorated and worshipped, fell on the particular day when Kṛishṇa subdued the *deva*, Arishṭa. And on the pretext of seeing the cows at Godāvana they all went to the place where Kṛishṇa was growing up and saw him subduing the bull to the dismay of Nanda's wife. Devakī was lost in admiration of her son and her motherly affection which was latent revived with such force that milk dripped from her breasts. Baladeva, who saw this, suddenly took milk in his hands from a pot near by and sprinkled it on her saying that she was about to faint from fatigue consequent on her observing the fast on that day. After decorating Kṛishṇa with ornaments and rich dress his parents took leave of him along with Baladeva and left for the city.

In the painting Devakī is shown standing erect suggesting that she is lost in her admiration of her son who is standing in front of her. He has his right hand raised and the first finger lifted up as if he is mockingly threatening Nanda's wife who is standing on the right of Devakī, threatening him with her right first finger. She is shown here as a lady of comparatively small size. In the background, on the extreme right, Vasudeva and Baladeva can be seen though the painting has been much obliterated. Vasudeva who, as usual, is coloured yellow (which shows as black in the photograph) points at Kṛishṇa with his right hand. Baladeva is white and carries his weapon, the plough, shown in black.

Painting No. 68 (pl. xxv).—This illustrates some more events of valour relating to the life of Kṛishṇa.

68-a. க்ருஷ்ண . . . னைத்து எடுத்து மொகுலங்களை . . . து யிவ(டம்).

Kṛishṇan . . . nattal eduttu gokulaṅgalai . . . tu yiva(ḍam).

"Kṛishṇa lifting up (here) the (mountain Govardha)ṇa, . . . and protecting the cow-world."

During a heavy rain when all the cows and the cowherds and their wives were rendered homeless and were consequently suffering for want of a shelter Kṛishṇa lifted up over them as a protection a mountain called *Govardhana*.

He is shown standing in the middle of the painting lifting up the mountain with the little finger of his left hand and the cattle stand below.

68-b. This illustrates another deed of valour and strength of Kṛishṇa, one of those by which Kamsa came to know who and where his foe was.

மதுரா . . . பரவ்நாமில் . . . |

க்ருஷ்ண த்ரிவிசுரம் பன்ன(ண்ணு) குரது யிவ(டம்) உ ||

Mathurā . . . parvvanamil . . . |

Kṛishṇan trivikramam panna(ṇṇu) kuradu yiva(ḍam) உ ||

"Mathurā . . . in . . . Parvvanam"

"Here Kṛishṇa does *trivikrama* or three conquests".

One day Kamsa learnt from his men that in a part of his palace called Indra-Bhavana three curious things had appeared which were a conch, a bow and a vehicle designed like a *nāga* or serpent (*nāga-sayana*). They were, it was said, created for Kṛishṇa whose greatness was to become known to the world through them. Varuṇa, Kamsa's soothsayer,

who was sent for said that he who could ascend the *nāga-śayana*, bend the bow and blow the conch could become the Lord of the three worlds. And Kamsa, curious to know if he could become one, tried to ascend the *nāga-śayana*, bend the bow and blow the conch but in vain. Thereupon he issued a proclamation that whosoever can do *trivikrama*, i.e., these three deeds, can claim the hand of his daughter in marriage.

Many kings started for the city of Mathurāpura with the intention of doing *trivikrama*. One of them was Bhānu, the son of Subhānu, a brother-in-law of Kamsa. On his way to Mathurāpura Bhānu camped in Godāvana on the banks of a lotus-tank in which dwelt a big serpent¹. The cowherds refused to allow him to camp there as they said that the serpent would do harm to all that came near the tank save Kṛishṇa who alone was powerful enough to subdue it. Kṛishṇa was sent for and he permitted him to camp, remaining with him to protect him from the serpent. A friendship sprung up between Bhānu and Kṛishṇa, and Bhānu told the latter that he was bound for Mathurāpura to do *trivikrama*. Kṛishṇa offering to accompany him on the condition that Bhānu would not reveal his identity they started for the city.

Arrived at the city they found that all the kings that came to do *trivikrama* had been unsuccessful in their attempts and were departing for their respective kingdoms. This greatly disheartened Bhānu who was however encouraged to make the attempt by Kṛishṇa offering to help him. The latter accompanied Bhānu, unobserved by Kamsa and his men, to Indra-Bhavana, and did the three deeds successively in the name of Bhānu. Soon after he left for Godāvana unperceived.

True to his promise Kamsa requested Bhānu to marry his daughter which the latter was very glad and eager to do for he knew well that he did not merit the offer. Unfortunately for him some deities that guarded the *nāga-śayana* told Kamsa that *trivikrama* was not done by him but by Kṛishṇa. Thereupon Kamsa sent for his trusted messengers and ordered them on pain of death to find out Kṛishṇa.

The painting which is obliterated shows a tree under which Kṛishṇa is standing on a five headed cobra, bending the bow and blowing a conch with its end designed like a hamsa's tail.

68-உ. ஊதொவது மொருவகனை ஓடிக்கொண்டு ஓடி(ப்)பொ(கி)தது விவடம் உ.

Nandagopan Gokulaṅgaḷai Ottikkonḍu ḍḍi(p)ṇḍi(ki) raḍu yivadam உ.

"Here (is shown) the cowherd, Nanda, driving the cow-world and running away."

Nanda, the foster-father of Kṛishṇa, on hearing that Kṛishṇa had done *trivikrama* at Mathurāpura, and that Kamsa had learnt that he had been duped and had sent his men to find him, became afraid of meeting Kamsa's wrath and set out for a distant land with the cowherds, their families and the cows.

In the painting Nanda is shown with his cow-world on the move. First come the cows and the calves, then the cowherds with their wives and children and lastly Nanda himself with a staff in his right hand and a bag in his left.

¹ This serpent is known in Hindu mythology as *Kāliya* by subduing which Kṛishṇa got the name *Kāliya-Kṛishṇa*.

68-d. சிலஸ்தம்பத்தை எடுத்து நிழ்த்து (சிறு)நது விவடம் உ ||

. *silāstambhattai eduttu niruttu(tti)nadu yivadam u* ||.

"Here [is shown Kṛishṇa] taking a stone pillar and making it stand."

While Nanda and his men were on their way, Kṛishṇa, who was accompanying them, wanted to give Nanda confidence so that he could be persuaded to return. When, therefore, they came across a huge stone pillar on the way Kṛishṇa lifted it up and held it aloft. The cowherds praised Kṛishṇa and worshipped him with flowers and ornaments while Nanda realized that with Kṛishṇa near them no harm could happen to himself or the cowherds. He now determined to return to Godāvana and face the wrath of Kamsa.

In the painting Kṛishṇa is shown holding the pillar.

Painting No. 69 (pl. xxvi)—

69-a. பொங்கை(வி)ஊ தாமரபூவும் பறிக்க பொன பொது மதராநாமம் சிறி வா
தன வலு, சிறுவன் அடித்து புலுக்கு பறிக்து வந்தது விவடம் உ ||

. *Poygai(yi)ḷ tamarapushpam parikka pon-podu mahā-nāgam-ṣiri vāra taṇ
vastrattiṇai adittu pushpattai parittu vandadu yivadam u* ||

"Here (is shown Kṛishṇa) who subdued with his cloth the big serpent that came to bite him with a hissing noise when he wanted to pluck a lotus flower from the tank, and who brought the flower."

Suspicious of the existence of his foe in Godāvana, Kamsa tried to discover him by an artifice. He ordered Nanda to send him a lotus flower with 1,000 petals that was growing in the tank of their village, a tank which was guarded by a big serpent, for he thought that if he could know who took it from the tank he would thereby know who his foe was. Nanda was at his wit's end when he received this order but Kṛishṇa reassured him and offered to get the flower without revealing his identity to Kamsa. Nanda agreeing, Kṛishṇa dived into the tank when the serpent rushed at him with a hissing noise and with its hood outspread. Kṛishṇa threw his cloth on it and the serpent got so frightened that it ran away. The flower was taken and was sent to Kamsa by messengers.

In the painting, Kṛishṇa is seen in the middle of the tank which is indicated by lotuses in the middle and steps on all sides. He is throwing his cloth on the serpent which is jumping up.

69-b. கம்ஸனு மடியாணையை விட சூலுது கொம்பை புடித்து முறிய அடித்து
விவடம் உ

Kamsan madayāṇaiyā viḍa Kṛishṇan koṁbai pudittu muṛiya adittadu yivadam u

"Kamsa setting up an infuriated elephant and Kṛishṇa subduing it by twisting its tusks."

On receiving the lotus from Nanda's messengers Kamsa learnt that his foe was living in Godāvana. With the intention of getting Kṛishṇa to the city so that he could kill him he announced to Nanda and the cowherds that he had organized a world-wrestling match in which all wrestlers could take part. He sent special requests to the cowherds to send their wrestlers, if they had any, to the match so that it should not be said of them that

there was no wrestler in their midst. Kṛishṇa, who was eager to take part in the match, prevailed on Nanda to send him along with some other wrestlers from among the cowherds to the city. Kamsa, who was awaiting them at the city gates, put an infuriated mad elephant in their way in the hope that it would kill Kṛishṇa. But Kṛishṇa caught hold of its tusks and brought it down easily.

In the painting he is shown as wrenching out its tusks.

69-c. கிருஷ்ணனும் பாலாடேவனும் மல்லயுத்திப்பண்ண கல்லாடுதெ கொல்லுகுறத்துக்கு யித
சமயமின்று காதலெ சொல்லி ஒடிப்பாடுது யிவடம் ||

*Kṛishṇanum Baladevanum malla-yuddham paṇṇa Kaṇṣanaḥ kollukuraṭṭukku yidu
samayam-irru kāḍuḭē sollī ṭḍi ponadu yivadam ||*

"Baladeva and Kṛishṇa wrestling, and Baladeva whispering into the ears of Kṛishṇa that the time was ripe for Kṛishṇa to kill Kamsa, and then running away."

Vasudeva, who had learnt the designs of Kamsa, collected all his forces and was ready to assist Kṛishṇa should Kamsa carry out his plans. Baladeva, who wanted to inform Kṛishṇa of this, was wondering how he could contrive to convey the news to him without arousing Kamsa's suspicions till a thought struck him. To the utter surprise of all, including Kṛishṇa himself he came out in the arena and challenged Kṛishṇa to wrestle with him. Kṛishṇa accepting the challenge, both wrestled for some time. In the course of the wrestling Baladeva whispered into the ears of Kṛishṇa the reasons for his adopting such a course and that the time had come for him to kill Kamsa and that he had nothing to apprehend from Kamsa's men as Vasudeva had collected his forces and was ready to come to his rescue should need be. In a short time he feigned defeat and left the arena.

In the painting they are shown as wrestling. Kṛishṇa is the shorter of the two. As is usual Baladeva is done in white. The plough, his distinguishing mark, rests on his shoulder.

69-d. கிருஷ்ண மல்லகொடு யுத்திப்பண்ணி செ(ஜ)யிச்ச(த்த)து யிவடம் வ.

Kṛishṇan mallagode yuddham paṇṇi śe(ja)yichcha(tta)du yivadam வ.

"Kṛishṇa wrestling with (Kamsa's) wrestler and coming out victorious."

A trained wrestler of Kamsa, Chāṇūra by name, was then sent to the arena. In a short time Kṛishṇa sent him to the other world and cried if there were any more wrestlers who desired to be sent to the other world too.

Kṛishṇa is here shown wrestling with Chāṇūra who is done in yellow and who is naked except for a small loin-cloth (*laṅghoḥ*).

69-e. கிரகு காமசு . . . காலேபுறத்து தலைநீழாய் அடித்துப்பாட்ட . . .

Piragu Kaṁsan . . . kalai pudittu talaiṇiḷay adittu poṭṭa . . .

"Then Kamsa . . . holding the leg and head downwards dashing . . ."

Driven by fate Kamsa accepted the challenge thrown by Kṛishṇa and descended the arena. It was easy work for Kṛishṇa to kill him. He took him by his legs and whirling him round like a wheel dashed him down so that he died forthwith.

In the painting Kṛishṇa is shown holding Kamsa by his legs so that his head is down.

69-f. வசுதேவனும் கௌரவர்களும் . . . யதிநீலம் மொடும் . . . ஸகலஜனங்களை
கொன்று . . .

Vasudeva-Baladevar . . . yattiṇḍi Gopa . . . sakala janaṅgaḷu . . .

"Vasudeva, Baladeva (and the other relations of Kṛishṇa announcing) to all (that had come there that Kṛishṇa was Vasudeva's son and that he was growing up in the midst of) the cowherds for fear (of Kamsa)".

The people of Mathurāpura and the followers of Kamsa became tumultuous on hearing that Kṛishṇa, a cowherd after all, had killed their king. To allay their tumult Vasudeva and Baladeva told them that Kṛishṇa was the son of Vasudeva and hence a *kshatriya* and that he had necessarily to be brought up in the village of the cowherds to escape the murderous intentions of Kamsa. Thus assured, the people became quiet and were glad to hail Kṛishṇa as their king.

In the painting Vasudeva and Baladeva are standing on the left. The latter has the plough leaning on his right shoulder. Vasudeva is announcing to the three kings with crowns (*kiritaṣ*) on their heads, on the extreme right, the parentage of Kṛishṇa. They are listening with their hands placed in worship (*aṅgali*). Kṛishṇa stands between Vasudeva and the kings and can be distinguished by the *koṇḍai* ornament on his head which is also seen in No. 69, c, d, and e.

Painting No. 70 (pl. xxvi).—This illustrates the events that followed the death of Kamsa. The painting runs from right to left and can be divided into four panels.

70-a. கிருஷ்ணன் . . . தனதனில் யிருக்கு . . .

Kṛishṇa . . . tanaṭṭanaiḷ yirukku . . .

" . . . being in the palace . . . Kṛishṇa."

Though the label is mostly obliterated the scene can be made out with the aid of Śrī Purāṇa, Vol. IV.

As soon as Kamsa was killed, Kṛishṇa released Ugrasena and Padmāvatī, whom their son Kamsa had imprisoned and installed them as king and queen of Mathurāpura again. They are shown in the painting as sitting while two figures perhaps representing vassals are standing in front of them. Thus it is possible to supply the blanks in the label in the light of the information given above, which would then read as:—"Ugrasena and his wife, Padmāvatī, being in the palace after the former had received the kingdom from Kṛishṇa."

70-b. . . . தெவகியும் அராமதனையில் யிருக்குமது யிவடமும் . . .

. . . *Devakiyum aramāṇaiyil yirukkuradu yivadamu . . .*

" . . . and Devaki seated in the palace."

After installing Ugrasena at Mathurāpura Kṛishṇa left with his father Vasudeva and step-brother Baladeva for Śāuryapura, the capital of his father's kingdom, where he enjoyed pleasures and ease.

In the painting Vasudeva and Devaki are shown as seated in the palace.

70-c. சிவதேவியாரும் ஆரமணியில் யிருக்குறது
சிவடம் உ.

. *mudravijaya* *Śivadeviyārum aramāṇaiyil yirukkuradu yivadam*.

" (Sa)mudravijaya and Śivadevi here in the palace."

King Samudravijaya, an uncle of Kṛishṇa, was also staying with Kṛishṇa's father. It was to him, through his wife Śivadevi, that Neminātha, the twenty-second Tīrthaṅkara was born as will be seen under painting No. 73 (p. 150.)

In the painting Samudravijaya and his wife are shown seated on a throne in the palace in the same way in which similar pairs (70-b) are represented in others of these paintings.

70-d. ஜரஸாந்தரது சினை துண்டினை சண்டை

Jarāsandhan pillai Kṛishṇanodu śaṇḍai

"Jarāsandha's son fighting with Kṛishṇa"

Jivadyaśa, Kamsa's widow, fled to the Magadha kingdom where she narrated to Jarāsandha, its king, all that had happened at Mathurāpura and how she was made a widow by Kṛishṇa. Jarāsandha promised her that he would kill Kṛishṇa in a very short time. Feeling that Kṛishṇa might not be so strong as to necessitate his starting for battle himself against him he sent a big force under one of his sons called Mahābala who came to Śaurya-pura and fought with Kṛishṇa by whom he was defeated and his forces routed.

In the painting the two forces are shown as engaged in battle. A flag-bearer stands between them. Kṛishṇa's forces are on the right and Mahābala's on the left. Kṛishṇa can be distinguished by his whitish colour and the circular ornament (*koṇḍai*) on his head. One of Mahābala's men has fallen down evidently killed.

Painting No. 71 (pl. xxvi).—This illustrates the attacks on Kṛishṇa by two other sons of Jarāsandha, called Aparājita and Kālayava. Aparājita fought with Kṛishṇa for 346 days and was finally killed. The other son, Kālayava was a more formidable opponent and he proved in battle to be more than a match for Kṛishṇa who felt that he should retreat and avoid fighting if he could, to escape ignominy.

71-a. து அபராஜிதது உரசு பண்ணி விழுந்து
பொருது சிவடம்.

. *Aparājitan* 346 *panni viḷundu ponudu yivadam*.

" Aparājitan after fighting [with Kṛishṇa for] 346 [days] falling down [in the battle field]."

In the painting the horse-forces of both Kṛishṇa and Aparājita are shown as engaged in battle. Kṛishṇa and his men are on the right and Aparājita's on the left. A camel is also shown with a rider on its back who is beating a drum, while a man walks in front of it holding a trumpet to his mouth. Evidently these two men form the military band of Kṛishṇa's army. Kṛishṇa is seen in the front rank and Baladeva in the rear and both

are shooting arrows from their bows, along with other archers, at the enemy's cavalry. Both show the usual *konḍai* ornament on their heads. Some one who has fallen after being hit by an arrow is said in the label to be Aparājita who was killed in battle.

71-b. . . . யாதுவரர் . . . யென்று சொல்லி . . .

. . . Yādevār . . . yēṇṇu solli . . .

" . . . (all) the Yādavas . . . so saying . . ."

The descendants of the Yādu dynasty including Kṛishṇa, his father and Baladeva were unable to stand the attacks of Kālayava. Nor did they like shedding much blood. So they left Śauryapura, Hastināpura and Mathurāpura, the three cities where they were living and set out for some distant land. Kṛishṇa led them on in the hope of finding for them a place unknown to Kālayava and his men. Kālayava, who came to the Yādava city in search of Kṛishṇa, saw that it was deserted and wondered where the Yādavas and Kṛishṇa could have hidden themselves. A female spirit living in the city, took the form of an old lady and after lighting a huge fire began loudly wailing. Kālayava, asked her why she was crying like that. The spirit replied that all the Yādavas including Kṛishṇa fell into the fire that was burning before her, out of fear for Kālayava, and that her sons who were living in the city also fell into it. On hearing this Kālayava became puffed up with pride and without even waiting to verify if what the spirit said was true left for his father's kingdom to narrate to his father how he had annihilated Kṛishṇa and his men.

In the painting, which is nearly obliterated, the fire is indicated in the centre by flames while the old lady is standing on the right of it with her finger pointing up as in addressing. Kālayava and his men, who are on horse-back, are shown on the left of the fire. They lift up their hands in joy on hearing what the old lady narrates and are on the point of departing.

Painting No. 72 (pl. xxvi).—Kṛishṇa took the Yādavas to the sea-shore and stopped for a while there. He was, however, at his wit's end as to how he could find an unknown land for them. He observed fasts and sitting on *kūśa* grass did penance for some time repeating *mantra* after *mantra* in the hope that some unknown land would become visible to him by divine agency. True to his expectations the divine agent came. Kṛishṇa dreamt that he saw a *deva* called Gautama who told him in his dream that he would return in the morning in the form of a horse and that Kṛishṇa should get on its back and go through the ocean some twelve *yojanas* when an unknown land would be revealed to him. On waking up the following morning he found the horse waiting for him. No sooner did he get on its back than it flew over the sea and landed him on an island. And Kṛishṇa by slow degrees got all his men to the island which was named by him *Dvārāvātī*. All the Yādavas lived happily there without fear of any trouble from Jarāsandha and his sons.

72-a. . . . யாதுவரர்களெல்லாரும் ஓடிப்போனது சிவம்.

. . . Yādavarellorum ḍḍipōṇadu yivadam.

" . . . all the Yādavas . . . running away . . . here."

In the painting the Yādavas are shown as being led by Kṛishṇa to apparently the sea-shore. The second and the fourth figures from the left represent Kṛishṇa and Baladeva, both of whom have *konḍais*. Arrived at the sea-shore Kṛishṇa is wondering how he can find an abode for them.

72-b. கிருஷ்ண ஸஹோபவாஸ வாய்விதநாகி ி . . . வநநிதில மிஷ . . . ஸ்வப்னகாண்ட
(ஊ)குறது மீலடம்.

Kṛishṇan ashtopavāsa-sahitanāgi ma . . . sanattil nisha . . . svapna-kāṇḍu(nu)kuṛadu yivadam.

" . . . Kṛishṇa equipping himself with the eight kinds of fasts and other austerities is here dreaming . . . "

Kṛishṇa is shown here sitting under a tree and telling his beads with his right hand, the usual accompaniment of chanting *mantras* and counting them, while his left hand is placed on his lap in an attitude of meditation.

72-c. Kṛishṇa is here shown lying down. He is evidently dreaming about the *deva* Gautama who offered to take him on his back as a horse and find for him a land.

A long label overlapping into the space allotted to the other paintings (*d* and *e*) commences with the word "Gautamadeva", but the rest is all irrevocably lost. Gautama being the name of the *deva* who came in the form of a horse to take Kṛishṇa to the new land it is clear that the label refers either to the dream itself or to the actual journey of Kṛishṇa on the back of the horse to Dvārāvati. If it refers to the former the label must be that of the panel now under consideration. If, however, it refers to the latter it must belong to the next scene(*d*).

72-d. . . . குதிரை . . . ஊ குற மீலடம் உ

. . . kudirai . . . ru kuṛa yivadam உ.

" . . . horse . . . getting up here."

Kṛishṇa is here shown on horse-back. The horse is evidently flying over the sea. It is black in colour.

72-e. மெனகரீடுவது . . . ன் ட . . . மென்னும் பட்டணத்தை கீ-இராவ . . .

Gautamadevan . . . D . . . mennum pattanattai nirmāpa . . .

"Gautamadeva . . . to build . . . city called D(vārāvati)".

The city of Dvārāvati was built on the island shown to Kṛishṇa by Gautama and all the Yādavas reached it and lived there happily.

This is a scene to indicate that the people at Dvārāvati enjoyed peace and happiness. The figures shown here represent from right to left, Devakī, Vasudeva, Baladeva and Kṛishṇa. Devakī being the wife of Vasudeva is shown by his side as is the case with most of the couples in the temple paintings. Vasudeva, Baladeva and Kṛishṇa are all shown with crowns on their heads as they were the undisputed rulers of the island of Dvārāvati. Vasudeva is painted as usual in yellow, which appears as black in the photograph, and Baladeva in white. The latter's plough leans against his left shoulder.

Krishna, who can be seen on the extreme left is as usual of smaller size than either Baladeva or Vasudeva. All the three are smelling flowers held in their right hands.

Painting No. 73 (pl. xxvii).—The life of Neminātha, the twenty-second Tirthaṅkara, is treated here in the middle of Krishna's life for it is said that he was born in the island of Dvārāvātī when Krishna was ruling over it aided by his father Vasudeva and step-brother Baladeva.

73-a. Much damaged.

73-b. ஸர்வஜயமஹாராஜனுக்கு சிவதேவியார் ஸுபநான்காந்து சல்லுகுரது யிவடம் உ.

Samudravajayamahārājānukku Śivadeviyār svapnāṅkaṇḍu sollukuraḍu yivadam u.

"Śivadevi narrating here to Samudravijaya Mahārāja her dreams."

In the painting which is much damaged King Samudravijaya, Krishna's uncle, who has a crown on his head is seated on the left and is listening to his wife, Śivadevi, who is sitting by his side facing him. An attendant woman is standing in front of them fanning them.

73-c. Śivadevi is here giving birth to Neminātha. She is half-concealed behind a screen as in similar birth scenes (Nos. 17 and 39) while an attendant on the left is supporting her. Śachi (with a crown on her head) can be seen on the right. She is shown here twice, first as receiving the child from either Śivadevi herself or the attendant (this is not clear in the painting) and next as turning back and delivering it to Saudharmendra who is followed by Īśānendra with an umbrella in his hand.

73-d. . . . ஸர்வஜயத்தின் மெல் வைத்து இந்நா கம்பண்ணப்பாறது யிவடம் உ.
. . . . *Airāvataṭṭin mel vaittu Janmā kaṇṇa panna poradu yivadam u.*

" . . . here going for doing janmābhisheka, placing him on Airāvata "

The scene is familiar from paintings already described above (Nos. 39-43). The child is here shown as placed within a howdah on the back of the white elephant with Saudharmendra and Īśānendra seated in the howdah behind him. Two devas go in front, one holding a flag in his right hand and the other a parasol. A third follows behind with a half-spread parasol in his right hand. They all go to mount Mahā-Meru to perform the janmābhisheka of the Tirthaṅkara to be.

Painting No. 74 (pl. xxvii).—This illustrates the janmābhisheka and the return of the child to the city.

74-a. . . . பாண்டு வெ எழுந்தருளி கெ-கேசராதேவர் கன் இந்நாமி
தெ.க. . . .

. . . . *Pāṇḍu le eḷundaruḷi emmeśānendrargaḷ janmābhi-*
shekaṁ . . .

" . . . placing on Pāṇḍu (Saudha)rma and Īśānendra janmābhi-
sheka "

Here again the scene is familiar. The child is seated cross-legged on a throne or pedestal placed on a white moon-stone slab in a pavilion and two devas, one on each

side of it, are pouring the celestial waters on it. Two other *devas* with water-vessels in their hands are standing outside the pavilion, one on either side of it.

74-b.
me

The party is here shown returning to the city. The child can be seen seated in the howdah on the back of the white elephant with Saudharmendra behind. This time the child has got a crown on its head and is dressed. Īśānendra who in painting No. 73-d was shown sitting behind Saudharmendra in the howdah on the back of the elephant is here seen walking behind holding up a *chāmara* in his right hand. The two other *devas* that went before the elephant in painting No. 73-d are here too going before the elephant and have the same things in their hands, one a parasol and the other a flag.

74-c. The child is here installed on a throne in the palace and the *devas* are making a celebration. Two of them wave *chāmaras* before him, one on either side while a third standing on the left is spreading the royal *chhatra* or the umbrella over him. And Devendra is dancing with joy on the right. He has four hands, the front two in *añjali* and the other two raised up in ecstasy or in singing attitudes. The label and much of the painting itself are obliterated.

Painting No. 75 (pl. xxvii).—Merchants from the city of Rājagriha, the capital of the Magadha kingdom, over which Jarāsandha was ruling, set out on a sea-voyage for purposes of trade. They lost their way in the vast ocean and were stranded on the shores of Dvārāvati. Kṛishṇa and his men received them cordially and sent them back to their own land with rich presents including precious stones. The merchants, on reaching Rājagriha, reported to Jarāsandha what they saw in the midst of the ocean and how Kṛishṇa and the Yādavas were still alive and as proof thereof presented him with the precious stones they had received at Dvārāvati. On sight of such precious stones which he had not seen before Jarāsandha could not disbelieve them. He immediately collected a big army and sent a challenge to Kṛishṇa to come out of his hiding place and meet him in open battle. This challenge was communicated to Kṛishṇa by the tell-tale Adhomukha-Nārada*.

Kṛishṇa approached Neminātha, who was then in the prime of his youth, and informing him of Jarāsandha's challenge requested him to look after Dvārāvati during his absence. He also desired to know from Neminātha if he would be victorious in battle. Neminātha, who had by then acquired *avadhi-jñāna* or the knowledge of foreseeing things, indicated to Kṛishṇa by a smile and pleasant looks that he was bound to be the victor.

Thus assured, Kṛishṇa collected all his forces and, assisted by Vasudeva, Baladeva and others, set out for Jarāsandha's land. Jarāsandha was also marching against him with a big army and met him at Kurukshetra, the place famous in Hindu mythology as the battle-field of the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas where the bible of the Hindus, the "Bhagavad-Gītā" was expounded by Kṛishṇa. In the fight that ensued Jarāsandha's forces were routed and Jarāsandha, indignant at the fate that had befallen his men,

* See Appendix III, pp. 225-226.

reached Kṛishṇa and threw on him his discus (*chakra*). But the *chakra* did Kṛishṇa no harm and Kṛishṇa taking it in his hand threw it on Jarāsandha with such force that he was killed on the spot. Thus with victory on his side Kṛishṇa returned to Dvārāvati where he was crowned once again as the *chakravartin* or undisputed lord of the three worlds by the *devas*, Vidyādhara and other mortal kings.

75-a. கிருஷ்ண . . .

Krishna . . .

"Kṛishṇa . . ."

Kṛishṇa is here addressing Neminātha who is seated on a throne and is evidently asking him to look after Dvārāvati during his absence. The crown on the head of Neminātha suggests that he has already assumed temporary charge of the kingship of Dvārāvati.

75-b. கிருஷ்ண ஜராசாந்தனை . . . பண்ணுதல் யிவாடம் உ. ||

Krishnan Jarāsandhanodu . . . paṇṇu(ku)ṇadu yivadam உ. ||

"Kṛishṇa . . . (fighting) . . . with Jarāsandha . . . here".

The words, "Kṛishṇa" and "Jarāsandha" indicate that the two are here shown fighting. Kṛishṇa's forces are on the left and Jarāsandha's on the right. While Kṛishṇa is kneeling in a chariot and is drawing a bow Jarāsandha is sitting in a howdah on the back of an elephant and is similarly engaged. Neither is throwing the discus referred to in the Śrī Purāṇa. Baladeva, who is painted white, is on horseback behind the chariot and is shooting an arrow from his bow. In these paintings when a fight is painted it is always the bow and the arrow that are shown.

Painting No. 76 (pl. xxvii).—The painting which is inverted is obliterated and has no label below as its space has been utilized for that of painting No. 75. But the scene is familiar. Kṛishṇa is here crowned a *chakravartin* by the *devas*, the Vidyādhara and the other kings of the world. He is shown seated on a throne with some one seated by his side, probably Neminātha to whom he owed his victory and coronation. Various figures are standing on either side of the throne witnessing the coronation. A dancing girl can be seen dancing on the extreme right to the accompaniment of time beaten by two men behind her, one probably holding cymbals and the other beating a drum (*mṛdanga*). It should be noted that generally in Indian sculptures and paintings when any celebration is to be shown the most common method of showing it is to introduce a dance performed by dancing-girls to the accompaniment of music and time produced by men called *nattuvans*.

Painting No. 77 (pl. xxviii).—Before coming to this painting we should describe a few scenes found on the wall of the store-room (pl. ii, 15) which have suffered terribly and consequently could not be successfully photographed. A label, however, indicates the scenes, and runs as follows:—

நெமிஸ்வாமி திருவிசுடம் பண்ணுகுறது.

Nemiśvāmi trivikramam paṇṇukuraḍu.

"Nemiśvāmi performing trivikrama."

One day while Neminātha was sporting in the waters with Satyabhāmā, the favourite wife of Krishna, he entered into a wager with her described on page 136 and when challenged by Satyabhāmā to perform *trivikrama*,¹ he did so and blew a blast with the conch that was heard everywhere. In the painting Nemi can be seen ascending the *nāga-sayana* which is in the form of a cobra with raised hood, holding a bent bow in his right hand and drawing a conch with his left to his mouth.

Coming to painting No. 77 we can make out a few letters of its label which are:—

... சந்திரன் ...
... chche Krishnan ...
" ... when Krishna ... "

The blast that Nemi blew on the conch, which it was hitherto believed Krishna alone could blow, was heard by Krishna who was then sitting in court. He got alarmed and began to enquire from his people who it was that could blow upon his *śankha*. On learning from them that it was his cousin he became jealous of him as a rival, and directed his girls to excite amorous thoughts in him and shame him into marriage, thinking company with women was the only way to sap his strength. The *gopīs* teased him and challenged him to prove to the world that he was a man by marrying. After a while Nemi consented and Krishna selected for him Rātrīmati (Rājīmati), the daughter of Ugrasena² and Jayavati.

In the painting Krishna sits on a long throne accompanied by his brother Baladeva on his right. On the left stand six kings who have come probably to pay obeisance to Krishna who was then a *chakravartin* or universal monarch. While he was thus engaged he heard the blast. Though one may be tempted to see in the six figures standing in front of Krishna the people that told him who blew the blast their dress and the crowns on their heads preclude this possibility. They all have swords resting on their shoulders.

Painting No. 78 (pl. xxviii).—Between Nos. 77 and 78, in a narrow band, the design of a creeper can be seen. This serves merely a decorative purpose as it finds no place in the story relating to the scenes between which it is shown.

The label of No. 78 is obliterated while the painting itself is badly damaged but the scene is obvious.

Krishna had arranged the wedding which was to take place shortly. Then another idea crossed his mind. If Neminātha should enter into the pleasures of married life he might come to love life and position so dearly that he would next begin to covet the position of the *chakravartin* which he himself was. And if he did covet it, no force on earth could prevent the achievement of his purpose. Thus fear and jealousy filled his mind and he now determined to make Nemi feel disgust for worldly life and pleasure so that the marriage should not take place. This he achieved by placing a pack of animals like cattle, etc., on the way of Nemi who was going in a procession through the streets—a

¹ To get on a *nāga-sayana*, blow a conch drawing it to the mouth with one hand and with the other bend a bow.

² This Ugrasena was of the *Ugrasania* and was the ruler of Girnar.

preliminary ceremony attending marriages in high life. According to the Śrī Purāṇa these animals were sickly and were yelling piteously, while, according to the *Ādi Purāṇa* and the *Śatruñjaya-māhātmya*¹, flocks of sheep and cattle were collected to be sacrificed for the people that had come to attend Nemi's marriage. On seeing these animals, particularly the sheep that were bleating piteously, he asked his followers why they were there, and being told that they were brought for him he resolved to become an ascetic² and came back to the palace with his mind filled with the idea known as *vairāgya* or "world-flight."

In the painting the procession is shown marching towards the left. An elephant can be made out which according to the text carried the bridegroom. The persons that precede and follow the elephant form the party that accompanied Nemi. On the extreme left four animals, deer, ram, tiger and a lion are looking at the procession and are receding from the latter affrighted.

Painting No. 79 (pl. xxviii).—Though nothing remains of its label the scene portrayed here is clear. The prince is sitting in a pavilion inside the palace, with the idea of world-flight foremost in his mind, when the *Laukātika-devas* announce themselves before him and goad him on to renounce the world and obtain *dīkṣā* or initiation. Some five of these *Laukātikas* can be seen standing on the right while Nemi in the pavilion is attended by three attendants (palace menials), two of whom wave *chāmaras* before him while the third, the one on the extreme left of the painting, holds a parasol over him.

Painting No. 80 (pl. xxviii).— . . . பொருது யிவாடம் உ.

. . . poradu yivadam u.

" . . . going here."

Nemi determined to renounce the world and immediately the *devas* brought him a palanquin called *Devaguru* in which he was carried to a garden called *Sahasrāmraṇa* (so called because there were thousand mango trees in it) where he entered *dīkṣā*.

In the painting the palanquin is shown twice to indicate perhaps the slow march of the procession. It is said that all pomp attended it as this was the last worldly pleasure that Nemi could taste now that he had set his mind on a pleasure not clear to the eye of the world. So this was his last pompous procession; hence the flags and attendants, besides the palanquin bearers.

Painting No. 81 (pl. xxix).—The label is obliterated, as also the right half of the painting. But sufficient details remain for identification. The procession is shown on the left, the prince being still in the palanquin which rests on the shoulders of its

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II, p. 139.

² When by the show of the bleating and moaning of the dumb creatures the mockery of life, of human civilization and its heartless selfishness was revealed to him he is said to have flung away his kingly ornaments much as Buddha did and repaired at once to the forest. The Śrī-Purāṇa is silent about the fate of the bride. But other texts such as the *Śatruñjaya-māhātmya* say that the lady Rājīmātī dedicated her life to serving him even as Yaśodharā did in Buddhism. She followed him to the forest and adopted the life of a nun; she followed him to Girnar and was with him at the time of his death. To-day Jains at Mount Girnar, in Junagadh in Kathiawar, point at two foot-prints there as those of Neminātha and not far from them they show a grotto where Rājīmātī is said to have also died. See also *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II, p. 139.

bearers. In front of the palanquin goes an attendant carrying a flag, while another carrying a parasol follows behind. Two persons of pygmy stature are found beneath the palanquin carrying the *chāmara* and fan, insignia of royalty.

On the right, Nemi is sitting on a slab under a tree in the garden referred to where he is doing *lōch*, i.e., plucking out the hair from his head and the face in five handfuls (*pañchamushṭi*). While his left hand rests on the lap in meditation his right hand is placed on his head suggesting that he is plucking out his hair. In the next panel he is shown standing under another tree, this time engaged in the performance of various austerities and fasts, in the intervals of which he repaired to villages and towns for food (*charyā*). It is said that nearly a thousand kings followed him to the garden and were engaged in similar austerities and fasts. Probably the blurred half of the painting showed some of these kings, one of whom can, however, be made out as standing to the right of Nemi.

Painting No. 82 (pl. xxix)—

No. 82-a. காராவதியில் வரதாதுவனும் தரபதி . . . வரதனை பண்ணுகுறது சிலபம்.

Dvārāvatiyil Varadattaneṇṇum narapati . . . pārayai paṇṇukaradu yivadam.

"In Dvārāvati a king called Varadatta . . . offering him food (is shown) here."

Nemi did penance for the space of six months and then waking up from his meditation set out to seek some kind of nourishment for his frail frame. As prescribed he approached a city, which happened to be Dvārāvati, without uttering a word and without asking for food from any one. Varadatta, a king, met him at the outskirts of the city and with affectionate devotion invited the Tirthaṅkara to his mansion and taking him to a high place in his palace which was clean swept he offered him the refreshing juice of the sugarcane in the approved way.¹ The gods hovered in the air above and rained down a shower of flowers and gems on the party below, uttering cries of "victory (*jaya*)" to the accompaniment of the beating of heavenly drums.

In the painting Nemi is standing under a tree while Varadatta is shown twice before him, first as kneeling at his feet offering him obeisance and next as getting up and requesting him with folded hands (*añjali*) to grace his mansion and to partake of the food that he would give him. Nemi indicating his assent by following him silently, Varadatta took him to his palace.

82-b. The label has fallen. But the scene is obvious. As in the case of Rishabhadeva (see No. 35, p. 104) the king offers Nemi food taken from a tray resting on a stand. The food given is white. Nemi is standing on the right of the stand with extended hands while Varadatta stands on the left of the tray and is putting into his hands the food that he had taken from the tray. Small patches of black on the white background

¹ C. R. Jain, *Rishabhadeva*, pp. 117-118. "There are many kinds of gifts which people make to one another, but of all of them the gift of food to a true saint is the most meritorious, and as the Tirthaṅkara is the greatest of all saints, the giving of food to him with a pure heart that is illumined with the light of *jñāna* (knowledge divine) and filled with reverence and devotion for the Ideal is the most meritorious of all."

probably represent the shower of heavenly flowers and gems. The idea that Nemi was taken to a high place in the palace is indicated by a raised base painted yellow on which he is standing.

82-6. தப

“ *tapa*
“ penance”

Here Nemi is departing for the forest. After he had received the food offered by Varadatta he left the place as silently as he had approached it.

82-7. பண்ணாடு

“ *pannadu*
“ done (the fact that he had done)”

He reached the mount called Ūrjayanta,¹ where he stood under a bamboo grove and after deep meditation for several years obtained *kevala-jñāna* or perfect and all-embracing knowledge, by destroying the forces that keep it from blazing forth.²

The standing figure of Nemi can be seen under a tree on a higher level suggesting the Ūrjayanta peak. He is standing erect in the *kāyotsarga* pose which suggests his determination.

82-8. ஸ்வாமிக் கு கெவலஜ்ஞம்

“ *Svāmikkū kevala-jñānam*
“ to the Svāmi *kevala-jñāna*”

Here Nemi is seated in the *saṃparyāṅka* attitude (sitting cross-legged) on a throne placed in a pavilion. After he had become a *kevali* the *devas* came and created for him the *saṃavasāraya* in the centre of which the Tirthaṅkara took his seat on a throne placed in a pavilion or *maṇḍapa* called *Gandhakuṭi*. The pavilion here represents the *Gandhakuṭi*. The white colour in which he is painted indicates the change in his condition, viz., that he had become a Tirthaṅkara or World-Teacher endowed with perfect knowledge. The eight *pratīharyas* with which every Jina is associated³ are present here. The *chāmara* is waved by two Indras standing on either side of the pavilion. The *siṃhāsana* (lion-throne) is the throne on which the Tirthaṅkara is seated, though the lions' feet are not found. In all these paintings a *padmāsana* or *bhadrāsana* is shown in place of *siṃhāsanas* (see painting Nos. 36, 48 and 64). The nimbus, parasol rising in three tiers (*mukkoḍai*) and the *aśoka* tree can be seen above the head of the Tirthaṅkara, one above the other. The shower of flowers was probably shown but in the present faded condition of the

¹ The place on the Ujjinta peak where he is said to have died is considered sacred, and has a *chhatra* erected over it where his footprints (*paṅja*) are shown—*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II, p. 139.

² There are four kinds of *kaṃma* called *ghāṭi* (obstructive), i.e., knowledge-obstructing, perception-obstructing, serenity-obstructing and power-obstructing energies which hide *kevala-jñāna* in every case and are responsible for the loss of this “great and divine attribute in our case.” These obstructive energies come into play as a result of the contact of the spirit with matter which is the case with every unemancipated soul.

³ See *above*, pp. 114-5.

painting it cannot be made out. The celestial music and the drum can only be inferred for they cannot be shown easily. The rest or cushion on which the Tirthankara was reclining is painted white behind the Tirthankara.

IV

SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF AGNILĀ (ĀMBIKĀ) OR DHARMADEVĪ.

Two rows, Nos. 83 and 84, illustrate scenes from the life of Agnilā, who becomes in her next birth the Yakshi of Neminātha by name Āmbikā or Dharmadevī, and are found on the beams of the veranda facing the *Saṅgita-maṇḍapa*.

Painting No. 83 (pl. xxix).—This row has been much affected as a result of water leaking down from the ceiling during heavy rains and dripping all over the paintings thereby washing out the colour little by little so that to-day only some patches here and there remain. These patches are figured in plates xxix and xxx.

At first the scenes portrayed in them were not clear to me as they did not conform to any description found in the *Śrī Purāṇa*; luckily however a palm-leaf manuscript in the possession of the temple priest entitled "*Puṇyāśrava-kathā*"¹ which contains a number of stories from Jaina mythology including one entitled "*Yakshi-kathā*" supplies the materials necessary for their identification. The story is briefly narrated below:—

In a city called Girinagara, the king of which was Bhūpāla, there lived a Brahman family consisting of Somaśarman, his wife Agnilā and their sons Śubhāṅkara and Prabhāṅkara of seven and five years of age respectively. One day Somaśarman was performing the *śrāddha* ceremony of his ancestors (*pitris*) for which he had invited Brahmans of the locality. When the time for offering ablutions (*piṇḍa-pradāna*) came the party left for a tank nearby on the banks of which the offerings were expected to be laid to be picked up later by crows. In the meanwhile a Jaina ascetic, Varadatta who was a resident of the Ūrjayanta hill, came to Somaśarman's house to have his *parāṇa*, i.e. to break a fast that lasted for a month. In the absence of her husband Agnilā invited the ascetic into the house where she fed him freely from the things cooked for the Brahmans invited for the *śrāddha* ceremony, little thinking that her act of feeding a Jaina ascetic will be much resented by her husband and the Brahmans.

Just as the ascetic was departing from the house after having been sumptuously fed, Somaśarman came accompanied by the other Brahmans from the tank. On seeing the ascetic of alien faith coming out of his house he got angry, and the Brahmans refused to partake of his offerings as they considered what he would offer to them as polluted (*uchchhishtha*). Somaśarman then drove his wife out of his house. Agnilā left the house with her two boys and an attendant woman and repaired to the Ūrjayanta hill where the ascetic Varadatta was doing penance. Arrived at the hill she found the ascetic in a cave and falling at his feet she craved him to give her *dīkṣā* or initiation. This the ascetic

¹ There is a copy of this in the Madras Government Oriental Mus. Library bearing No. I-5-51.

refused on the grounds that she had come there from her husband's protection with feelings of anger and resentment at his conduct and that she was the mother of the two boys whom also she had taken with her. He counselled her to leave the place and leave him alone as otherwise the world would begin to spread scandals about her. The disappointed lady took his advice and took her abode on an elevated place on the hill under the welcome shade of a tree which became by virtue of her spiritual greatness a *kalpaka-vriksha* or the "wish-tree" catering to her needs and those of her sons and the attendant woman that had accompanied her. And a dry tank near by began to overflow when she went to it for water.

In the meanwhile the city of Girinagara witnessed the wrath of the gods in the shape of a great conflagration which consumed all the houses except that of Somaśarman. All the citizens assembled outside the city and proclaimed with one voice that the virtue of Agnilā alone saved Somaśarman's house from being consumed by the flames. The Brahmans that had refused to partake of Somaśarman's offerings on the ground that they were polluted by the Jaina ascetic's presence went to Somaśarman and requested him to give them the intended food which they said was purified and blessed by the touch of the ascetic who was none other than a god in disguise. There was universal gratification on that day and all the citizens were made to feel by the virtue accruing from the good deed of feeding the ascetic by Agnilā that they had all partaken of divine food.

Somaśarman was struck with remorse for his wicked act in driving his virtuous wife away and ran in search of her to the Ūrjayanta hill. Agnilā saw him coming at a distance and not knowing his reformed attitude towards her and feeling sure that he was only coming to torment her, left her sons in the charge of the attendant woman and killed herself by falling from a precipice into a cave below. The next moment she was born in the family of the *Vyantarās*¹ as a *Yakshī* called *Āmbikā*. As she was able to remember her past birth, compassion for her dear sons drove her to them. As however her changed appearance into that of a *Yakshī* would frighten her sons she assumed her original form, *viz.*, that of Agnilā and lived beside them. Somaśarman came there and taking her for Agnilā besought her pardon for his vile and rash acts. Agnilā showed him her *Yakshī* form on seeing which Somaśarman fainted with fright and recovering realized that his wife Agnilā no longer lived. Unable to bear the grief he fell into the same cave and killed himself. According to his deserts he was born in the next birth as a lion, and so deep was his attachment for Agnilā in her changed form that he sat at her feet licking them and became eventually her *vāhana*. Thus he became the *lānchchhana* or the device with which this *Yakshī* is associated in Jaina iconography². The sons, Subhāmkara and Prabhāmkara led for a long time the lives of Jaina householders (*grihasthas*); and during the *saṃvatsarāṇa* of Neminātha, the twenty-second Tirthānkara they got initiation or *dīkṣā* and obtained salvation. As for their mother who had become a *Yakshī* she obtained the unique honour of becoming the *Yakshī* or the attendant spirit of

¹ See Appendix III, pp. 229-230.

² See Appendix III, p. 209.

Neminatha, ever standing on one side of the Tirthaṅkara while on the other side stood the *Yaksha* Gomedha or Saryāhṇa.

Various incidents from this story are present in the paintings under description. In No. 83 (pl. xxix) the following scenes run from left to right:—

In the first panel can be seen a pair seated, probably representing the Brahman Somaśarman and his virtuous wife Agnilā; an attendant woman is standing on their right gently fanning them.

In the second panel Agnilā is sitting between her sons while the attendant woman stands on the left and is fanning the party. The children are shown like child *Krishṇa* (cf. pls. xxv, xxvi) and are smelling flowers held in their right hands.

In the third panel the naked form of the ascetic Varadatta is discernible while Agnilā is shown before him in two attitudes; at first she is kneeling before him, thereby expressing her extreme regard and respect for the ascetic and then she gets up and with hands folded in *añjali* requests him to partake of her offering. The right hand of the sage indicates that he is in the act of addressing her while in his left he is holding a water vessel with a spout (*kamaṇḍalu*).

In the fourth panel she is offering him food taking convenient morsels from a tray placed on a stand.¹ The food that she is offering is heaped on the tray. Both the food and Agnilā are painted white while the sage who stands on the left is painted black as is also in the previous panel.

The next panel reveals the sage in the act of departing from the house. He is walking. The colouring is as usual in black on a white background.

What the succeeding panels contained is difficult to say as nothing remains on the beams, except a few patches figured in plate xxx as No. 84.

Painting No. 84 (pl. xxx).—These, however, appear to represent, from left to right, the following scenes from Agnilā's story:—

Agnilā is walking with her sons, one of whom walks in front of her, and is accompanied by the attendant woman referred to in the story. Evidently the whole relates to the departure of Agnilā with her sons and the attendant woman from her husband's house in Girinagara under the circumstances that have been narrated above. The attendant woman holds in her left hand something which may perhaps be a cloth or the apparel necessary for Agnilā. It looks, however, more like a garland, in which case the scene can be explained thus:—

The attendant woman is shown twice, first on the left with the garland in her hand ready to honour Agnilā who by then had become the *Yakshī* Āmbikā, and next as standing on the left of the *Yakshī* herself and stretching her hands with the garland held between them to put it on her. The *Yakshī* is seated cross-legged and has a conical *makuta* on her head which is suggestive of her divine nature. She is, however, shown with two hands like any human being, the significance of which becomes clear when it is seen that by her sides stand her sons, one on her left and the other on her right. The latter stands between the *Yakshī* and the attendant-woman with the garland in

¹ Cf. painting Nos. 35, 47 and 82.

her hands. Though she had by then become a *Yakshī*, Agniṭā was drawn towards her tender sons and comes to them not as the *Yakshī* lest they should get frightened but as their mother Agniṭā. Hence she is shown with two hands, the *makuta* and the particular *yogic* attitude serving to indicate that she was in reality the *Yakshī* Ambikā. This is confirmed by the next panel where she is shown in her *Yakshī* form, sitting cross-legged, with a conical crown on her head and with four hands befitting her divine nature. While her lower hands are held in the *abhaya* (protective) and the *varada* (boon-conferring) poses her upper hands hold her usual emblems, *vis.*, goad and noose¹. On her left stands a party of women, two of whom can alone be made out in the painting, the rest being completely washed out. One of them, the one standing nearest to the *Yakshī* holds in her hands a vessel from the mouth of which flames are issuing, suggesting that a light was burning in it. The other has a tray in her hands from out of which three flames can be seen issuing. Both the vessel and the tray are intended for particular lights which are considered as auspicious and the waving of these lights before gods and saintly persons is considered as a mark of respect and devotion shown towards the particular gods or saints.

The beams of the *mukha-maṇḍapa* of both the *Vardhamāna* and *Trikūṭa-Bastī* shrines show on their narrow sides designs of lotus petals (see Nos. 83-4) and on their broader sides rosettes and other floral motifs, in which the creeper figures most.

V

MISCELLANEOUS PAINTINGS.

Mention may also be made of stray paintings found on the eastern wall of the *Trikūṭa-Bastī-ardhamaṇḍapa*, which faces the *Saṅgita-maṇḍapa* and the *Vardhamāna* veranda wall. The temple priest explained to me that they were done some forty years ago and are hence very recent. The paintings found on the *Trikūṭa-Bastī-ardhamaṇḍapa* eastern wall may be described below:—

Studying them from south to north, the first panel shows Brahma Yaksha, the *Yaksha* attendant of Śīṭalanātha, riding his *vāhana*, the elephant. He has two hands, the right hand holding a goad and the left something that is not clear. In the next panel is the figure of Neminātha sitting cross-legged and in meditation. Two *devas* stand behind waving *chamaras* while two women, each with a vessel from out of which a flame issues (*kushtha-hārati*)—an auspicious mark denoting devotion—stand on either side of the Tirthaṅkara. In another panel can be made out faintly three figures; two of them represent Sarvāṅga and Ambikā or Kūshmaṇḍini or Dharmadevi, the *Yaksha* and the *Yakshī* respectively of Neminātha. Both are sitting cross-legged and have four hands, the contents of which are blurred. The third figure is so faint that its details can hardly be made out.

¹ See Appendix III, p. 209.

On the *Vardhamāna* veranda wall can be made out in bright colours two *dvārapālas*, one on either side of the entrance to the *Vardhamāna-ardhamandapa*. They have as usual four hands, the upper hands carrying noose and goad, the lower showing the *tarjini* or the pose of threat and carrying *gadā* or mace.

VI

FRAGMENTS OF EARLIER PAINTINGS.

The *Saṅgita-mandapa* contains on that part of its ceiling which is near the *balipīṭha* another row of paintings which is unfortunately much faded, the colour having fallen in many places. Very little of these scenes now remains, though there are here and there a few patches of colour displaying some figures. For this reason visitors to this temple are apt to overlook them. Indeed I had almost neglected them when my attention was luckily drawn to them by Prof. Norman Brown of the Philadelphia University whom I had the pleasure of conducting to this temple in 1927. It was not easy to take photographs of them as the colour employed is of the following composition—deep red, yellow, pink and black with occasional grey—colours which appear black in print. As, however these paintings are probably earlier than the other rows by at least a 100 years, and as the treatment of the subjects is different, in that the figures are larger and less conventional, and floral designs and ornamental patterns are differently rendered, a few patches that could be successfully photographed have been photographed and are figured in plates vi and vii.

Besides various designs (pl. vi, figs. 1 and 3), both floral and ornamental in which the lotus flower figures most, there are also scenes from the life of Vardhamāna, the twenty-fourth Tirthaṅkara (pl. vii) to whom the temple is mainly dedicated. These are without labels. As already pointed out on page 18 all the early inscriptions in the temple are agreed in calling the temple after Vardhamāna to whom it was mainly dedicated. For this reason there was presumably no need to label them as the scenes painted would even otherwise be intelligible. From this we may argue indirectly that these paintings were put up at a time when the other Tirthaṅkaras such as Rishabhadeva and Neminātha, whose lives are portrayed in the later paintings, had not been introduced into the temple or, if they were there already, had not acquired popularity sufficient to warrant their lives being painted. Another indication with regard to their early date is the location of scenes already described above (pp. 124-132) relating to Vardhamāna's *samavasaraṇa* (Nos. 49-64) in the veranda, i.e., the *mukha-mandapas* of the *Trikūṭa-bastī* and the Vardhamāna shrines and not in the next row of the ceiling of the *Saṅgita-mandapa* where they might be expected if they were to run continuously with the others (Nos. 38-48) of the same series. This must have been done from regard for earlier paintings that then existed on the row in question. Even if many of these earlier paintings had fallen by then they might be left untouched by later painters, and the entire wing of the ceiling that once contained them would be likely to remain uninterfered with out of regard for them, especially as they would be considered in some special degree sacred being scenes from

the life of Vardhamāna, to whom the temple is dedicated. A further indication of the earlier date of these paintings is the employment of such colours as black, yellow and red in preference to others. In the later paintings (Nos. 1-84) colours such as white, black, red, yellow, blue, grey and a mixture of black and red predominate though green is absent. It appears that the colour-scheme found in the earlier paintings here is similar to that found in the case of very early paintings such as those at Sittannavāsai, datable from seventh century A.D.¹ The later paintings in the temple (Nos. 1-84) exhibit a tendency, which is certainly modern, towards white and black and towards a representation in the form of miniatures of the subjects in a purely conventional manner. The labels appended to the later paintings, that must have been done about the same time as the paintings, are in modern Grantha-Tamil script. The date of the later paintings cannot be earlier than the latter part of the eighteenth century. We may tentatively suggest that this earlier series probably dates from at least about a century before the others, i.e., probably from about the seventeenth century.

The scenes in this earlier series may now be described* :—

Pl. vii-5.—Shows Priyakāriṇī, the mother of Vardhamāna, in labour. She is sitting on a seat (defaced), with the left leg hanging down and the right raised and resting on the seat vertically (*utkuṭika*), between her attendant women of whom, the one on the left of her is holding what looks like a mirror with both her hands and is looking at Priyakāriṇī's face with evident sympathy. The head of the *devī* is slightly lowered with down-cast looks suggesting labour. Her right hand is extended towards the attendant woman on the left as if seeking support and help, while her left hand rests on the seat by her side suggesting helplessness or ease. Her waist cloth has been drawn down revealing a swollen abdomen and the navel. The purpose of such a rendering is clear. The painter has brought out the idea that Priyakāriṇī is in labour, the swollen abdomen suggesting that she was not yet delivered of the divine child. A banner appears over the head of the attendant woman on the left. This was no doubt intended as a mark of royalty or divinity and was probably held by another attendant woman whose form cannot be made out in the painting which has crumbled badly here. On the right of the *devī* can be made out two women, probably attendants, engaged in conversation probably concerning the condition of their mistress. Or have we here Śacī (the figure on the extreme right) come to receive the child from an attendant (the figure on the left) for *janmābhisheka*?

Pl. vii-4.—Shows the *janmābhisheka* of the child, the ceremony of anointing him with celestial waters.

In the centre of the painting is a figure seated on a pedestal with legs crossed. The head and the body are defaced, the only distinguishable fragment being the left hand laid

¹ Cf. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. LII, pp. 45-7, Jouvean Dubreuil, *Pallava Painting*, p. 2.

* I am indebted to Mr. D. P. Roy Chowdhary, Principal, Government School of Arts and Crafts, Madras, for rendering technical aid by touching up here and there the paintings figured in plate vii from photographs supplied to him.

on the left thigh. This evidently represents Vardhamāna as the child engaged in the ceremony of *janmābhishēka*. There is a *deva* on the right pouring water on him from a vessel held over his head with both his hands. This *deva* wears a *kirita* on his head, *patra-kunḍalas* in his ears, armlets, necklaces and the waist-girdle round his waist. He must be Saudharmendra, the Indra of the first heaven. This identification is confirmed by the presence of a female figure similarly adorned, who is Śacti, his wife, on the right of Saudharmendra. Some other *devas* stood on either side of the child, of whom five can be made out in the painting. Two of these five stand on the right, behind Śacti. One of them is of short stature and has his right hand extended with the palm open suggesting wonder (*vismaya*). Nothing remains of the other except the crowned head. In the foreground an elephant is standing. This is Airāvata, the vehicle of Saudharmendra. The other three *devas* stand in a row, one behind the other on the left of the child. The one farthest from the child is bringing a vessel probably with the celestial water in it, the second takes it from him and carries it in both his hands to the third who after receiving it pours the water over the divine child's head. In the foreground, and in front of the second figure of these three, can be seen the fallen figure of another *deva*, similarly ornamented and dressed but with his back turned towards the child. He is evidently one of the many doubting *devas* that fell down when the child sneezed.

Pl. vii-2 is in two panels. The one on the left shows the figure of Vardhamāna (defaced) seated on a pedestal and decorated with ornaments such as armlets, wristlets, *kunḍalas* and *kirita* and garlands. A cushion is placed behind him on which he is leaning. His left hand rests on his thigh suggesting ease, the idea being that he was thus installed by Saudharmendra and the other *devas* in order to give audience to them so that they could look at him all the time and delight themselves to their hearts' content by dancing, singing, etc. Indra is shown dancing in the next panel. Only the lower part of his body is visible, the rest having fallen. The legs are crossed as in painting No. 45 (pl. xix) suggesting that the figure is engaged in dancing.

Pl. vii-1 represents the scene portrayed in painting No. 45 (b) and described on p. 123. Saṅgama is here shown in the form of a snake, twisting himself round a tree with the tail laid on the ground and the hood spread on top of the tree. Vardhamāna is standing on the ground very near the tail evidently with the intention of climbing up and crushing the snake under his feet. He has his right hand raised as if speaking. Probably he is advising the *deva* Saṅgama to withdraw from the foolish wager into which he had entered before he was made to realize the consequences of his folly. The right hand and the right half of the body of a figure can be made out to the right of Vardhamāna.

Pl. vii-3 illustrates the *samavasaraṇa* of Vardhamāna. Though much of it has fallen what remains shows parts of the *Lakṣmīvara-maṇḍapa* which consisted of the twelve *koṣṭas* and the *Gandhakūṭi* in which the Tirthaṅkara was installed. Only three compartments of the *Lakṣmīvara-maṇḍapa* remain, each containing two figures. Proceeding clockwise, the first of these contains two representatives of the *Bhavanavāsi-devas*, both with their hands folded in worship (*añjali*) against their breasts. The next shows two winged men,

seated cross-legged and with hands folded in worship (*añjali*). They represent the *Gandharvas* that form a division of the *Vyantara* or peripatetic *devas*. The next contains two figures which are those of the sun and the moon, the two important divisions of the *Jyotishkas*. They each have a halo round their heads which distinguishes them easily and have their hands folded in worship (*añjali*) against their breasts. As in the other paintings in this temple illustrating the *samavasarana* only two figures are shown in each hall to represent the class of *devas* that should occupy it. In the centre bounded by two concentric circles is the *Gandhakuti*. Part of a throne is visible with its canopy and a cushion on it. But the portion showing the Tirthaṅkara has fallen. What now remains of this part of the structure shows the standing figure of a *deva* who waves a *chāmara* on the right side of the Tirthaṅkara.

Between the *samavasarana* scene (3) and the Saṅgama scene (1) can be made out faintly a patch of colour, that could not be successfully photographed, in which two heads and small circular and irregular discs looking like flowers can alone be made out. Probably the heads are those of the *Gandharvas* who scattered flowers over the *samavasarana* structure.

Pl. vi—2 shows women riding on horses in a circle (defaced) around a circular and embossed medallion in the centre. Originally there must have been eight such women each on her horse. But now most of the painting having fallen only two women can be made out, one of them clearly on the horse. The medallion contains a well-finished carving showing Saudharmendra, head westwards, riding his elephant, Airāvata with his wife, Śachi seated also on the back of the elephant behind him. Both have *kirita*s on their heads. Saudharmendra holds a flower in his right hand and carries a flower-garland in his left. Śachi's right hand holds a flower, while her left is hidden by Indra's right hand. The whole carving has been painted over but most of the paint has fallen.

Some other patches of colour (not photographed) reveal parts of scenes in which common folk, *devas* with parasols in their hands, men on horse-back and ornamental floral designs figure. These are so hopelessly fragmentary that the scenes portrayed cannot be identified.

APPENDIX I.¹

JAINA UNITS OF MEASUREMENT AND TIME.

UNITS OF MEASUREMENT.

The following tables of measurement are necessary to understand the pages devoted to Jaina cosmology, classification of souls, etc., where measurements of the universe and its various parts, of the respective heights, ages, etc., of the various souls, living in the universe, *vis.*, human, sub-human, hellish, celestial and perfect are discussed :—

I

Samaya is the smallest unit of time. Innumerable *samayas* pass while one winks an eye or tears an old piece of cloth or snaps the finger or drives the sharp end of a pin into a lotus leaf or petal.

Innumerable <i>saṃayas</i> =	1 <i>nimisha</i> (time taken in raising the eye-lid).	30 <i>muhūrtas</i>	=	1 <i>ahorātra</i> (a day and a night).	
15 <i>nimishas</i>	=	1 <i>kāshthā</i> .	30 days	=	1 <i>māsa</i> .
20 <i>kāshthās</i>	=	1 <i>kalā</i> .	2 <i>māsas</i>	=	1 <i>ritu</i> .
20 <i>kalās</i> and a little over	=	1 <i>nālī</i> or <i>ghaṭī</i> .	3 <i>ritus</i>	=	1 <i>ayana</i> .
2 <i>ghaṭīs</i>	=	1 <i>muhūrta</i> .	2 <i>ayanas</i>	=	1 <i>samvatsara</i> .
			70,560,000,000,000 <i>samvatsaras</i> .	=	1 <i>pūrva</i> .

Another classification of time starting from *samaya* as the smallest unit is as follows:—

Countless *samayas* = 1 *āvalikā* which is the next smallest division of time.

16,777,216 *āvalikās* = 1 *muhūrta*; also called *antarmuhūrta*. A *muhūrta* is equivalent to 48 minutes of English time.

30 *muhūrtas* = 1 *ahorātra* (i.e., a night and a day).

After *ahorātra* the Jains count like the Hindus the fortnight, months and years till they come to what is called a *palya* or *palyopama*, which is an inestimably long period of time. It is calculated thus:—

A vessel or circular pit with a diameter of one *yojana*, i.e., 2,000 *krośas* or 4,000 miles, and of an equal depth is filled with "the ends of the downy-hair of a lamb of seven days born in the highest *bhoga-bhūmī* (*utkrishṭa-bhoga-bhūmī*). " If one such hair is taken out every 100 years, the time required to empty the pit or the vessel is a *palya* or *palyopama* or as it is also called *vyavahārapalya*. Innumerable *vyavahārapalyas* make one *uddhārapalya* and innumerable *uddhārapalyas* make one *addhāpalya*.

¹ Concerning authorities consulted see *preface*.

Ten crores of crores of *addhāpāya* = 1 *sāgara*, i.e., one hundred millions of *pāya* multiplied by one hundred millions make one *sāgara* or *sāgaropama*.

II

Infinite × Infinite atoms	=	1 <i>utsanjñāsanjñā</i> .
8 <i>utsanjñāsanjñās</i>	=	1 <i>sanjñāsanjñā</i> .
8 <i>sanjñāsanjñās</i>	=	1 <i>truṭi-reṇu</i> .
8 <i>truṭi-reṇus</i>	=	1 <i>trasa-reṇu</i> .
8 <i>trasa-reṇus</i>	=	1 <i>ratha-reṇu</i> .
8 <i>ratha-reṇus</i>	=	1 hair-point of a hairbin in the highest enjoyment-land (<i>utkrishṭa-bhoga-bhūmi</i>).
8 such hair-points	=	1 hair-point in the middle (<i>madhyama</i>) enjoyment-land.
8 do.	=	1 hair-point in the lowest (<i>jaghanya</i>) enjoyment-land.
8 do.	=	1 hair-point in the action-land (<i>karma-bhūmi</i>).
8 do.	=	1 <i>liṣa nit</i> (young louse or egg of a louse).
8 <i>nits</i>	=	1 <i>yūka</i> louse.
8 lice	=	1 <i>yava-madhya</i> barley-seed (in its diameter).
8 barley-seeds	=	1 <i>utsedha aṅgula</i> (small finger in its breadth).
[500 <i>utsedha aṅgulas</i>	=	1 <i>pramāṇa aṅgula</i> (big finger).]
6 <i>aṅgulas</i>	=	1 <i>pāda</i> .
2 <i>pādas</i>	=	1 <i>vitasti</i> (span).
2 <i>vitastis</i>	=	1 <i>hātha</i> or <i>hasta</i> (cubit).
2 <i>hāthas</i> (cubits)	=	1 <i>kiku</i> .
2 <i>kikus</i> (or 4 cubits)	=	1 <i>dhanushya</i> or <i>dhanusha</i> or <i>dhanus</i> (bow).
2,000 <i>dhanushyas</i>	=	1 <i>kośa</i> .
4 <i>kośas</i>	=	1 <i>yojana</i> .
500 <i>yojanas</i> or 2,000 <i>kośas</i>	=	1 <i>pramāṇa yojana</i> or big <i>yojana</i> .

By the *Pramāṇa Aṅgula* and *Pramāṇa Yojana* (500 times of the ordinary measure) continents, oceans, etc., are measured.

A *raju* is a certain inconceivably great measure of length.

Sāgara or *sāgaropama*, *pāya*, and *pūrva* are names of high numbers.

DIVISIONS OF TIME.

In common with other oriental faiths Jainism speaks of time as an infinite series of aeons (*kalpas*) which are likened to a wheel rotating, now down and now up. Its downward course forms one era of an aeon, and its upward course the other era, each aeon having only two eras. The former era is known as *avasarpinī*, or the descending era, and the latter as *utsarpinī* or the ascending era. Both are under the influence of serpents, the former under that of a bad serpent and the latter under that of a good one. The wheel of time is said to have twelve spokes, six for each era.

AVASARPINI.—The era in which we are now living, and in which piety and truth go on decreasing until chaos prevails, has the following six divisions¹:—

(1) *Sushama Sushama* (pure bliss) was an age of great happiness, lasting for four crores of crores of *sāgara* or *sāgaropamas*. In this age human beings lived for three *palyas*, had 256 ribs each, were six miles high and ate every fourth day. They had symmetrical bodies, with joints firmly knit and were always healthy. They were free from anger, conceit, greed, etc., and by nature shunned vice. The ten "wish-trees" (*kalpa-vrikshas*) supplied all their needs.² The children born in this age were always twins, a boy and a girl. In many Jaina temples one can see carvings representing these happy twins standing under the *kalpa*-trees that catered to their needs. The parents of the children died as soon as they were 49 days old, and the children could eat on and from the fourth day after they were born food equal to a grain of corn in size. They never increased the amount of their food, which they ate, as already said, every fourth day. The human beings of this period passed after death straight to *devaloka*, without ever having heard of religion. As this spoke of the wheel passed, the powers of the *kalpa*-trees slowly deteriorated.

(2) *Sushama* (bliss) was, as the name indicates, an age of happiness only a little reduced. It lasted for three crores of crores of *sāgaras*. This age was only half as happy as the first. Human beings were four miles high, had only 128 ribs, lived for two *palyas* and ate every third day. The ten *kalpa*-trees still continued their kind offices, though their powers were somewhat diminished. Abundance gradually decreased "like the size of an elephant's trunk." The parents of the children (twins again) lived longer now after they were born and died only when the latter were sixty-four days old. Food equal in size to a jujube fruit was now consumed every third day.

(3) *Sushama Dushama* (bliss-sorrow) was the next age when happiness had become mixed with sorrow. It lasted for two crores of crores of *sāgaras*. In this period human beings lived for one *palya*, were only two miles in height, had only sixty-four ribs and ate every second day. The power of the *kalpa*-trees became still further diminished. After death human beings still went to *devaloka*. It was during this period that Rishabhadeva was born, who taught the twins of this age seventy-two useful arts such as cooking, sewing, etc., "for he knew that the desire-fulfilling trees would disappear, and that human beings would have only themselves to depend upon." While he established a kingdom and introduced politics, etc., it was given to his illustrious daughter Brāhmī, the Jaina patron of learning, to invent during this period eighteen different alphabets

¹ *Trilokaśāstra*, v. 780.

² The manner in which they supplied their needs is as follows:—

One tree gave them sweet fruits, another bore leaves that formed pots and pans, another murmured enchanting music with its rustling leaves and boughs, a fourth shed bright light, a fifth shone with radiance like little lamps, the flowers of a sixth gave forth scent and form (*rūpa*), a seventh bore food, both nice to behold and good to taste, the eighth had its leaves looking like jewels, the ninth was like a palace rising with many storeys to live in, while the tenth and the last supplied clothes with its bark.

"including Turkish, Nāgarī, all the Dravidian dialects, Canarese, Persian, and the character used in Orissa."

(4) *Dushama Sushama* (sorrow-bliss), the next age, was a period of misery with some happiness. It lasted for one crore of crores of *sāgaras* or *sāgaropamas* minus 42,000 years. Human beings lacked their former power and lived for one crore of *pūrvas*.¹ They were only five-hundred bows or spans tall and had thirty-two ribs. Women of this period ate twenty-eight morsels of food, the men thirty-two, and they both ate only once in the day. It was during this period that the Jaina religion was fully developed, and the remaining twenty-three Tirthaṅkaras, eleven Chakravartins, nine Baladevas, nine Vāsudevas and nine Prati-Vāsudevas belong to it. People of this period did not all go to *deva-loka*, but might be reborn in any of the four *gati*, indicated by the *svastika* (hell, heaven, man or beast) or might become *siddhas*.

(5) *Dushama* (sorrow), is the age in which we are now living and is entirely evil as the name indicates. It began in about 523 B.C., i.e., 3 years and 8½ months after Vardhamāna obtained liberation and will last for 21,000 years, of which some 2,418 years have now passed. Life is limited to 125 years²; people do not have more than 16 ribs nor are they more than seven cubits or 10½ feet high.

No Tirthaṅkara can be born in this period. Ascetics and laymen cannot reach *moksha* without passing through at least one more birth, "so that there would not seem to be much use in becoming an ascetic nowadays!". The present age will witness worse things than it has yet seen and Jainism itself will slowly disappear, a belief so firmly implanted in the minds of the Jaina that it paralyses all effort at the present time, "for the younger Jaina feel that anything they may do to spread their faith, for instance, is only building castles in the sand that must be swept away by the incoming tide of destruction."

(6) *Dushama Dushama* (sorrow-sorrow or pure sorrow), is the age of greatest misery which follows our present era and lasts for 21,000 years. Evil alone will prevail and mortals can live only for sixteen years or, according to some sects, twenty years at the most and cannot have more than eight ribs, nor will their height exceed one cubit or 1½ feet. Days will be hot and nights extremely cold; all kinds of diseases will spread, and chastity even between brothers and sisters will become non-existent. At the end of this period tempests will rend the earth when humanity will seek refuge in the Ganges, in caves and in the ocean.³

At the end of this age the *utsarpiṇī* era will begin and the wheel of time will start its upward revolution, when it will rain for seven days seven kinds of rain which will "so nourish the ground that the seeds will grow".

¹ One crore *pūrvas* = $7,056 \times 10^{17}$ years.

² According to Hemachandra life was limited to 100 years only. See *Trishuṣṭipātāhōpamhathavivṛta*, Vol. I, edited by Helen M. Johnson, 1931, p. 95.

³ The last Jaina monk will be called Duppasahasī, the last nun Phalguśrī, the last layman Nāgila and the last laywoman Satyaśrī.

⁴ As the Jains, unlike the Hindus, believe that their world was never created and as such can never be destroyed, they have no reason to apprehend that the earth is doomed to perish in these tempests.

UTSARPINI.—The six ages of the *utsarpinī* era have the same names as those of the *avasarpinī* but they occur in the reverse order, *Dushama Dushama* being the first. The first three ages of the *avasarpinī* and therefore the last three ages of the *utsarpinī* are the ages of *bhoga-bhūmi* or enjoyment.¹

In these men get what they want from the *kalpa*-trees, which means "that in the earliest periods of their existence men knew neither the arts and industries, nor the pastoral pursuits, nor agriculture, and that they kept body and soul together by a diet of fruits, roots, etc., wearing leaves and the bark of trees".²

The remaining three ages are those of *karma-bhūmi* or work.³ In these men have to sweat for their livelihood and also for their comforts and blessings in the life to come. The duration of the two eras combined is twenty crores of crores of *sāgaras* or *sāgarapamas*.

Dushama, the second age in this era will bring slight improvement.

Dushama Sushama, the third age will be important for the reason that the first of the future twenty-four Tirthaṅkaras will appear. He will bear the name Padmanābha and will resemble Vardhamāna in accomplishing as much as the latter did in spreading the Jaina faith. During Vardhamāna's time he was a king in Magadha and he is now expiating his bad *karma* in the first hell. When the upward revolution of the wheel brings us to the age of *Sushama*, twenty-three other future Tirthaṅkaras will appear who will carry on the work of Padmanābha "and the world will grow steadily happier, passing through every stage till the happiest of all is reached, when the decline of the wheel must once more begin that leads at last to the destruction of Jainism, and so on in endless succession".⁴

¹ *Bhoga-bhūmi* means enjoyment-land. This is a condition of life where there is all enjoyment and no labour such as agriculture or manufacture. Life runs its full span and can never be cut short.

² Jaini, *Outlines of Jainism*, pp. xxvi-xxvii.

³ *Karma-bhūmi*, work-land, i.e., a condition of life where work, like agriculture, etc., is necessary for sustenance, and in which the span of life can be cut short by external causes such as disease, accident, suicide and the like.

⁴ Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, p. 278.

APPENDIX II.¹

JAINA COSMOLOGY.

The universe (*loka*) is believed to have the shape of a man standing with arms akimbo* (pl. xxxvii) resembling at its top a cane-stand, in the middle a cymbal (*thal-lari*) and at its bottom a drum (*muraja*). It is composed of three worlds, the lower, the middle and the upper. Its breadth at its lowest point (*jagat-śreṇi*) is 7 *rajjus*, its area at its base (*jagat-pratara*) is 7 *rajjus* × 7 *rajjus* = 49 square *rajjus*, and its total volume (*jagat-ghana* or *loka*) is 343 cubic *rajjus* (7³ *rajjus*).

It tapers up from the base till at the height of 7 *rajjus*, where we arrive at the navel or centre of the universe, it is only 1 *rajju* wide. This part resembles the man's waist. From here it again bulges out till at half the remaining height it reaches the breadth of 5 *rajjus*. From here it narrows down gradually till at the top it is one *rajju* wide only. The whole universe is enveloped in three atmospheres called *vāta-valayas* or wind-sheaths:—

- (1) the thick wind or very dense atmosphere (*ghanodadhi-vāta-valaya*),
- (2) the less thick or dense atmosphere (*ghana-vāta-valaya*),
- (3) the fine wind or rare atmosphere (*tanu-vāta-valaya*).

This threefold sheath of the universe is compared to the bark of a tree². Through the centre of the universe runs a region figuratively referred to as a nerve (*trasa-nāḍī*) in which alone all mobile souls live. It is 14 *rajjus* high, one *rajju* thick and one *rajju* broad. It is generally called *trasa-nāḍī* because mobile (*trasa*) souls cannot live outside it. The special name given to this *trasa-nāḍī* or "the nerve of the mobile souls" is *gūṇa*, which means "chord"³. It means to the universe what sap means to the tree³. All living beings, i.e., men, animals, *devas*, devils and gods and also many immobile souls live here.

THE LOWER WORLD (*Adho-loka*).

The lower part of the figure of the man, i.e., the legs, represent the lower world (*adho-loka*). It is made up of seven earths which lie one below the other with an intervening space of one *rajju* separating one from the other. Each of these is surrounded and supported by three atmospheres, a gross air atmosphere (*ghanavāta*), a vapour atmosphere (*ambuvāta*), and a thin air atmosphere (*tanuvāta*), which are each 20,000 *yojanas* thick at the

¹ Concerning authorities consulted, see *preface*.

² It is an allegory, "of the human form divine, a macrocosm of the universe roughly evolved from the human microcosm" (Jaini, *Bright Ones in Jainism*, p. 15). But the comparison cannot be stretched far, for it is quite superficial and is only intended to make the complications of Jain cosmology easy to comprehend.

³ *Trilokasūtra*, v. 123 " . . . ghanāmbuḥghanatanūnām bhavet 1 Vātānām valayatrayam vṛkṣikāya tvaḥgīṇa lokaśya || "

⁴ *Trilokasūtra*, v. 143.

⁵ *Trilokasūtra*, v. 143, " . . . vṛkṣikā tārā īmā . . . "

bottom of the universe. In these seven earths are located the abodes of the hell-inhabitants (*Narakas*). Counting from above downwards these earths are—

(1) *Ratnaprabhā*—also called *Gharmā*. It is in hue like gems or jewels (*ratnas*), whence its name. Sixteen kinds of precious stones such as diamond, ruby, etc., are found there¹.

(2) *Śarkarāprabhā*—also called *Vamśā*. It is like sugar in hue.

(3) *Vālukaprabhā*—also called *Meghā*. It is like sand in hue.

(4) *Pañkaprabhā*—also called *Añjanā*. It is like mire in hue.

(5) *Dhūmaprabhā*—also called *Arishtā*. It is like smoke in hue.

(6) *Tannah-prabhā*—also called *Maghavi*. It is like darkness in hue.

(7) *Mahātamaḥ-prabhā*—also called *Māghavi*. It is like pitch darkness in hue.

The first earth is 180,000 *yojanas* thick or high and has three parts. The uppermost part is called *Khara-bhāga*. It is 16,000 *yojanas* thick and contains all the 16 kinds of jewels. In its middle 14,000 *yojanas* live all the ten classes of *Bhavanāvāsī* or residential celestial beings except the *Asura-kumāras*², and all the eight classes of the *Vyantarās* or the peripatetic celestial beings except the *Rākshasas*³. The middle part of the first earth is called *Pañkabhāga*. It is 84,000 *yojanas* thick and the *Asura-kumāras* among the *Bhavanāvāsī*s and the *Rākshasas* among the *Vyantarās* live there⁴. The lowest part of the first earth contains the first group of hells (*i.e.*, in its *trasa-nādi* or mobile channel) and is called *Abbhūta-bhāga*. It is 80,000 *yojanas* thick.

The second earth is 32,000 *yojanas* thick⁵ and contains the second group of hells.

The third earth is 28,000 *yojanas* thick⁶ and contains the third group of hells.

The fourth earth is 24,000 *yojanas* thick⁷ and contains the fourth group of hells.

The fifth earth is 20,000 *yojanas* thick⁸ and contains the fifth group of hells.

The sixth earth is 16,000 *yojanas* thick⁹ and contains the sixth group of hells.

The seventh earth is 8,000 *yojanas* thick¹⁰ and contains the seventh group of hells.

The number of hells in these earths is as follows:—

30 lakhs in the first earth.	99,995 in the sixth earth.
25 " second earth.	5 in the seventh earth.
15 " third earth.	
10 " fourth earth.	Total ... 84 lakhs of hells.
3 " fifth earth.	

These hells are huge holes in which hellish beings live. They are in 49 different layers (*pāṭalas*), 13 for the first earth, 11 for the second, 9 for the third, 7 for the fourth, 5 for the fifth, 3 for the sixth and 1 for the seventh. In each layer there is a central hole called *Indraka-bila*, and lines of holes (*śreṇī-baddhas*) in the four cardinal and four intermediate

¹ For their names see *Trilokaśāra*, vv. 147-8.

⁴ See below, p. 229.

² Another version is 132,000 *yojanas*. See *Trishaktiśilālākāpurushacharitra*, p. 380.

³ *Trishaktiśilālākāpurushacharitra*, p. 380-128,000 *yojanas*.

⁵ *Ibid.*—120,000 *yojanas*.

⁸ *Ibid.*—118,000 *yojanas*.

⁶ *Ibid.*—116,000 *yojanas*.

⁹ *Ibid.*—108,000 *yojanas*.

directions. In the first layer there are 49 in each of the cardinal directions, and 48 in each of the intermediate ones. In the second layer the numbers are 48 and 47; in the third 47 and 46 and so on, till in the forty-ninth layer there is a central hole and 4 holes in the cardinal points, thus making 5. The total number of these holes or hells may be arrived at thus:—

49	central holes (<i>Indrakas</i>).
9,604	in the eight directions (<i>Śreṇi-buddhas</i>).
8,390,347	sporadic holes (<i>Prakīrṇakas</i>).
<hr/>	
8,400,000	Total number of hells.

Hellish beings (*nārakas*) have very bad "thought-colours" or *leśyas*¹. They have the lowest kinds of sense-perceptions and have ugly and grotesque bodies. Their "thought-colours" are always of the lower type; black, indigo and grey. Grey (*kapota*) is associated with those of the hells in the first and second earths, indigo (*nīla*) in the fourth, a mixture of indigo and black in the fifth, a mixture of grey and indigo in the third, black in the sixth and the seventh. The sound of these hellish beings is harsh, their touch rough and their person and environments are terrible to behold. Their bodies are grotesque and disproportionate; their heights vary with the different earths in which they live. Thus the height in the hells of the first earth is 7 bows, 3 cubits, and 6 fingers. It doubles at each successive earth till in the hells of the seventh earth it is 500 bows. These beings torture one another. They change their bodies at will, but the change is always for the worse, such as that of the raven, wolf, etc. The *Asura-kumāras* who live in the *Pañka-bhāga* of the *Ratnaprabhā* earth, though they are celestial beings, give torture to these beings (in the first, second, and third earths) or incite them to torture one another.

There are also other celestial beings (*devas*) engaged in this torturing. They are divided into fifteen classes according to their functions—(1) The *Amūḍa*, who destroy the nerves of their victims; (as a mango is crushed in a man's hand to soften it, so do they wreck the nerves of the *jīva* they torture); (2) the *Ambarasa*, who separate flesh and bones; (3) the *Śāma* who beat men; (4) the *Śabala* who tear the flesh; (5) the *Rudra* who spear men; (6) the *Mahārudra* who cut flesh into mince-meat; (7) the *Kāla* who roast the flesh of the victims; (8) the *Mahākāla* who tear flesh with pincers; (9) the *Asipaṇṇa* who cut with swords; (10) the *Dhanu* who shoot their victims with arrows; (11) the *Kumbha* who torture with chillies; (12) the *Vālu* who steep men in hot sand; (13) the *Vetarunt* who duck the victims in boiling water and dash them against stones like a dhobi; (14) the *Kharasvara* who throw men on thorny trees; (15) the *Mahāghosha* who shut men up in black holes.

The maximum age of the hellish beings of the different earths are 1, 3, 7, 10, 17, 22 and 33 *sāgaropamas* of years respectively. All the hells in the first, second, third and

¹ *Leśya* is said to be that by means of which the soul is tinted with merit or demerit. It is translated as "tint" or "paint of body and thought."

fourth earths and the upper two lakhs¹ of the fifth earth are all very hot. The rest are very cold. It is said that the group of hells in the seventh earth is so horrid, and the pain there so acute, that our "degenerated race of the fifth age of the *avasarpini* era is not strong and capable enough to sin so as to deserve being sent to this blackest spot in the universe!". While all these hells are situated in the region of the legs of the standing figure symbolising the universe there is a still worse place called *Nigoda* situated below its feet² in which are thrown evil *jīvas* who have committed sins like murder and who have no hope of ever coming out of it.

Next above these hells is the waist of the figure, which stands for the middle world (*madhya-loka*) where we live.

THE MIDDLE WORLD (*Madhya-loka*).

The middle world is 100,040 *yojanas*³ high, and is a circular body consisting of a number of concentric rings called *dvīpas* or island-continent, separated from each other by ring-shaped oceans, each of these rings having twice the breadth of the one immediately preceding it. In the centre of this world, like the navel of the body, is Mount Meru, surrounded by the first continent *Jambū-dvīpa*. The names of the first sixteen and the last sixteen island-continent are—

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. <i>Jambū-dvīpa</i> , one lakh of <i>yojanas</i> across, which is surrounded by the <i>Lavana-samudra</i> or the salt-ocean, of two lakhs of <i>yojanas</i> of breadth. | 6. <i>Ghṛitavara-dvīpa</i> ; <i>Ghṛitavara-samudra</i> . |
| 2. <i>Dhātaki-khaṇḍa-dvīpa</i> , of twice the breadth of its preceding ring, viz., <i>Lavana-samudra</i> . This island is surrounded by <i>Kālodaka-jaladhī</i> or <i>Kālodadhi-samudra</i> or ocean, of twice the breadth of the island it encircles. | 7. <i>Kṣaudravara</i> or <i>Ikṣuvāra-dvīpa</i> ; <i>Kṣaudravara</i> or <i>Ikṣuvāra-samudra</i> . |
| 3. <i>Pushkaravara-dvīpa</i> , which is surrounded by an ocean called <i>Pushkaravara-samudra</i> which takes its name from the island it encircles. From here onwards the oceans take their names after the <i>dvīpas</i> that they surround. | 8. <i>Nandiśvaravara-dvīpa</i> ; <i>Nandiśvaravara-samudra</i> . |
| 4. <i>Vāruṇivara-dvīpa</i> or island; <i>Vāruṇivara-samudra</i> or ocean. | 9. <i>Arunavara-dvīpa</i> ; <i>Arunavara-samudra</i> . |
| 5. <i>Kṣīravara-dvīpa</i> ; <i>Kṣīravara-samudra</i> . | 10. <i>Arunābhāsavara-dvīpa</i> ; <i>Arunābhāsavara-samudra</i> . |
| | 11. <i>Kuṇḍala-vara-dvīpa</i> ; <i>Kuṇḍalavara-samudra</i> . |
| | 12. <i>Śaṁkhavara-dvīpa</i> ; <i>Śaṁkhavara-samudra</i> . |
| | 13. <i>Ruchakavara-dvīpa</i> ; <i>Ruchakavara-samudra</i> . |
| | 14. <i>Bhujagavara-dvīpa</i> ; <i>Bhujagavara-samudra</i> . |
| | 15. <i>Kuśagavara-dvīpa</i> ; <i>Kuśagavara-samudra</i> . |
| | 16. <i>Krauñchavara-dvīpa</i> ; <i>Krauñchavara-samudra</i> . |

¹ $\frac{1}{2}$ part according to *Trilokaśāstra*, sec v. 153.

² 1 *yojana* = about 4,000 miles.

³ Pl. xxxvii.

From here onwards, after leaving countless *dvīpas* and *samudras* come the last sixteen *dvīpas* and their corresponding encircling oceans, which are—

- | | | | |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|---|
| 1. <i>Manah-sīlā-dvīpa</i> ; | <i>Manah-sīlā-samudra.</i> | 9. <i>Vajravara-dvīpa</i> ; | <i>Vajravara-samudra.</i> |
| 2. <i>Haritāla-dvīpa</i> ; | <i>Haritāla-samudra.</i> | 10. <i>Vaidūryavara-dvīpa</i> ; | <i>Vaidūryavara-samudra.</i> |
| 3. <i>Sindūravara-dvīpa</i> ; | <i>Sindūravara-samudra.</i> | 11. <i>Nāgavara-dvīpa</i> ; | <i>Nāgavara-samudra.</i> |
| 4. <i>Śyāmavara-dvīpa</i> ; | <i>Śyāmavara-samudra.</i> | 12. <i>Bhūtavara-dvīpa</i> ; | <i>Bhūtavara-samudra.</i> |
| 5. <i>Añjanakavara-dvīpa</i> ; | <i>Añjanakavara-samudra.</i> | 13. <i>Yakshavara-dvīpa</i> ; | <i>Yakshavara-samudra.</i> |
| 6. <i>Hingulikavara-dvīpa</i> ; | <i>Hingulikavara-samudra.</i> | 14. <i>Devavara-dvīpa</i> ; | <i>Devavara-samudra.</i> |
| 7. <i>Rūpyavara-dvīpa</i> ; | <i>Rūpyavara-samudra.</i> | 15. <i>Ahīndravara-dvīpa</i> ; | <i>Ahīndravara-samudra.</i> |
| 8. <i>Suvarṇavara-dvīpa</i> ; | <i>Suvarṇavara-samudra.</i> | 16. <i>Svayambhūramāṇa-dvīpa</i> ; | <i>Svayambhūramāṇa-samudra</i> , which is the last ocean. |

The first three islands and the eighth island (*Nandīśvaravara-dvīpa*) must now be described, the former three for the reason that men can be found only in the first two islands and in the first half of the third island, and the latter for the reason that it is "a land of delights of the gods" who make in them with all splendour "eight-day festivals in the shrines on the holy days of the holy Arhats." The fact that the works I rely on for my study on this point speak of these particular islands specially and of the other islands in a general manner speaks for their relative importance.¹

Jambū-dvīpa.—In the centre of *Jambū-dvīpa* Mount *Meru*, golden and in the shape of a truncated cone, is buried 1,000 *yojanas* in the ground. Its diameter at the surface of the earth is 10,000 *yojanas* and 1,000 *yojanas* at its top, while its height is 99,000 *yojanas*. It is in three parts, being so divided by the three worlds. Its first part which is the 1,000 *yojanas* of it that are buried in the ground is taken to be in the *adho-loka*. This part consists of pure earth, stone, diamond and gravel. The second part which is 63,000 *yojanas* high is composed of gold, crystal, and *aṅka*². The third part, which is 36,000 *yojanas* high, consists of slabs of gold, and is surmounted by a glittering peak made of *vaidūrya* (cat's eye), whose diameter at its base is 12 *yojanas* and height 40 *yojanas*. At the base of Mount *Meru*, on the level of the earth, there is a dense encircling grove called *Bhadraśāla*. At 500 *yojanas* height from *Bhadraśāla*, on a terrace³ of the mountain is situated another grove called *Nandana*⁴. 6,250 *yojanas*⁵ above *Nandana* is the third grove

¹ It is interesting to note that one of the inscriptions in the big temple, dealt with above on pages 56-7 speaks of one of the festivals conducted in the *Nandīśvara-tara* island.

² It is not clear what *aṅka* means here. But from among the numerous meanings available for the word the following three need to be mentioned:—an ornament, a mountain and water.

³ The word used is *śāṇa*, which literally means a peak. As this meaning is clearly impossible here I follow Hemachandra in translating it as "terrace."

⁴ This is the Hindu garden said to be in the world of *Imra*.

⁵ 62,500 according to Hemachandra.

called *Saumanasa*, also on a terrace. And 36,000 *yojanas* above *Saumanasa* is the fourth grove called *Pāṇḍuka* or *Pāṇḍaka* in the shape of a circle, also on a terrace. As mentioned on pp. 83-84 the *Janmābhishekas* of the Tirthankaras are performed in this *Pāṇḍuka* grove (*vana*).

Jambū-dvīpa is divided into seven *kshetras* or zones by six ranges of mountains running through it from east to west. These ranges are, from south to north:—(1) *Himavān*, (2) *Mahāhimavān*, (3) *Nishadha*, (4) *Nīla*, (5) *Rukmin* and (6) *Śikharin*. These ranges which are of equal dimensions, abound in various kinds of precious stones (*manī*) on their slopes, and touch the *Lavana-samudra* or the salt ocean. The first mountain is of snow colour¹, the second of white, the third of burning or red-hot gold, the fourth of blue like the neck of the peacock, the fifth of silvery white and the sixth of golden colours. On the tops of these six mountains there are six lakes, *Padma*, *Mahāpadma*, *Tigīñchha*, *Kesari*, *Mahāpuṇḍarika*, and *Puṇḍarika*, respectively. The first lake has a length of 1,000 *yojanas*, a breadth of 500 *yojanas*, and a depth of 10 *yojanas*, and contains in its centre a lotus-like island, one *yojana* broad. Each of the three lakes up to *Tigīñchha* is twice as great in length, breadth and depth as the preceding lake and each of the three islands in them is also twice the length, breadth and depth of the island immediately preceding it. Thus *Mahāpadma* is twice the dimensions of the first lake *Padma*, and *Tigīñchha* is twice the size of *Mahāpadma*. *Kesari* is, however, equal to *Tigīñchha*, *Mahāpuṇḍarika* to *Mahāpadma* and *Puṇḍarika* to *Padma*. The same is the case with the islands in them. In these islands live six *Devīs* with life-periods of a *palya* attended by celestial beings of equal status called *Sāmānikas*, and with celestial beings who are members of their courts called *Pārishadas*. The *Devīs* (goddesses) are called *Śrī*, *Hrī*, *Dhṛtī*, *Kīrti*, *Buddhi* and *Lakshmi*, respectively.

The six mountains divide *Jambū-dvīpa* into seven zones or *kshetras* which are, from south to north:—(1) *Bharata-kshetra*; (2) *Haimavata-kshetra*; (3) *Hari-kshetra*; (4) *Videha-kshetra*; (5) *Ramyaka-kshetra*; (6) *Hairanyavata-kshetra*; and (7) *Airāvata-kshetra*. In each *kshetra* is a pair of important rivers, one flowing eastwards and the other westwards, both falling into the salt ocean. They are as follows:—*Gangā* and *Sindhu* in the *Bharata-kshetra*, the former flowing eastwards and the latter westwards, *Rohit* and *Rohitāsyā* in the second *kshetra*, *Harit* and *Harikāntā* in the third *kshetra*, *Sītā* and *Sītodā* in the *Videha-kshetra*, *Nārī* and *Narakāntā* in the *Ramyaka-kshetra*, *Suvarṇakūlā* and *Rūpyakūlā* in the *Hairanyavata-kshetra*, and *Raktā* and *Raktodā* in the *Airāvata-kshetra*. These rivers arise from the six lakes mentioned above in the following manner:—

Gangā, *Sindhu* and *Rohitāsyā* spring from the lake *Padma*;

Rohit and *Harikāntā* spring from the lake *Mahāpadma*;

Harit and *Sītodā* spring from the lake *Tigīñchha*;

Sītā and *Narakāntā* spring from the lake *Kesari*;

Nārī and *Rūpyakūlā* spring from the lake *Mahāpuṇḍarika*.

Suvarṇakūlā, *Raktā* and *Raktodā* spring from the lake *Puṇḍarika*.

¹ Golden colour according to *Umāsvāmi*.

Gaṅgā and *Sindhu* have 14,000 tributaries each. Each pair of the others receives twice as many tributaries as the preceding pair up to *Sitā* and *Sitodā*, i.e., *Rohit* and *Rohitāsya* have 28,000 each, *Harit* and *Harikāntā* have 56,000 each, and *Sitā* and *Sitodā* have 112,000 each¹. The northern rivers (north of *Videha*) are equal to the southern. Thus *Nārī* and *Narakāntā* have 56,000, *Suvarṇakūlā* and *Rūpyakūlā* 28,000, and *Raktā* and *Raktodā* 14,000 each.

Bharata-kshetra is the zone to which we belong and is 190th part of the breadth of *Jambū-dvīpa* ($\frac{1}{190}$ of the breadth), i.e., 526 $\frac{1}{2}$ *yojanas* wide, while its bounding mountain *Himavān* is twice its width, viz., 1,052 $\frac{1}{2}$ *yojanas*, according to the general rule noted above that every mountain and *kshetra* has double the breadth of the mountain or *kshetra* preceding it. This rule extends up to *Videha-kshetra*. To the north of *Videha-kshetra* the arrangement and extent of *kshetras*, mountains, rivers, lakes, etc., exactly correspond to those south of it. In the *Bharata* and *Airāvata-kshetras*, in the extreme south and north of *Jambū-dvīpa*, there is increase and decrease of age, height, bliss, etc., of their inhabitants in the two eras of time, *Utsarpiṇī* and *Avasarpinī*, while in the other five *kshetras* they are constant, there being neither increase nor decrease in bliss, age, height, etc.

While the mountain *Himavān* bounds it there is another mountain called *Vijayārḍha*, parallel to *Himavān*, which divides *Bharata-kshetra* into a northern and a southern region. The northern region is peopled by *Mlechchhas* or barbarians that do not care for religion. Human beings that live in *Jambū-dvīpa*, *Dhātaki-dvīpa* and one half of *Pushkaravara-dvīpa*, which together are referred to as *Adhūyi-dvīpa* or the 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ regions, are of two kinds, *Ārya* and *Mlechchha*. *Ārya* is translated as "noble, worthy and respectable" and *Mlechchha* as "barbarian, non-Āryan, low and savage." But the real import of these two terms is as follows:—The *Āryas* are divided into *Riddhiprāpta-Ārya*, i.e., with supernatural powers, and *Anriddhiprāpta-Ārya*, without supernatural powers. The supernatural powers (*ṛiddhi*) referred to are: enlightenment (*buddhi*), changing the body at will (*vikriyā*), austerities (*tapas*), giant-strength (*bala*), healing power (*aushadha*), capacity of an evil eye and its opposite and the like (*rasa*), and capacity of making wealth, stores, places, etc., inexhaustible (*akshīṇa*). There are 64 sub-classes of these seven kinds of supernatural powers. *Anriddhiprāpta-Āryas* are divided into five classes:—(1) *Kshetra-Āryas*, those born in *Ārya-khaṇḍa*, one of the six divisions of *Bharata-kshetra*, to be described below. (2) *Jāti-Āryas*, born in illustrious families, such as *Ikshvāku*, *Sūrya-vamśa*, etc. (3) *Karma-Āryas*, *Āryas* by their vocations, military, literary, trade, arts, science, agriculture, etc. (4) *Chāritra-Āryas*, *Āryas* by right conduct or sterling character. (5) *Darśana-Āryas*, *Āryas* by right belief.

The *Mlechchhas* are of two kinds:—(1) *Karmabhūmija*, born in work-land and (2) *Antardvīpaja*, "inter-continental" *Mlechchhas*. *Karmabhūmija-Mlechchhas* are born in 850 divisions of the *Jambū-dvīpa*, 800 in *Videha-kshetra*, 25 in *Bharata-kshetra* and 25 in *Airāvata-kshetra*. *Antardvīpaja-Mlechchhas* or intercontinental *Mlechchhas* live in 24 islands which are arranged in a circle in *Lavanodadhī* or the salt ocean, the first eight, 500 *yojanas*

¹ According to Hemachandra 532,000 rivers each.

from the circumference of *Jambū-dvīpa* and the remaining sixteen, 550 *yojanas* from the circumference of *Jambū-dvīpa*. Four of these in the cardinal points are 100 *yojanas* broad, four more in the intermediate corners are 55 *yojanas* and the remaining sixteen are 50 *yojanas* broad. The inhabitants of these islands are described to be grotesque creatures with heads of boars, horses, elephants, lions, etc., on human bodies, or with long ears, one leg, etc., from which features the islands derive their names as *Ekoru*, *Hayakarna*, *Gajakarna*, *Gokarna*, *Śashkulikarna*, *Ādarśanukha*, *Meshamukha*, *Hayamukha*, etc.¹ These *Mlechchhas* live on fruits and other tree-produce and their age-limit is one *palya*.

The *Karmabhūmija-Mlechchhas* are Śakas, Yavanas (Greeks, Romans), Śabaras, Barbaras, Kāyas, Murundas, Udras, Godras, Arapakas, Hūnas (Huns), Romakas, Pārasas, Khasas, Khāsikas, Patkanakas, Dombilikas, Lakusās, Bhillas (Bhils?), Anghras, Bukkasas, Pulindas, Krauñchakas, Bhramararutas, Kuñchas, Chinas (Chinese), Vañchukas, Mālavas, Dravidas, Kulakshas, Kirātas, Kaikayas, and others who do not know even the word "dharma". It will be seen that the above list includes foreigners like Greeks and other invaders of India like the Huns and the Dravidas or the early South Indians as *Mlechchhas*.

It was noted above that the *Vijayārdha* mountain divides *Bharata-kshetra* into a northern and southern regions. The northern region is peopled by *Mlechchhas*. The southern region is divided into three sections, western, middle and eastern, by the rivers *Sindhu* flowing in the west and *Gaṅgā* flowing in the east. The *Mlechchhas* again live in the extreme eastern and western sections while the middle section is peopled by *Āryas* and is therefore called *Ārya-khaṇḍa* where we (as *Āryas*) live. It will thus be seen that this *Ārya-khaṇḍa* is bounded by the *Gaṅgā* on the east, by the *Vijayārdha* mountain on the north, by the *Sindhu* on the west and the salt ocean on the south, and *Bharata-kshetra* is divided by the two rivers and the *Vijayārdha* mountain into six sections, five for the *Mlechchhas* and one (*Ārya-khaṇḍa*) for the *Āryas*. According to Jaini "our whole world, with its Asia, Europe, America, Africa, Australia, etc., are included in *Ārya-khaṇḍa*."²

To the north of the *Nishadha* mountain and to the south of *Meru* are the *Vidyutprabha* mountains and the *Saumanasa* mountains in the west and east respectively, in the shape of an elephant's tusk, almost touching *Meru*. Between them is the *bhogabhūmi* or enjoyment-land known as the *Devakurus*, 11,842 *yojanas* wide. The salient features of the *bhogabhūmis* have been set forth above on p. 72. In the *Devakurus*, on the east and west banks of the river *Sitodā* are two important mountains, *Chitrakūta* and *Vichitrakūta*, on which temples of the Jinas (*Jinālaya*) are worshipped. To the north of *Meru* and to the south of the *Nila* mountain are the *Gandhamādana* and *Mālyavat* mountains, also in the shape of an elephant's tusk. Between them is the second *bhogabhūmi* called the *Uttarakurus*, where on the banks of the river *Sitā* are two mountains named *Yamaka* corresponding to the *Chitrakūta* and *Vichitrakūta* of the *Devakurus*. The *Devakurus* and *Uttarakurus* are said to be *bhogabhūmis* of the first or highest order; *Hari* and *Rumyaka-kshetras* are

¹ According to Hemachandra the *Antardvīpas* are 56 in number; but the surplus 32 can however be treated as just subdivisions of some among the 24 we have detailed here.

² See *Outline of Jainism*, p. 124.

said to be *bhogabhūmis* of the second order, and *Haimavata* and *Hairanyavata-kshetras* are *bhogabhūmis* of the lowest order. The remaining *kshetras* are *karmabhūmis*, where people have to work for their livelihood; these are also regions of piety whence liberation can easily be attained.

East of the *Devakurus* and *Uttarakurus* the region is called East *Videhas* and to the west, West *Videhas*. In each there are 16 provinces. *Kachchā*, *Sukachchhā*, *Mahākachchā*, *Kachchakāvati*, *Avartā*, *Lāṅgalāvartā*, *Pushkalā*, *Pushkalāvati*, *Vatsā*, *Suvatsā*, *Mahāvatsā*, *Vatsakāvati*, *Ramyā*, *Suramyakā*, *Ramanīyā* and *Maṅgalāvati* are the 16 provinces of the East *Videhas*. The ones in West *Videhas* are *Padmā*, *Supadmā*, *Mahāpadmā*, *Padmakāvati*, *Śāṁkhā*, *Nalinī*, *Kumudā*, *Sarīt*, *Vapra*, *Suvaprā*, *Mahāvaprā*, *Vaprakāvati*, *Gandhā*, *Sugandhā*, *Gandhilā* and *Gandhamālinī*.¹ In *Bharata-kshetra*, on the southern and northern slopes of the *Vijayārdha* mountain there are the cities of *Vidyādhara*, 50 in the south and 60 in the north. There are also a similar number of *Vidyādhara* cities in the *Airāvata-kshetra*, while in the *Videha-kshetra* they are 55 for each slope of the mountain.² Life in the *Haimavata*, *Hari* and *Devakurus* are respectively of one, two and three *palyas*. The same is the case with *Uttarakuru*, *Ramyakā*, and *Hairanyavata*. But in *Videha* the maximum is one crore *pūrvas* and the least is *antar-muhūrta* (48 minutes). The age of human beings in the other regions ranges from a maximum of three *palyas* to a minimum of one *antarmuhūrta*.³

The countries (*desas*) in the *Ārya-khaṇḍa* are *Magadha*, *Anga*, *Vaṅga*, *Kāśī*, *Kaliṅga*, *Kosala*, *Kuru*, *Kuśārtaka*, *Pāṇchāla*, *Jāṅgala*, *Videha*, *Surāshṭraka*, *Vatsa*, *Malaya*, *Sandarbhā*, *Varuṇa*, *Matsya*, *Chedi*, *Daśārṇa*, *Sindhu*, *Sauvīra*, *Śūrasena*, *Māsapurivarta*, *Kuṇālaka*, *Lāṭa*, and *Ketaka*. The cities of *Ārya-khaṇḍa* are *Kshemā*, *Kshemapurī*, *Ariṣṭā*, *Ariṣṭapurī*, *Khaḍgā*, *Mañjūshā*, *Aushadhī*, *Puṇḍarīkīṇī*, *Susīmā*, *Kuṇḍalā*, *Aparājītā*, *Prabhāṅkarā*, *Aṅkā*, *Padmāvati*, *Śubhā*, *Ratnasañchayā*, *Aśvapurī*, *Simhapurī*, *Mahāpurī*, *Vijayapurī*, *Arajā*, *Virajā*, *Aśoka*, *Vitasoka*, *Vijayā*, *Vaijayanti*, *Jayantā*, *Aparājītā*, *Chakrapurī*, *Khaḍgapurī*, *Ayodhyā* and *Avadhya*.⁴

¹ *Trilekātārā*, vv. 687-690.

² For the names of the cities see *Trilekātārā*, vv. 697-707.

³ *Tattvārthadhigamāsūtra*, ch. III, sūtra 39:—

The sub-human beings (*tiryakchak*) also have the same range of age—

	Maximum age.	Minimum age.
Earth-bodied (<i>prithvībhūyika</i>)	22,000 years	...
Vegetable-bodied (<i>Vanaspātībhūyika</i>)	10,000 "	...
Water-bodied (<i>apbhūyika</i>)	7,000 "	...
Air-bodied (<i>vāyubhūyika</i>)	3,000 "	...
Fire-bodied (<i>agnībhūyika</i>)	3 days	...
2 sensed (<i>dvī-indriya</i>)	12 years	...
3 do. (<i>tri-indriya</i>)	49 days	...
4 do. (<i>chatur-indriya</i>)	6 months	...
5 do. (<i>pañcābhūyika</i>), like fish	1 crore <i>pūrvas</i> of years	...
Mongoose	9 <i>pūrvāṅgas</i> of years	...
Serpent	42,000 years	...
Birds	72,000 "	...
Quadrupeds	3 <i>palyas</i>	...

⁴ *Trilekātārā*, vv. 711-715.

The continent Jambū-dvīpa has a fortification consisting of a diamond wall, 8 *yojanas* high and 12 *yojanas* wide at its base. This wall contains four gates in the four cardinal points, which are called Vijaya, Vaijayanta, Jayanta and Aparājita respectively. The lord of Jambū-dvīpa is a Vyantara *deva* called Anādara.

Lavaṇa-samudra, the salt ocean.—Surrounding *Jambū-dvīpa*, and twice as wide, is the *Lavaṇa-samudra* with its water saltish in taste. It may be noted that the names of this ocean and the succeeding oceans indicate the taste of their waters. Thus, for instance, saltish for the salt ocean, the natural taste of water with slight variety in each case for *Vārunivara*, *Kālodaka*, *Pushkaravara* and *Svayambhūramana-samudras*, taste of milk for *Kṣhīravara-samudra*, of clarified butter for *Ghrītavara-samudra* and of sugarcane juice for *Ikṣhuvāra-samudra* and the remaining *samudras*.¹ Aquatic souls (*jalachara-jīva*) live only in *Lavaṇa-samudra*, *Kālodaka-samudra* and the last *samudra*, *Svayambhūramana-samudra* and nowhere else. The salt ocean is sunk 1,000 *yojanas* in the ground; in its centre is a crest 16,000 *yojanas* high and 10,000 *yojanas* wide. At the time of tides there is a decrease and increase of its water up to two *gavyūtas* or four miles. There are four *Pātāla* vessels in it which control the quantity of its water. They are called *Vaḍavā-mukha*, *Keyūpa*, *Yūpaka* and *Īśvara* respectively, beginning with the east. In them four *devas*, *Kāla*, *Mahākāla*, *Velaṁba*, and *Prabhañjana* live respectively in pleasure-mansions. *Nāga-kumāras*, one of the ten classes of the *Bhavanavāsi-devas*, to the number of 42,000 are engaged in controlling the inner waves, while 72,000 more control the outer waves and 60,000 others keep guard over the crest waves. Island-mountains are found in this ocean among which mention may be made of the following which serve as the abodes of some of the *devas*: *Gostūpa*, *Udakabhāsa*, *Śaṅkha*, *Udakaśīmaka*,² *Kārkotaka*, *Kārdamaka*, *Kailāsa*, *Aruṇaprabha*.³

Twelve thousand *yojanas* from *Jambū-dvīpa*, in the east are two islands for the moon, both 12,000 *yojanas* wide. At the same distance in the west are two islands for the sun. These islands contain in them palaces wherein live the inner and outer suns and moons. Removed from *Jambū-dvīpa* by the same distance is another island, *Gantama-dvīpa*, which is the abode of *Susthita*, the lord of the salt-ocean.

Dhātākikhaṇḍa-dvīpa.—In the *Dhātākikhaṇḍa*, the next region after the salt-ocean, the number of *kshetras*, rivers, mountains, lakes, etc., is double that found in *Jambū-dvīpa*, and their names are as in *Jambū-dvīpa*. It is divided by the *Ishvākāra* mountains which run from north to south. There are also other mountains dividing this region into zones as in *Jambū-dvīpa*. The *Ishvākāra* and other mountains are like the spokes of a wheel, high as the *Nishadha* mountains of *Jambū-dvīpa*, and touching the *Lavaṇa* and *Kālodaka*-oceans. The zones are between the spoke-like mountains. Two *devas* are the lords of this region, *Prabhāsa* and *Priyadarśana* by name. There are four small Merus, smaller than the Meru of *Jambū-dvīpa* by 15,000 *yojanas*.

¹ Cf. *Trilokaśāstra*, v. 319.

² According to Hemachandra the abodes of the *Judeas* of the *Velādhārins*.

³ The latter four are according to Hemachandra the abodes of the *Judeas* of *Anuvēlādhārins*.

Kālodadhi-samudra.—The ocean surrounding Dhātaki-khaṇḍa, 800,000 *yojanas* wide is *Kālodadhi* or *Kāloda*. Aquatic souls live here as in *Lavaṇa-samudra*. Its lords are two, Kāla and Mahakāla by name.

Pushkaravara-dvīpa or the "lotus-island."—This is the next region or island-continent. It is divided by Mount *Mānushottara* running all round it, which is called *Mānushottara* because man is not born except on this side of it. This mountain is the ultimate limit of the region inhabited by human beings. Thus it will be seen that human beings live in $2\frac{1}{2}$ continents, *Jambū-dvīpa*, *Dhātaki-dvīpa* and the first half of *Pushkaravara-dvīpa*. This mountain is round like a city-wall, surrounding the whole human world. It is golden, 1,721 *yojanas* high, deep in the ground by $430\frac{1}{4}$ *yojanas*, 1,022 *yojanas* in diameter at the base, 723 at the middle and 424 at the top. On the other side of it, mortals are neither born nor die. Even animals, etc., do not die if they have gone to the other side of it. Beyond it there are no rivers, clouds, lightning, fire, time, etc. The number of *kshetras*, rivers, mountains, etc., in the first half is twice that of *Jambū-dvīpa*.

There are four small *Merus* in this half, smaller than *Meru* of *Jambū-dvīpa* by 15,000 *yojanas*. Their diameter at the base is less than *Meru's* by 600 *yojanas*. They have also the four groves, *Bhadraśāla*, *Saumanasa*, *Nandana* and *Pāṇḍuka*.

Thus it will be seen that the human world according to the Jains consists of $2\frac{1}{2}$ continents (*adhūyi-dvīpa*), 2 oceans, 35 zones, 5 *Merus*, 35 zone-mountains, 5 *Devakurus*, 5 *Uttarakurus*, and 160 provinces. Of these the *Bharata*, *Airāvata* and *Mahāvīdeha* zones, except the *Devakurus* and *Uttarakurus* are *Karmabhūmis*. The lords of the first half of *Pushkaravara-dvīpa* are Padma and Puṇḍarika, while the lords of the half on the other side of Mount *Mānushottara* are Chakshushmān and Suchakshushmān.

Pushkaravara-samudra.—Twice as large as the continent of that name, with water that can be drunk. Its lords are Śrīprabha and Śrīdhara.

Vārūṇivara-dvīpa.—Twice as large as the previous *samudra*, with two lords of the names of Varuṇa and Varuṇaprabha.

Vārūṇivara-samudra.—Twice as large as the continent of the same name, with water sweet and pleasing with "varied beverages." Its lords are Madhya and Madhyamadeva.

Kṣīravara-dvīpa.—Twice as large as the previous *samudra*, with two lords, Pāṇḍura and Pushpadanta.

Kṣīravara-samudra.—Twice as large as the previous continent, with its water resembling "milk with one-fourth part of ghee mixed with candied sugar." Its lords are Vimala and Vimalaprabha.

Ghṛitavara-dvīpa.—Twice as large as the previous ocean, with two lords, Suprabha and Mahāprabha.

Ghṛitavara-samudra.—Twice as large as the previous continent, with water "of freshly boiled cow's ghee." Its lords are Kanaka and Kanakaprabha.

* According to Hemachandra it is twice the number of those of *Dhātakikhaṇḍa*.

Ikshvāra-dvīpa.—Twice as large as the previous ocean, with two lords, *Punya* and *Punya-prabha*.

Ikshvāra-samudra.—Twice as large as the previous continent, with its water resembling the juice of sugar-cane. Its lords are *Devagandha* and *Mahāgandha*. Then comes the eighth continent which is compared to heaven.

Nandiśvaravara-dvīpa.—Twice as large as the previous ocean. The diameter of its outer circle is 1,638,400,000 *yojanas*. It is a land of delight to the *devas* who go there to worship the *Jinas* installed in temples in "gardens of manifold designs." In it there are several mountains of which the most important are three mountain ranges called *Añjana*, *Dadhimukha* and *Ratikara*, with shrines of the *Jinas* on their tops. The whole continent is filled with "temples, theatre-pavilions, arenas, jewelled platforms, beautiful *stūpas* and statues, fair *chaitya*-trees, *indra-dhvajas*, and divine lotus-lakes in succession."

In the various temples and palaces here the *devas* in all their splendour, together with their retinues, celebrate "eight-day festivals" on the holy days of the *Arhats* or the *Jinas*.

The religious importance of these festivals in the *Nandiśvaravara-dvīpa* can be realized if it is pointed out that in one of the inscriptions in the *Vardhamāna* temple¹ a gift is made for the performance of one of these festivals (*ārambha-Nandi*) in the temple. This is further augmented by symbolical representations both in stone and metal, of this land where the *Jinas* are worshipped in temples by the *devas* and other highly spiritual souls. One is in metal (pl. xxxi, fig. 3) and is pyramidal in shape rising in six tiers with a finial top. Several *siddha* figures can be made out sitting on the sides of the pyramid in meditation. The other (pl. xxxi, fig. 4) which is in stone is bigger, being shaped like a *vimāna* superimposed on a square base, the sides of which reveal several seated *siddhas* in meditation. The *vimāna* has for each side a niche surmounted by an arch with the figure of a seated *Tīrthaṅkara* below it (arch). A finial surmounts the whole giving it the dignified appearance of a shrine (*Jina-bhavana*).

The lords of this continent are *Nandi* and *Nandi-prabha*.

Nandiśvaravara-samudra.—Twice as large as the previous continent with its water resembling sugar-cane juice. Its lords are *Bhadra* and *Subhadra*.

The continent *Aruṇa-dvīpa* surrounds *Nandiśvaravara-samudra*. Its lords are *Aruṇa* and *Aruṇa-prabha*. *Aruṇa-samudra* comes next and its lords are *Sasugandha* and *Sarvagandha*. Then come *Aruṇābhāsa-dvīpa* and *Aruṇābhāsa-samudra* and so on with two lords for each, the former ruling over the southern part and the latter over the northern part. The remaining continents and oceans are like those discussed above, each twice as large as the preceding one. The last continent is *Svayambhūramāṇa-dvīpa* which has a mountain called *Svayamprabha* running through it like the *Mānushottara* mountain of

¹ For details regarding the names of the lakes, the number of palaces and the dimensions of the mountains and for the worship of the *Jinas* by the *devas* see *Tiruparuttikūṭam*, iv, 966-990.

² See above, pp. 56-57.

Pushkaravara-dvīpa. The last ocean which surrounds *Svayambhūramāya-dvīpa* is *Svayambhūramāya-samudra*, with its water drinkable like that of *Kālodadhi* and *Pushkaravara-samudra*. And like *Lavana-samudra* and *Kālodadhi* it is filled with aquatic souls like fish, tortoise, etc.

The five classes of *Jyotishka Devas* or *Stellars*¹—1. Suns (*Ādityas*), 2. Moons (*Chandras*), 3. Planets (*Grahas*), 4. Constellations (*nakshatras*), and 5. Scattered stars (*prakīrnakalāras*)—extend up to the last ocean of the middle world. At 790 *yojanas* above the surface of the earth (middle world) is the lower level of the *Jyotishkas*. The lowest are the stars. The suns are ten *yojanas* above them. Eighty *yojanas* above the suns are the moons. Four *yojanas* above the moons are the 27 *nakshatras*, *Kṛttikā*, *Rohiṇī*, *Mṛigaśīrṣhā*, *Ārdrā*, *Punarvasu*, *Pushya*, *Āśleshā*, *Maghā*, *Pūrvāṣāḍha*, *Uttarāṣāḍha*, *Hasta*, *Chitrā*, *Svāti*, *Viśākhā*, *Anurādhā*, *Jyeshthā*, *Mūlā*, *Pūrvāṣāḍha*, *Uttarāṣāḍha*, *Abhijit*, *Śravana*, *Dhanishthā*, *Śatabhishak*, *Pūrvottarabhādrapadā* (or *Pūrvabhādrapadā* and *Uttarabhādrapadā*), *Revatī*, *Āśvinī* and *Bharanī*. Four *yojanas* above the *nakshatras* is *Budha*, the planet Mercury. Three *yojanas* above *Budha* is *Śukra*, the planet Venus; three *yojanas* above Venus is *Bṛhaspati* (Jupiter); three *yojanas* above *Bṛhaspati* is *Angāraka* (Mars), and three *yojanas* above *Angāraka* is *Śanaiścara* (Saturn). So in height the Stellar world is 110 *yojanas* or 900 *yojanas* from the surface of the earth. In the 2½ *dvīpas*, where human beings live, the *Stellars* move round their respective Merus, but the nearest point on their orbits is 1,121 *yojanas* from the centre of the Meru of *Jambū-dvīpa*². Divisions of time are caused by the movements of the *Stellars*. There are two moons and two suns belonging to *Jambū-dvīpa*; four moons and four suns for *Lavana-samudra*, 12 moons and 12 suns for *Dhātakikhaṇḍa-dvīpa*, and 42 moons and 42 suns for *Kālodadhi-samudra*. To the first half of *Pushkaravara-dvīpa* belong 72 suns and a similar number of moons. Thus there are 132 moons and 132 suns in the human world. Each moon has a retinue of 88 planets, 28 constellations and of 6,697,500,000,000,000,000 stars. The width and length of a moon's car (*vimāna*) is ⅘ of a *yojana*; of the sun's car ⅙ of a *yojana*; of those of the planets ½ a *yojana*; of those of the constellations ¼ *yojana*; of those of all the stars that have the maximum life ⅛ *yojana*; of those of all the stars having a minimum life ⅓ *yojana* or 500 bows. This is the case with the *Stellars* in the human world (2½ *dvīpas*).

Beyond the *Mānushottara* mountain-range the *Stellars* are fixed and never move. The suns and moons stand still and their sizes are half those of the suns and moons of the human world. Their number increases according to the successive increase in the circumference of the various island-continent. Their retinue consists of innumerable planets, constellations and stars, brilliant and bell-shaped and the whole group is finally bounded by the *Svayambhūramāya* ocean.

¹ See *below*, pp. 230-231.

² According to *Hemachandra* the *Jyotiśchakra* or circle of heavenly bodies moves continually in a circle at 1,121 *yojanas* from the borders of *Meru*. The pole star is fixed. Beyond the 2½ *dvīpas* constituting the human world the *Jyotiśchakra* remains fixed in a circle, "not touching the end of the world, at a distance of 1,111 *yojanas*."

THE UPPER WORLD (*Ūrdhva-loka*).

Going upwards in the *trasa-nāḍī* we reach the upper world where the *Vaimānika-devas* and still higher celestial beings and perfected and liberated souls live. The upper world is above Mount *Meru* and is seven *rajjus* high less 900 *yojanas*. It can be divided, starting from below, into (1) *Kalpas*, (2) *Graiveyakas*, (3) *Anudiśas*, (4) *Anuttaras* and (5) *Siddha-kshetra*. The *Kalpas* which are 16 in number rise above Mount *Meru* and are situated in eight superposed pairs which are compared to the ribs of a man. Above the last of the *kalpas* rise the *Graiveyaka* heavens which correspond to his neck, hence called *Graiveyakas* (*Grīva*, neck). They are in three layers each divided into three parts. Then come the *Anudiśas* which correspond to the chin of the figure; they form one layer and are nine in number. Then come the *Anuttaras* which are five in number; they correspond to the five openings in the face, two eyes, two nostrils and one mouth. The whole is capped by the "crown of *Siddha-kshetra*" which is in the shape of a "half-moon-like dome"; this region corresponds to the crown of the human head. The *devas* of the *kalpas* are called *Kalpavāsī-devas*¹; those of the *Graiveyakas*, *Anudiśas*, and *Anuttaras* are called *Ahamindras*,² while the liberated souls that occupy *Siddha-kshetra* are called *Siddhas*.³

The *kalpas* must now be described. They are sixteen in number and are situated in pairs like the ribs of a man, one pair above the other. They are—

(1) *Saudharma*, (2) *Aiśāna*, (3) *Sanatkumāra*, (4) *Māhendra*, (5) *Brahma*, (6) *Brahmottara*, (7) *Lāntavā*, (8) *Kāpiṣṭha*, (9) *Śukra*, (10) *Mahāśukra*, (11) *Śātāra*, (12) *Sahasrāra*, (13) *Anata*, (14) *Prānata*, (15) *Āraṇa*, (16) *Achyuta*.

The first *kalpa*, *Saudharma*, is the nearest to the middle world, because its central heavenly car or abode (*Indraka-vimāna*) is only one hair's breadth from the top of Mount *Meru*.

The first two *kalpas* are founded on thick water; the next three on thick wind; the next three on thick water and thick wind; and the heavens above these rest on space. It is $1\frac{1}{2}$ *rajjus* from the level of the ground to the first pair of *kalpas*; $2\frac{1}{2}$ *rajjus* up to *Sanatkumāra* and *Māhendra*; 5 *rajjus* to *Sahasrāra*, and 6 up to the sixteenth *kalpa*. There are thus 7 *rajjus* up to the top of the universe. The fifth *kalpa* is 5 *rajjus* wide and is situated in the place that corresponds to the elbow of the man representing the universe.

The upper world has in all 63 layers (*paṭala*), each layer being coextensive with the mobile channel (*trasa-nāḍī*). In the centre of each layer is the central abode or car (*Indraka-vimāna*) of that layer. The respective *Indras* live only in these cars or *vimānas*. The *Indraka-vimāna* of the first layer is a circle with a diameter of 45 lakhs *yojanas*; then it goes on decreasing in size till in the sixty-third layer it is a circle of one lakh *yojanas* diameter. Apart from the central cars there are also other cars or *vimānas* in each *paṭala* in the four cardinal points. Thus in the first layer there are 62 such cars or *vimānas* in each direction, in the second layer 61, in the third 60 and so on till in the sixty-second

¹ See below, p. 231.² See below, pp. 231, 234.³ See below, p. 189.

and sixty-third layers there is only one car for each in each direction. In the intermediate directions and all over the rest of these layers there are innumerable other *vimānas* also. The arrangement of the layers are as follows:—

The 16 *kalpas* have 52 layers as detailed below:—

31 layers for the first pair of <i>kalpas</i> .	1 layer for the sixth pair of <i>kalpas</i> .
7 do. second do.	6 layers for the seventh and eighth pairs of <i>kalpas</i> .
4 do. third do.	—
2 do. fourth do.	52 layers.
1 layer for the fifth do.	—

The *Kalpātita* heavens have eleven layers as follows:—

9 for the 9 *Graiveyakas*.

1 for the 9 *Anudīśas*.

1 for the *Anuttaras*.

—
11 layers.
—

The *Kalpātita* part of the upper world where the *Ahamindras* live are as we have seen the *Graiveyakas*, the *Anudīśas* and the *Anuttaras*.

The *Graiveyakas* are nine in number, being arranged in three rows one above the other. The bottom row consists of three named Sudarśana, Suprabuddha and Manorama; the middle row of three called Sarvabhadra, Suviśāla and Sumanas; and the upper row of three more called Saumanasa, Pritikara and Āditya.

The *Anudīśas* are also nine and they are arranged, four for the cardinal points, four for the intermediate directions and one for the centre. The four in the cardinal points are called Archih, Archimālini, Vairā and Vairochanā; the intermediate four are Soma, Somarūpa, Anka and Sphaṭika; and Āditya is the name of the central one.

Above the *Anudīśas* are the *Anuttara* heavens which are five in number; they are arranged as follows: Vijaya in the east, Vaijayanta in the south, Jayanta in the west and Aparājita in the north and Sarvārthasiddhi in the centre. Those that get born in the *Anuttaras*, excepting Sarvārthasiddhi, and in the nine *Anudīśas* will attain liberation after undergoing at most two births as human beings. But those in Sarvārthasiddhi will have only one more birth before liberation.

Twelve *yojanas* above Sarvārthasiddhi at the summit of the universe is the *Siddha-kṣetra*, the place of liberated souls, which is situated in the middle of the eighth world (*dhara*) called *Iśhatprāgbhāra*. This *Iśhatprāgbhāra* world is one *raju* broad, one *raju* long and eight *yojanas* high. In its centre, radiant like silver and shaped like a parasol or canopy, is the *Siddha-śilā* or *kṣetra*, eight *yojanas* broad and 45 lakhs of *yojanas* wide, tapering up towards the top. Above this *Siddha-śilā*, at the end of the *aparīma-tanu-vāta-valaya* or outermost atmospheric sheath, the *Siddhas* live in "the blissful possession of their infinite quaternary." Their happiness in a second (*kṣana*) compares with that for all time of all human beings, kings, Indras, *devas* and *Ahamindras* put together.

APPENDIX III.¹JAINA CLASSIFICATION OF SOULS.²

Jainism is accused of being atheistic, which is however not true. The numerous gods (Tirthaṅkaras, Yakshas, Yakshiṇīs, Indras, etc.) that fill the Jaina pantheon speak for the Jaina belief in godhood. But their gods are not creators of the universe, for creation implies volition or desire to create which can be spoken of only if there is anything which hitherto is not but must come into existence. The world is infinite and was never created at any particular moment. It is subject to integration and dissolution, its constituent elements or magnitudes (*astikāyas*) including the soul are eternal and indestructible; but they change their forms and conditions. These changes take place in the two eras *avasarpinī* and *utsarpinī* above explained (pp. 167—169). The desire to create would imply imperfection which will have to be attributed to God if he is to be the creator of the universe. Also the theory of creation, if accepted, will give rise to theories of a more complicated nature such as causation, which must eventually point to imperfection. The creator will be only a man, needy and therefore imperfect as any other. Jainism attempts to raise man to godhood and to inspire him to reach it as nearly as possible by "steady faith, right perception, perfect knowledge, and, above all a spotless life."³ Thus it will be seen that Jainism believes in godhood and Jaina iconography speaks of innumerable gods. Here it should be noted that in Jainism a sharp line of distinction is drawn between gods and *devas*; the former are called *Siddhas* and the latter are described as mundane souls. All souls can aspire to godhood.

Jaina iconography as it is available to us to-day is so mixed up with Hindu iconography⁴ and has been drawn so much from Hindu mythology⁵ that a correct description

¹ Concerning the authorities consulted, see *preface*.

² Though the popular heading "Jaina Iconography" might be expected here, it is not adopted because the heading "Jaina classification of souls," being wider, deals not only with those Supreme Beings (Souls) that are covered strictly by the term "Iconography" but also with other mundane souls that are privileged to attain to godhood by a particular course of conduct. See table below, p. 187.

³ J. L. Jaini, *Outlines of Jainism*, pp. 4-5.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 9, 10, 133-149.

⁵ See above, pp. 9, 10 and 33.

of the various gods and goddesses occupying the Jaina pantheon is necessary to prevent them from being confused with their present equivalents in the Hindu pantheon. Though Brahmanical divinities have been included they have been accorded only inferior positions—a feature that luckily marks them out clearly. The whole system of the Jaina gods and goddesses appears to-day as an elaborately constructed system, probably synchronizing in its origin with the period in Hindu iconography which witnessed a similar construction of a system of gods in accordance with certain dogmas that were made to standardize the various icons, till then loosely and freely fashioned. More than this we cannot say as materials are lacking for a chronological study of the Jaina system of divinities. Much reliance cannot be placed on the Jaina tradition that the system of Jaina divinities was evolved immediately after Mahāvīra, for if this were admitted it would carry the gods and goddesses back to very early centuries before the birth of Christ. Even very orthodox Jains who accept the above tradition, will hesitate to assign the various Brahmanical divinities that have crept into their iconography to such a remote past, for they have undoubtedly been taken into the system as C. R. Jain says "to placate the Brahmanical hatred and win them over to protect the Jains against bitter persecutions at the hands of their co-religionists (Hindus)."¹ And so far as South India is concerned the need for protection appears to have arisen only about the seventh century A.D. The utmost that can be expected in the early centuries of the Christian era is that there was then a pantheon of gods, not so bewilderingly big as is found now, but probably consisting of only a select few. The membership may even have been so circumscribed that only the 24 Tirthaṅkaras and some members of their families like Bāhubali or Gommatēśvara (Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa) and Bharata, etc., were admitted. But as years rolled on a regular Jaina heirarchy of *munis* or sages and *Āchāryas* or apostles came to be evolved. Very soon these came to be deified by their followers. Close on the heels of this visible apostle-worship came religious persecution. Both combined to elaborate for the modern Jaina the present iconography that he boldly and with legitimate pride presents to his erstwhile Hindu persecutor.

As in Hindu iconography, so also in Jaina, the gods and goddesses are classified into orders, and convenient groups; they are mostly mortal and are mostly distinguished by *lāñchchhanas* or cognizances. The most prominent among these gods as well as the most ancient are the 24 Tirthaṅkaras or the perfected teachers who belong to the present age (*avasarpinī*).

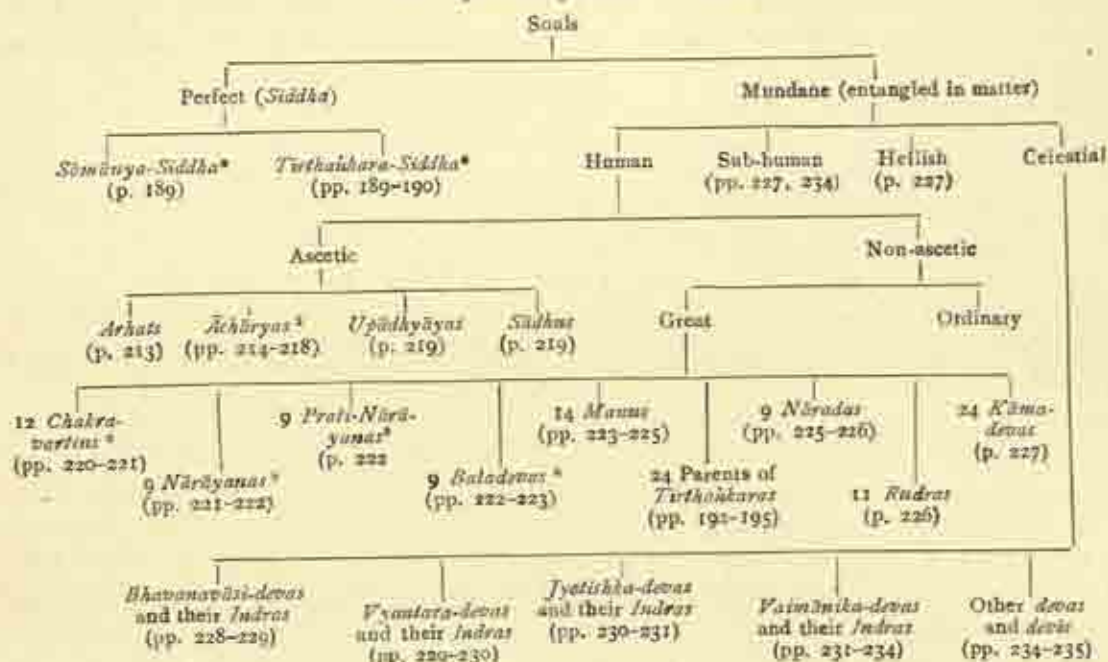
Luckily we have ample materials concerning these Tirthaṅkaras², and if to-day we have not a sufficiently satisfactory compendium of Jaina iconography it is not because materials are lacking.

¹ *Kishabhadra*, p. 102.

² Thanks to the philanthropist Mr. J. L. Jaini, who has made endowments for the speedy publication of several Jaina works, and Dr. F. W. Thomas, the erudite scholar who in his capacity as President of the Jaina Literature Society is bringing to light several of these works.

The classification of souls¹ in Jainism can be seen in the following table:—

Table of Classification of Souls.



Siddhas, arhats, āchāryas, upādhyāyas and sādhus are called *pañcha-parameshthins* or the five supreme ones, to whom the Jainas pray and bow many times every day with the following invocation (*mantra*):—

Namo arahantānaṃ, namo siddhānaṃ, namo āyāriyānaṃ, namo uvajjhāyānaṃ, namo loye sabba-sāhūnaṃ.

"Salutation to the arhats, to the siddhas, to the āchāryas, to the upādhyāyas and to all the sādhus of the world."

With the above invocation repeated millions of times every day the Jainas bow with hands folded in *añjali* (worship) in the four cardinal directions, east, south, west and north.⁷ The main import of such a prayer is three-fold:—

(1) Worship is given to all human souls worthy of it, in whatever clime they may be, (2) Worship is impersonal. It is the aggregate of the qualities that is worshipped

* An asterisk denotes the special importance of the class to which it is affixed.

¹ As the subject of Jaina iconography deals with the Jaina gods and goddesses, who are all classified as souls, it is treated here under the wider heading "Jaina classification of souls" instead of going as a separate appendix.

² *Śreya-devīs* are not included in this table as they are females. Being the leaders of the female converts to Jainism they rank with *Āchāryas*. See below, p. 218.

³ These four groups were contemporaneous with the 24 *Tīrthaṅkaras* of the present age, forming with them a group of 63 great and spiritual persons collectively known as the 63 *Sāṃkhyas-paramahatthas*.

⁴ For details regarding the worship of the *pañchaparameshthins* see Indramandīn's *Pañchaparameshthī-pūjā*; Hemachandra's *Abhidhāna-chintāmaṇi*; Amṛtāchandra Sūri's *Purushārtha-siddhyuṇṇaya*.

rather than any individual, (3) The *arhat*, "the living embodiment of the highest goal of Jainism", is mentioned first and then the *siddha* who is disembodied and consequently cannot be appealed to or approached by humanity. As the *siddha* is without body the Jainas feel that they can never pray to the *siddha* alone and pre-eminently. A *siddha* has, however, 108 attributes, some of which have been enumerated above (p. 64) and these the Jainas recite, telling their beads. By this they do not worship or salute the *siddha* but tell their beads "only with the object of stirring up their spiritual ambition and in order to remind themselves of the qualities a *siddha* must possess, in the hope that some day they too may reach their desired goal, and rest in perfect bliss in the state of *nirvāṇa*, doing nothing for ever and ever."

The Jainas include *Aum* (*Om*) also in their incantation and interpret it as consisting of the following five sounds, standing for the five supreme ones (*Pañcha-parameshthins*): *a*, *ā*, *u* and *m*; *a* stands for *arhat*; *ā* stands for *aśarīra*, i.e., "disembodied", i.e., *siddha*; *ū* stands for *āchārya*; *u* stands for *upādhyāya*; and *m* stands for *muni*, i.e., saint, who is the *sādhu*.

Images and sculptures containing figures of these five supreme ones (*pañcha-parameshthins*) can be seen in Jain temples. They are invariably in the shape of *chakras* standing on *padmāsana*s. A very interesting specimen of this symbolic worship is found in the temple at Tiruparuttikulam which is figured as No. 2 on plate xxxvi. The whole is in the form of a *chakra* which is supported by a crouching lion and two rearing *yālis* in turn standing on a *padmāsana* attached to a rectangular *bhadrāsana*. The *chakra* can compare well with the Hindu *chakra* which is associated with Viṣṇu. Within the *chakra* is placed an eight-petalled lotus (*aṣṭadala-padma*), each petal bearing a seated figure or some article. The figures are those of the five supreme ones (*arhat*, *siddha*, *āchārya*, *upādhyāya* and *sādhu*) while the articles are a *dharmachakra* or the wheel of the law¹, a wooden rest supporting the Jain scripture called *śrūta* or *śrūta-jūṇa*² and a temple (*Jina-ālaya*). In the centre of the lotus where one would expect the seed-vessel of the lotus, is the seated figure of the Tīrthaṅkara in all his glory, attended by *chāmara*s, triple-parasol, halo and the like. Mr. Mallinath explains this in a different way, which has much in its favour. According to him the whole specimen is symbolical of the worship of the *Navadevūtās* or the "nine deities," they being the five *pañchaparameshthins* and *dharmachakra*, *śrūta*, *chaitya* and *chaityālaya*. The *pañchaparameshthins* occupy the centre and the four cardinal points of the lotus while the latter four go in the petals alternately in the following order: proceeding clockwise *dharmachakra* first, then *śrūta*, then *chaitya* (an idol), and lastly *chaityālaya* or temple.

The evolution of souls is based on three fundamental principles, viz., that man is not perfect, but can improve and can achieve perfection, that man's personality is dual, material and spiritual, and that by his spiritual nature man can and must control his material nature. The second of the principles is in striking contrast with the Hindu *Advaitic* doctrine of *Brahman*, or one soul which is in all and is all. When the material

¹ See above, pp. 109-110.

² The *sāga* literature and the like.

nature is entirely subjugated the soul is said to have been liberated or to have attained perfection. In its perfection-condition the soul "enjoys its true and eternal character, whereof the characteristic is the four infinities—infinite perception or faith, infinite knowledge, infinite power and infinite bliss." And such a soul is called a *Siddha*.

SIDDHAS.

These perfect and free souls are of two kinds, *Sāmānya-siddhas* and *Tīrthāṅkara-siddhas*. *Sāmānya-siddhas* are "disembodied and in *nirvāṇa* at the summit of the Universe, steady and in bliss unending." They are commonly referred to simply by the term "siddhas." *Tīrthāṅkara-siddhas* are these perfect souls in *nirvāṇa*, who in their embodied condition preached and propounded the Truth. There have been 24 of them in the current cyclic era, the *avasarpinī*.

Both kinds of *Siddhas* have innumerable qualities, but eight qualities of the *Sāmānya-siddhas* or *Siddhas* and 46 of the *Tīrthāṅkara-siddhas* are the most important. The perfect soul, without body (*siddha*) has the following eight:—

(1) Infinite and perfect faith (*ananta-darśana*), (2) Perfect perception, (3) Perfect knowledge (*ananta-jñāna*), (4) Being neither light nor heavy (*agurulaghu*), (5) Infinite capacity for penetrability, (6) Extreme refinement beyond sense-perception, (7) Infinite power (*ananta-vīrya*), (8) Immunity from disturbance of all kinds.¹

TĪRTHĀṆKARA-SIDDHAS.

The 46 most important qualities of a *Tīrthāṅkara-siddha* can be analysed under the following five broad heads:—

I. Four attributes in their infinity called *ananta-chatushtaya*, viz., (1) infinite perception, (2) infinite knowledge, (3) infinite power and (4) infinite bliss.

II. By birth he attains: (1) A handsome body, beyond the powers of description, (2) a natural pleasing fragrance emanates from the body, (3) No sweat forms on it, (4) No excreta comes out of it, (5) The limbs are perfect in proportion, (6) The joints, bones, nerves and sinews are strong and unbreakable, (7) There are something like 1,008 lucky signs or auspicious marks on the body, (8) Immeasurable strength characterises the body, (9) The blood is of milk-white purity, (10) Speech is sweet and harmless.

III. By achieving omniscience (*Kevala-jñāna*) he performs the following:— (1) Averts famine within a circular area of 800 miles' radius, (2) Remains always raised above the ground, whether walking, sitting or standing, (3) Appears to face every one in all the four directions, (4) Removes all destructive inclinations and impulses of people near him, (5) He is free from pain and disturbance (*upasarga*), (6) Lives without food, (7) Is master of all arts and sciences, (8) His nails and hair do not grow, (9) His eyes are always open and the lids do not wink, and (10) His body does not cast a shadow.

¹ A slightly different list of these eight qualities from *Pañcagratikramanādiśāstra*, Bhavnagar, 1926, p. 2, is as follows:—(1) *Anantadarśana*, infinite faith, (2) *Anantajñāna*, infinite knowledge, (3) *Anantaśhānta*, perfect conduct or infinite good-conduct, (4) *Aśayāhādhasukha*, undisturbable bliss, (5) *Aśhayaatthiti*, permanent state as *Siddha*, (6) *Arūpatva*, state of being a pure spirit, (7) *Agurulaghu*, being neither too light nor too heavy, (8) *Ananta-vīrya*, infinite power.

IV. The effects of his achieving omniscience, which are also treated as his attributes are:—(1) The heavenly bodies attain a general mastery over the *Ardha-māgadhi* language, the language in which he spoke,¹ (2) All the beings near him cherish nothing but friendly feelings towards each other, (3) The skies are always clear, (4) The directions and the whole atmosphere are all clear, (5) Trees and plants bear fruits and flowers in all seasons, (6) Space around the Tirthaṅkara of eight miles radius (one *yojana*) is clean, (7) When he walks the *devas* place under his feet golden lotuses, (8) Shouts of "Jai! Jai!, victory, victory," rend the air, (9) Pleasant, mild and fragrant breeze blows all round, (10) The earth gets cooled by sweet-scented showers, (11) The thorns of the earth are all removed scrupulously by the *devas* of the air (*Vānavyantarās*), (12) Every being is endowed with supreme joy and happiness, (13) The *dharma-chakra*, or the "wheel of the law" goes in front of the Tirthaṅkara when he is taken in procession, (14) Eight kinds of auspicious marks or things (*aṣṭa-maṅgalas*) attend the procession, i.e., parasol, *chāmara*, flag, *svastika*, mirror, a kind of vase (*kalaśa*), a powder-flask (*vardha-mānaka*) and a throne seat.²

V. Eight kinds of heavenly signs called *prātihāryas* appear miraculously:—

(1) *Āśoka* tree, (2) Showers of celestial blooms, (3) Heavenly music or "wordless speech flowing from the Lord" (*divya-dhvani*), (4) *Chāmara* held by the *Yakshas*, (5) A *śinhāsana*, (6) Aura of beautiful radiance (*bhā-maṇḍala*), (7) Heavenly drum, and (8) Triple parasol (*trichhatra*).

TIRTHAṅKARAS OF THE PAST AGE (*Ātītakāla-Tirthaṅkaras*).—Endowed with the abovementioned qualities there were 24 Tirthaṅkara-siddhas in the past age. They are as follows³:—

(1) Nirvāṇa, (2) Sāgara, (3) Mahāsādhū, (4) Vimalaprabha, (5) Śrīdhara, (6) Sudatta, (7) Amalaprabha, (8) Uṭṭara, (9) Āngira, (10) Sanmati, (11) Sindhu, (12) Kusumāñjali, (13) Śivagaṇa, (14) Utsāha, (15) Jñāneśvara, (16) Parameśvara, (17) Vimaleśvara, (18) Yaśodhara, (19) Kṛishṇa, (20) Jñānamati, (21) Śuddhamati, (22) Śrībhadrā, (23) Atikrānta, and (24) Śānta.

Little is known of the iconography of these 24 Tirthaṅkaras of the past age. It is only when we come to the Tirthaṅkaras of the present age that our search for iconographic details is amply rewarded.

TIRTHAṅKARAS OF THE PRESENT AGE (*Vartamānakāla-Tirthaṅkaras*).—Images of the 24 Tirthaṅkaras of the present age are usually placed on highly sculptured *āsanas*, generally *padmāsanas*. In Śvetāmbara temples they are generally of marble, white mostly except in the cases of Mallinātha, Munisuvrata, Neminātha and Pārśvanātha, where they

¹ The original language of the Jain canon was a Prakrit, an early derivative of Sanskrit, spoken in Bihār, which is known as *Arāka* or *Arāka-Māgadhi*. Dr. F. W. Thomas observes, "In the existing Śvetāmbara texts, modified by time, two dialects are distinguished, one being confined to verse, while the Digambaras employ a third. The early commentaries were in Prakrit. Sanskrit, first employed by the Digambaras, has been predominant since about 1000 A.D., although the Prakrit has continued in use. Of modern dialects the Mārwarī, a special form of Hindi, and Gujarātī are preferred."—Jaini, *Outline of Jainism*, p. xcv, n.1.

² For a slightly different list of the *aṣṭamaṅgala* see *Trilokaśāra*, v, 989.

³ The names given here are taken from the *Jayamālā*, which the temple priest was kind enough to show me.

are often black. There is no such preference in South India for white marble and though we do find it in some of the Jaina temples here it is due to North Indian influence. Ordinary granite is more often selected for image-making than polished stone or any other material, it being maintained that the colossal statues at Śravaṇa Belgola, Karkal and Yenur which are hewn out of rocks justify the selection.

Tirthaṅkara images are luckily found only in two attitudes, sitting and standing. There, however, appears to be a marked preference for the former attitude. Twenty-one Tirthaṅkaras are said to have attained *nirvāṇa* in the *kāyotsarga*¹ attitude, i.e., standing erect as do Bharata and Bahubali at Śravaṇa Belgola, while the other three did so while sitting on a *padmāsana*. These three are Rishabhadeva, Neminātha, and Mahāvīra, who are considered the most important of all. The attitude in which they attained *nirvāṇa* was thus specially emphasised and came later to be sometimes associated with all the twenty-four. When colossal statues of any Tirthaṅkara were made they were hewn out of boulders, the standing posture being mostly preferred².

Seated images of Tirthaṅkaras always have the legs crossed in front, the toes of one foot resting close upon the knee of the other, and the right hand placed on the left in the lap, both the palms facing upwards. All are so alike when thus represented that the need appears to have been felt to differentiate them by certain devices which are known as *chihnas* or *tāñchchhanas*. These have been given in the table below under emblems. These emblems are usually carved on the pedestals or *āsanas* on which the images are installed. In the case of Pārśvanātha, snake-hoods numbering seven are shown over his head and sometimes a snake with a single hood or without hood on the pedestal. This is to distinguish him from Supārśvanātha, the seventh Tirthaṅkara, who has also snake-hoods over his head, though the number of the hoods rarely exceeds five. To avoid even the slightest confusion the *svastika* symbol has been prescribed for Supārśvanātha, which is scrupulously engraven in all images of this Tirthaṅkara. Digambara images are all nude while those of the Śvetāmbaras (there are a few of them in South India) are dressed and sometimes decorated with crowns and ornaments. They have a triple umbrella called *mukhōḍai* in Tamil over their heads which is surrounded by a *bhā-maṇḍala* or halo. At the base of the *āsanas* are sometimes found nine figures representing the nine planets (*navagrahas*). On the front of the *āsanas* are usually carved two small figures. To the right of the Tirthaṅkara stands a male figure representing the Yaksha or male attendant *deva* of that particular Tirthaṅkara; to his left stands the corresponding female figure representing the particular Yakshini or female attendant *devī* of that particular Tirthaṅkara. Sometimes between these attendants is a small panel in which the figure of a *devī* is often shown.

The iconography of the twenty-four Tirthaṅkaras is shown in the following table.

¹ Helen translates *kāyotsarga* as "indifference to the body by one standing or sitting, with the arms hanging down" (*Yogalīlāsa* by Hemachandra, 4, 133). Another term which indicates much the same idea is *pratimā* which also involves meditating in a particular posture. But in *pratimā* the meditator must always stand while in *kāyotsarga* he may be either standing or seated. See Hemachandra, *Trishaktiśūlālakṣṇapūrnakārikā*, Vol. I, Helm's edition, 1931, pp. 16n, 54n.

But the general way of representing the *kāyotsarga*, judging from images and sculptures, appears to be to show it standing. See *Trishaktiśūlālakṣṇapūrnakārikā*, pp. 68, 323-4.

² C. R. Jain, *Rishabhadeva*, pls. 1, 6, 8 and 9.

The Twenty-four

Number and name of the Tirthankara.	Vimāna (heaven) from which he descended for incarnation.	Birth place.	Father and mother.	Age.	Colour.	Height.	Nakshatra.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1. Kishabhadeva or Ālinātha.	Sarvārthasiddhi.	Ayōdhya ...	Nābhi : Maru-Devī.	84 lakhs of <i>Pūrvas</i> .	Golden-yellow.	500 dhanushas. ²	Uttarāshāḍha.
2. Ajitanātha ...	Vijaya ...	Do. ...	Jitātmā : Vijayā Devī.	72 lakhs of <i>Pūrvas</i> .	Do.	450 dhanushas.	Rohiṇī ...
3. Sambhavanātha ...	Uparima-graiveyaka.	Śrāvastī ...	Jitāri : Sena ...	60 lakhs of <i>Pūrvas</i> .	Do.	400 dhanushas.	Pūrvāshāḍha.
4. Abhinandana ...	Jayanta ...	Ayōdhya ...	Sadvata : Siddhārthā.	50 lakhs of <i>Pūrvas</i> .	Do.	350 dhanushas.	Parvāṣa ...
5. Sumatinātha ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Meghaprabha : Sumangalā.	40 lakhs of <i>Pūrvas</i> .	Do.	300 dhanushas.	Maghā ...
6. Padm-prabha ...	Uparima-graiveyaka.	Kauśāmbī ...	Dharmā : Śrīdharmā : Sumitā.	30 lakhs of <i>Pūrvas</i> .	Red (<i>rakta</i>).	250 dhanushas.	Chitrā ...
7. Suparivanātha ...	Madhyama-graiveyaka.	Varāṇasī (Benāres?).	Supratishṭha : Prithivī.	20 lakhs of <i>Pūrvas</i> .	Green. ²	200 dhanushas.	Viśākhā ...
8. Chandraprabha ...	Vaijyanta ...	Chandrapur ...	Mahāseṇa : Lakṣmīnā.	10 lakhs of <i>Pūrvas</i> .	White.	150 dhanushas.	Anurādhā ...
9. Pushpadanta or Savidhinātha.	Ānata ...	Kākaṇḍī or Kākaṇḍinagara.	Sugrīva : Rāmā.	2 lakhs of <i>Pūrvas</i> .	Do.	100 dhanushas.	Mūlā ...
10. Śitalanātha ...	Achyuta ...	Bhadrāpura or Bhadrā.	Dvītharātha : Sunandā.	1 lakh of <i>Pūrvas</i> .	Golden-yellow.	90 dhanushas.	Pūrvāshāḍha.
11. Sreyāmanātha ...	Do. ...	Simhaspur ...	Vishnu : Vishnā or Vishṇudī.	84 lakhs common years.	Do.	80 dhanushas.	Śrāvāṣā ...
12. Vasupājya ...	Prānata ...	Chāmpūpur ...	Vasupājya : Vijayā (Jayā).	72 lakhs of years.	Red.	70 dhanushas.	Satābhishak.

¹ The iconography of Yakshas and Yakshis is dealt with separately (pp. 198-212).² Dhanusha or dhanus = 4 cubits (see table on p. 166).

Tirthankaras.

Diksha- vriksha.	Emblem or cognisance.	Place of Nirvāṇa.	Number of Ganadhara or apostles their chief.	First Ārya or leader of the female converts.	Yaksha or attendant god. ¹	Yakshi or Yakshini or attendant goddess. ¹	Interval to next Tirthankara.
(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)
Banyan tree	Bull	Mt. Kailāsa (or Aśtā- pada. ²)	84; Vṛisha- bhasana (Pundarikā.)	Brāhmi ...	Gōmukha	Chakreśvari (Śv. Apraticakrā).	50 lakhs of crores sāgaras.
Śāla (Shorea robusta).	Elephant	Sammata- śikhara or Mt. Parva- nāth. ³	90; Simha- senā.	Phālgū	Mahāyaksha	Rohini (Śv. Ajita- balā).	30 lakhs of crores sāgaras.
Prayāla (Bu- chanania latifolia).	Horse	Do.	105; Chāru.	Śyāmā	Trimukha	Prajāpati (Śv. Duri- tāriṇ).	10 lakhs of crores sāgaras.
Priyangu (Panicum stalicum).	Monkey or the ape	Do.	103; Vajra- nābha	Ajitā	Yakshēvara (Śv. Yakshanāyaka).	Vajrasrīkhalā (Śv. Kālīkā).	9 lakhs of crores sāgaras.
Śāla (Shorea robusta).	Wheel or circle or Carlew (kranūka)	Do.	116; Chata- ma.	Kāśyapī	Tumburu	Purushadattā (Śv. Mahākālī).	90,000 crores sāgaras.
Cchakra (Anethum sowa).	Red lotus	Do.	111; Pradyū- tana.	Kālī	Kusuma	Manovegā or Mano- guptī (Śv. Syāmā or Achyutā).	9,000 crores sāgaras.
Sirisha (Acacia Sirisha).	Svastika on the branch and 3 snake hoods over his head.	Do.	95; Vidur- bha.	Somā	Varanandi (Śv. Mātanga).	Kālī (Śv. Śantā)	900 crores sāgaras.
Nāga tree	Crescent moon	Do.	93; Dīna.	Sumanā	Śyāmā or Vijaya (Śv. Vijaya).	Jyālmālinī (Śv. Bhri- kutī).	90 crores sāgaras.
Śālī	Makara (croco- dile) or the crab.	Do.	88; Varā- haka.	Vārāṇ	Ajitā	Mahākālī or Ajitā (Śv. Sātārā).	9 crores sāgaras.
Priyangu (Panicum stalicum).	Svetikaha or wishing tree; Śrīvatsa mark according to Svetāśvara.	Do.	81; Nanda.	Suyatā	Brahmā or Brah- meśvara.	Mānavī (Śv. Akokā).	1 crore, less 100 sāgaras.
Tanduka tree.	Deer or Rhino- ceros or Garuda.	Do.	77; Kāśyapa.	Dharaṇī	Īvara (Śv. Yak- shet).	Gaurī (Śv. Mānavī).	54 sāgaras.
Pātala (Bignonia suaveolens).	Buffalo or bul- lock.	Champāpurī (in North Bengal).	66; Subhū- ma.	Dharaṇī	Kemāra	Gandhārī (Śv. Chan- drā or Chāṇḍī).	30 sāgaras.

¹ Supposed to be Śatruñjaya in Gujarat.² In Western Bengal.³ Śv. Golden yellow.

The Twenty-four

Number and name of the Tirthankara.	Vimāna (heaven) from which he descended for incarnation.	Birth place.	Father and mother.	Age.	Colour.	Height.	Nakshatra
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
13. Vimalanātha ...	Mahāśukra ...	Kāmpīlya ...	Kṛitavarman : Sūramyā or Syāmā.	60 lakhs of years.	Golden yellow.	60 dha- nushas.	Uttarāshādhā.
14. Anantanātha (pl. xxxvi, fig. 3).	Prāṇata ...	Ayodhyā ...	Simhasena : Sarvayāsā or Suyādā.	30 lakhs of years.	Do.	50 dha- nushas.	Revatī ...
15. Dharmānātha ...	Vijaya ...	Ratnapurī ...	Bhānu : Suvratā.	10 lakhs of years.	Do.	45 dha- nushas.	Pushyā ...
16. Śāntinātha ...	Sarvārthasiddhi.	Hastināpurā ...	Vilvasena : Achirā.	1 lakh of years.	Do.	40 dha- nushas.	Bharanī ...
17. Kunthunātha ...	Do.	Do.	Sūrya (Sūra) ; Śrī Devī.	95,000 years.	Do.	35 dha- nushas.	Kṛittikā ...
18. Arānātha ...	Do.	Do.	Śūdarśana : Mitrā Devī.	84,000 "	Do.	30 dha- nushas.	Rohiṇī ...
19. Mallinātha ...	Jayanta ...	Mithilāpurī (Mathurā).	Kumbha : Rakshitā (Pra- bhavati).	55,000 "	Do.*	25 dha- nushas.	Āśvinī ...
20. Munisuvrata ...	Aparājita	Rājagṛha or Kusāgrama- gāra.	Sumitra : Padmā- vatī.	30,000 "	Black	20 dha- nushas.	Śravaṇā
21. Naminātha, Nimi or Nimesvara.	Prāṇata	Mithilāpurī (Mathurā).	Vijaya : Vapūrā (Viprā).	10,000 "	Golden yellow.	15 dha- nushas.	Āśvinī ...
22. Neminātha or Arishtanemi.	Aparājita	Śaṇṭipura or Dvārakā	Saṃudravijaya : Śiva-Devī.	1,000 "	Black (syāma)	10 dha- nushas.	Chitrā ...
23. Pārśvanātha (pl. xxxiii, fig. 2).	Prāṇata	Kāśī (Bena- res).	Āśvasena : Vāmā.	100 "	Blue ..	9 hastas or hands.	Trivishākhā.
24. Mahāvīra or Vandhamāna (pls. iii, fig. 2; xxiv, fig. 2).	Do.	Kundāpura or Kundagrā- ma.	Siddhārtha : Priyakāripī (Trisālā)	72 "	Golden yellow.	7 hastas or hands.	Hastā ...

* Blue, according to Śvetāmbara version.

Tirthaṅkaras—cont.

Dikshā- vṛkṣha.	Emblem or cognizance.	Place of Nirvāṇa.	Number of Gaṇadhara or apostles; their chief.	First Ārya or leader of the female converts.	Yaksha or attendant god ¹ .	Yakshi or Yakshini or attendant goddess ² .	Interval to next Tirthaṅkara.
(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)
Jamba (<i>Eugenia jambolana</i>).	Boar	Mt. Pārśva- nāth or Sammēta- śikhara.	55; Maṇ- dara.	Dhara ..	Shanmukha or Kārtikeya.	Vajrōti or Vairātyā (Sv. Vīdītā).	9 <i>āgaras</i> .
Aśoka (<i>Jonesia asoka</i>).	Bear (facon according to others).	Do.	50; Yaśas ..	Padmā ..	Pātala	Anantamati (Sv. Ankula).	4 <i>āgaras</i> .
Dadhīparva (<i>Citoria ternata</i>).	Vajra-danda (thunderbolt).	Do.	43; Ariśhta.	Arthāśivā.	Kinnara	Mānasī (Sv. Kandar- pā).	3 <i>āgaras</i> , less by 1 <i>palya</i> .
Nandi (<i>Cedra toona</i>).	Deer (tortoise according to others).	Do.	36; Chakra- yūtha.	Suchi ...	Kimpurusha (Sv. Garuda).	Mahāmānasī (Sv. Nirvāṇi).	1 <i>palya</i> .
Bhīlaka tree	Goat	Mt. Pārśva- nāth	35; Sām̐ba.	Dāmini	Gandharva ..	Vijayā or Jayā (Sv. Bala).	1 <i>palya</i> , less by 6,000 crores years.
Mango tree.	Fish (Sv. Nandīyāvarta diagram).	Do.	30; Kum- bha.	Rakṣitā.	Kendra (Sv. Yakṣendra or Yakṣeṣ).	Ajitā (Sv. Dhāriṇī or Dhanā).	1,000 crores, less 6,584,000 years.
Aśoka tree.	Water pot or jar.	Do.	28; Abhik- shaka.	Bandhu- matī.	Kubera	Aparājitā Vairottyā (Sv. or Dharaṇapriyā).	54 lakhs years.
Champakā (<i>Michelia champakā</i>).	Tortoise	Do.	18; Mallī.	Puṣpā- vatī.	Varuṇa	Bahurūpiṇī Naradattā).	9 lakhs years.
Bakula (<i>Mimusops elong</i>).	Blue water-lily...	Do.	17; Śubha.	Anilā ...	Bhṛīkūṭī ...	Chāmūṇī (Gāndhārī).	5 lakhs years.
Vetasa	Conch	Mt. Gīrīnā.	11; Vata- datta.	Yakṣa- dīnā.	Sarvāhna (Sv. Gomēdha).	Kāśhmāndīnī or Dharma-Devī. (Sv. Aśhikā).	84,000 years.
Dhātākī (<i>Grisea lomentosa</i>).	Serpent on the seat and seven snake-hoods over his head.	Mt. Pārśva- nāth.	10; Ārya- dīnna.	Puṣpa- chūḍā.	Dharaṇendra or Pārśvayakṣha.	Padmāvati	250 years.
Śāla, or teak tree	Lion	Pāvāpurī ...	11; Indra- bhūti.	Chandra- bālā.	Mātāṅga ...	Siddhāyini or Śikṣhā- yikā.	.....

¹ The iconography of Yakṣas and Yakṣis is dealt with separately (pp. 196-212).

ŚĀSANADEVATĀS.—The names of the Yakshas and the Yakshīs or Yakshinīs are given in the table against the particular Tirthankaras with whom they are associated. In the Jaina purāṇas legends are given accounting for these associations. These Yakshas and Yakshinīs are called the *Śāsanadevatās* of the Tirthankaras by Hemachandra (twelfth century A.D.), the celebrated author of two works on Jaina iconography and mythology, the *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi* and the *Trishashṭiśalākā-purusha-charitra* from which I have drawn for my study. As these *Śāsanadevatās* form almost the whole of the Jaina pantheon and include such Brahmanical divinities as have found a place in it they receive elaborate treatment at the hands of Hemachandra, which gives his work a special value to students of Jaina iconography for they are important "not only on their own account, but because they help to identify the statues of the Jinas." The account given by Hemachandra is strictly the Śvetāmbara version and differs so much from the Digāmbara version current in South India that given images designed according to one version they cannot always be recognized from the description found in the other. Hemachandra discusses each *Śāsanadevatā* under convenient heads such as name, colour, *vāhana*, hands and the emblems in them, and other particular features.

The Digāmbara version that is known at Tiruparuttikunram is the one current in the Kanarese districts of the Madras Presidency, for the temple priest, who was asked by me to recite the *dhyāna-śloka*s or meditation-verses on these *Śāsanadevatās*, poured out a volley of verses in Kanarese. As he is a Tamilian I asked if he knew Kanarese to which he replied that it did not matter, he was only concerned in getting these verses by rote for there was much merit accruing out of memorising them—indeed it was his duty to do so.

It thus appears that no Tamil version is known and that apparently this Kanarese version is the only one extant here. It agrees closely with the iconographic notes given by Burgess in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xxxii, pp. 461-3. On comparing it with the Śvetāmbara version given by Hemachandra, however, several points of difference appear. It is therefore necessary to give both the versions side by side, but in doing so we have refrained from going into the details of the Śvetāmbara version as our main concern is to concentrate on the Digāmbara. The difference is not only in the details of name, emblems and objects held in the hands but also in the attitudes of the figures. The Śvetāmbara admits of such variety that it is a relief to find in the Digāmbara that there is much greater uniformity in attitude, etc.

Before proceeding to details it is necessary to indicate the features that are common to all these *Śāsanadevatās*. All have head-dresses, high and tapering, that resemble the *kaṇḍa-makuta* known to the Hindu iconographer. All are seated in the *lalita*-pose, i.e., with one leg down and the other tucked up on the seat (*āsana*) in front. They are naked up to the waist, disclosing the navel; the Yakshinīs are sometimes clad with the right arm and shoulder bare. All except the first Yaksha, Gomukha who has a cow's face, have earrings in the ears of the Hindu *patra-kundala* type which is associated with

Hindu *devīs* and inferior gods. All the *Yakṣiṇīs* have generally more than two hands except Siddhayinī, the *Yakṣiṇī* of the last Tīrthaṅkara, who has usually two hands.

In the following summary of the iconography¹ of the Śāsanadevatās (Yakṣas and Yakṣis or Yakṣiṇīs) the Digāmbara version is the one in Kanarese which has just been mentioned. The Śvetāmbara version is taken from Hemachandra's works mentioned above. These versions have been supplemented from two palm-leaf manuscripts in the possession of the temple priest at Tiruparuttikunṇam, one without any title and the other having the title "Yakṣa-Yakṣt-lakṣhaṇa", both in a badly moth-eaten condition. They are referred to below as numbers (i) and (ii), respectively.

And luckily the bronze images (*utsava-vigrahas*) of the temple representing some of the Śāsanadevatās, which the temple priest very kindly permitted me to photograph, are illustrated in this bulletin itself (plates xxxi-xxxv), so that our information on the subject is not only further supplemented but also receives confirmation in most places. Description of the temple images is necessarily brief and is given at the end of the respective items.

Gomukha (Yakṣa of the first Tīrthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Of golden colour. Head of a cow or ox. Seated on an *āsana* with the left leg hanging down and the right tucked up on the seat in front. Four arms; the upper right with a rosary, lower right showing *abhaya*²; upper left with axe, lower left with pomegranate fruit (*mātulaṅga*). The bull is his cognizance even as it is for his Tīrthaṅkara. It may either be engraved on the seat or shown as a separate *vāhana*.

Śvet.—Of golden colour. Right hands rosary and *varada*³; left hands with a citron and noose (*pāśa*). An elephant is his *vāhana*.

(i) In agreement with (ii).

(ii) Of golden colour, with the head of an ox, and with four arms, carrying in them axe, citron (*bijāpura*), rosary and showing the *varada-hasta*. Carries the *dharmachakra* on his head. The bull is his *vāhana*.

Chakreśvarī (Yakṣiṇī of the first Tīrthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated like Gomukha. Has 16 arms, one right showing *abhaya* and the corresponding left in the *kaṭaka* pose, another right and the corresponding left resting on lap, and the rest with weapons of war. Garuḍa is her *vāhana* or cognizance.

¹ It has been necessary to refer to several well-known poses (*mudrās*). A brief description of these will be found on pp. 17-18 of "Catalogue of the South Indian Hindu metal images in the Madras Government Museum" [Bulletin, Madras Government Museum (N.S.) G.S. 1 (2)].

² There appears to be some confusion in the use of the terms *abhaya* and *varada* by the Jains. While the Digāmbaras assign these to any hand, the Śvetāmbaras, as we gather from Hemachandra's works, assign the *varada* always to the right hand. From this it has been deduced that "apparently, the Jain use of these two terms is just the opposite of the Buddhist and the Hindu" (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LV1, p. 72), or, "that in the case of the Śvetāmbaras, at least, the very ordinary right hand position, usually called *abhaya-hasta* may also be on the left side." So far as the Digāmbaras are concerned there is no confusion, for from what I could gather they understand the terms much in the same manner as Hindus do. The *varada* and *abhaya* might thus be expected in any hand (cf. *Varadarāja, Vahṇu, Śrinivāsa*).

Śvet.—Also called *Apratichakrā*. Golden in complexion; rides a Garuḍa and has eight arms; right hands *varada*, arrow, *chakra* and noose; left hands *vajra* or thunderbolt, bow, *chakra* and elephant-goad.

(i) Golden in colour. Has three eyes and twelve arms: *śakti*, *vajra*, discus in eight hands, one in each, *varada* and *padma*. Garuḍa is her *vāhana*.

(ii) Golden colour. Twelve arms. Thunderbolt in two hands, one in each, discus in eight hands, one in each, citron (*bijāpara*), and *varada*. Garuḍa is her *vāhana*.

Mahāyaksha (Yaksha of the second Tīrthāṅkara)—

Dig.—Dark in colour. Seated on a snake. Has eight arms with weapons of war in six of them, like sword, *daṇḍa*, goad, axe, trident, discus, the seventh (the front right) with lotus and the eighth *varada*. Elephant is his cognizance.

Śvet.—Colour dark. Has four heads and eight arms. Right arms, hammer, rosary, *pāśa* and *varada*; left arms, citron, goad, spear and *abhaya*. Elephant is his *vāhana*.

(i) Dark colour. Eight arms: sword, lotus, discus, trident, *varada*, elephant-goad, stick or staff and axe. Serpent is his *vāhana*.

(ii) Golden colour. Four heads and eight arms: discus, sword, trident, staff, lotus, axe, goad and *varada*. Elephant is his *vāhana*.

Rohiṇī (Yakshinī of the second Tīrthāṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated with her right leg down and left tucked up in front. Has four arms; upper arms with a *chakra* in each; lower right *abhaya*, and lower left *katāka*. A stool or seat is her emblem.

Śvet.—Called *Ajitabalā* or *Ajitā*. Seated on an iron seat. Golden yellow in colour. Has four arms; right *varada* and noose; left citron, and goad.

(i) Red colour (*kunkuma*). Has four arms: thunderbolt (*vajra*), elephant-goad, dart or dagger (*śanku*), lotus. Crocodile (*makara*) is her *vāhana*.

(ii) Golden colour. Has four arms: *varada*, *abhaya*, conch, discus. Sits on a metal seat.

Trimukha (Yaksha of the third Tīrthāṅkara)—

Dig.—*Śyāma* in colour. Seated with left leg down and right tucked up in front. Has three faces and six arms: right arms, trident, noose or *vajra*, *abhaya*; left arms, sword, goad, book? or closed but with a tendency to show the palm outwards. Peacock is his symbol.

Śvet.—Dark in colour, with three faces, three eyes and six arms: right arms, mongoose, mace and *abhaya*; left arms, citron, wreath of flowers and rosary. Peacock is his *vāhana*.

(i) Dark-blue in colour (*śyāma*). Has six arms: sword, shield, dagger (*katti*), discus, trident and staff. His *vāhana* is an active monkey (*vīramarkata*).

(ii) Dark-blue (*śyāmala*) in colour. Has three heads, three eyes, and six arms: discus, sword, staff, trident, elephant-goad, a weapon called *satkīrtika*. Peacock is his *vāhana*.

Prajñapti (Yakshinī of the third Tirthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated with left leg down and right tucked up in front. Has six arms: right arms, axe, sword, *abhaya*; left arms, noose, *chakra*, *kaṭaka*. *Haṁsa* or duck is her *vāhana*.

Śvet.—Called *Duritarīh*. Her colour is *gaura* or fair-white. Has four arms: right, *varada*, rosary; left, *abhaya*, serpent. Her *vāhana* is a ram.

(i) Dark-blue in colour (*śyāma*). Has two arms: *varada* and lotus. Horse is her *vāhana*.

(ii) White in colour. Has six arms: crescent or half-moon, axe, fruit, *varada*. The contents of the remaining two arms are not given. A bird is her *vāhana*.

Yakshesvara (Yaksha of the fourth Tirthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated with left leg down and right tucked up in front. Has four arms: right arms, sword, *abhaya*; left, shield, bow. A spear or arrow leans on the right shoulder. Elephant is his cognizance.

Śvet.—Called also *Yakshanḍyaka*¹. Dark in colour. Has four arms: right, citron, rosary; left, mongoose, goad. Elephant is his *vāhana*.

(i) Blue in colour. Has four arms: sword, shield, arrow, bow. Elephant is his *vāhana*.

(ii) Dark-blue in colour (*śyāma*). Has four arms: arrow furnished with a heron's feathers (*kaṅkapatra*), bow, sword and shield. Elephant is his *vāhana*.

Vajrasriṅkhala (Yakshinī of the fourth Tirthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated with left leg hanging down and right tucked up in front. Has four arms: right, rosary, *abhaya*; left, snake, *kaṭaka*. *Haṁsa* is her cognizance.

Śvet.—Called *Kālīka*. Dark in colour. Seated on a lotus which is also her cognizance. Has four arms: right, *varada*, noose; left, snake and goad.

(i) Dark-blue (*śyāma*) in colour. Has four arms: discus, water-jar (*kumandalu*), *varada*, lotus. Monkey is her *vāhana*.

(ii) Golden colour. Has four arms: *varada*, fruit, noose, rosary. *Haṁsa* is her *vāhana*.

Tumburu (Yaksha of the fifth Tirthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated with left leg down and right tucked up in front. Has four arms: upper arms with snakes; lower right *abhaya*, lower left *kaṭaka*. *Garuḍa* is his cognizance.

Śvet.—White in colour. Has four arms: right, *varada*, spear; left, mace, noose. *Garuḍa* is his *vāhana*.

(i) Golden colour. Has four arms: sword, shield, thunderbolt, fruit. Lion (*raṭa kaṇṭhīra*) is his *vāhana*.

(ii) Dark-blue in colour (*śyāma*). Has four arms: snake in two hands, one in each, fruit, *varada*. A snake serves as his *yajñopavita*. Lion? (*gōdadhīpati*) is his *vāhana*.

¹ *Abhidhānamahatmya*, v. 41.

Purushadattā (Yakshinī of the fifth Tirthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated like the Yaksha. Has four arms: upper, *chakra*, *vajra*; lower, *abhaya*, *kataka*. Elephant is her *vāhana*.

Śvet.—Called *Mahākālī*. Golden yellow in colour. Has four arms: right, *varada*, noose; left, citron, goad. Lotus is her symbol.

(i) Golden colour. Has two arms: *abhaya*, goad. Dog is her *vāhana*.

(ii) Has four arms: discus, thunderbolt, fruit, *varada*. Elephant is her *vāhana*.

Kusuma (Yaksha of the sixth Tirthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated with left leg hanging down and right tucked up in front on the seat. Has four arms: upper, spear, shield; lower, *abhaya*, *kataka*. Bull is his symbol.

Śvet.—Blue in colour. Has four arms: right, *abhaya* (or *varada*), fruit; left, mongoose, rosary. Deer is his *vāhana*.

(i) White in colour. Has four arms: a lotus or turner's lathe (*kunḍa*), shield, *varada*, *abhaya*. A spotted deer (*krishṇasūra*) is his *vāhana*.

(ii) Dark-blue in colour (*śyāma*). Has four arms: *varada*, *abhaya*, lance (*kunta*), shield. Deer is his *vāhana*.

Manovegā or *Manoguptī* (Yakshinī of the sixth Tirthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated like Kusuma. Has four arms: upper, sword, shield; lower, *abhaya*, *kataka*. Horse is her *vāhana*.

Śvet.—Called *Śyāmā* or *Achyutā*. Dark in colour. Has four arms: right, *varada*, noose; left, bow, *abhaya*. Her *vāhana* is a man.

(i) Red colour (*kunkuma*). Has four arms: sword, shield, arrow, bow. Deer (*krishṇasūra*) is her *vāhana*.

(ii) Golden colour. Has four arms: *varada*, shield, sword, fruit. Horse is her *vāhana*.

Varanandī (Yaksha of the seventh Tirthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated like Kusuma. Has two hands only: right, *triśūla*; left, rod or cane. Lion is his symbol.

Śvet.—Called *Mātāṅga*. Blue in colour. Has four hands: right, *śrī-phala* (*bilva* fruit), noose; left, not known. Elephant is his *vāhana*.

(i) Also called *Mātāṅga*. Blue in colour. Has two arms: trident, staff. Lion is his *vāhana*.

(ii) Called *Mātāṅga*. Dark colour (*asita*). Has four arms: trident, staff, lotus, lotus. Lion is his *vāhana*.

Kālī (Yakshinī of the seventh Tirthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated like the Yaksha Varanandī. Has four arms: upper, trident, bell; lower, *abhaya*, *kataka*. Bull is her cognizance.

Śvet.—Called *Śāntā*. Golden in colour. Has four arms: right, rosary, *varada*; left, *abhaya*, trident. Elephant is her *vāhana*.

(i) Deep dark colour (*kāla*). Has four arms: *añjali* (by two hands), *varada*, rosary. Peacock is her *vāhana*.

(ii) White colour. Has four arms: bell, trident, fruit, *varada*. Bull is her *vāhana*.

Śyāma or *Vijaya* (Yaksha of the eighth Tirthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated like Varanandi. Has four arms: lower right *abhaya*, rest not known. *Hansa* is his cognizance.

Śvet.—Called *Vijaya*. Green in colour. Has two arms: right, *chakra*; left, hammer. *Hansa* is his *vāhana*.

(i) Dark-blue (*śyāma*) in colour. Has four arms: whip (*kaśā*), noose, *varada*, elephant-goad. Dove is his *vāhana* (*kapotavara*).

(ii) Also called *Vijaya*. Dark-blue (*śyāma*) in colour. Has three eyes, and four arms: fruit, rosary, axe, *varada*. Dove is his *vāhana*.

Jvālāmālīnī (Yakshinī of the eighth Tirthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated like *Vijaya*, the Yaksha. Has eight arms: right, trident, arrow, snake, *abhaya*; left, *vajra*, bow, snake, *kataka*. Flames issue out of her *makuta* as in Hindu Kālī. Bull is her emblem.¹

Śvet.—Called *Bhṛīkūrī*. Yellow in colour. Has four arms: right, sword, hammer; left, tablet, axe. Swan (*marāṭa*) is her *vāhana*.

(i) White in colour. Has eight arms: discus, crocodile (*makara*), flag, arrow, bow, trident, noose, *varada*. Buffalo is her *vāhana*.

(ii) White in colour. Has eight arms: arrow (*kāṇḍa*), discus, trident, *varada* or fruit, bow, noose, fish (*jhaṣa*), shield. Buffalo is her *vāhana*.²

There is a bronze image of *Jvālāmālīnī* in the temple at Tiruparuttikunṇam (pl. xxxv, fig. 1) which is carried in procession (*utsava-vigraha*). The Yakshinī is represented as seated in the *lalita* pose on a *padmāsana* placed on the back of a bull, with a *kirita-makuta* framed as it were by an aureole of flames, and showing the seated figure of *Chandraprabha* in its front, adorning her head. She has eight arms that carry the following: upper row, *chakra* and conch; second row, bow and arrow; third row, sword and shield; fourth or the bottom row shows *abhaya* and *varada*. A *yajñopavīta* can be seen on her body.

Ajita (Yaksha of the ninth Tirthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated as *Śyāma*. Has four arms: right, rosary, *abhaya*; left, spear, pomegranate fruit. Tortoise (*kūrma*) is his cognizance.

Śvet.—White in colour. Has four arms: right, rosary, citron; left, mongoose, spear. Tortoise is his symbol.

(i) White in colour. Has four arms: whip (*kaśā*), staff, trident, axe. Tortoise is his *vāhana*.

(ii) White in colour. Has four arms: fruit, rosary, trident, *varada*. Tortoise is his *vāhana*.

¹ *M.E.R.*, 1929, p. 88:—In the Ādinātha temple at Ponnūr in the North Arcot District there are a few well-made metallic images (*utsava-vigraha*), carried in procession, of *Chandraprabha*, *Pārśvanātha*, *Mahāvīra*, *Bāhuchalis*, etc., and of minor deities like *Jvālāmālīnī*. The image of *Jvālāmālīnī* is represented here "with an aureole of flames framing its head, and with eight arms carrying the characteristic attributes in the following order: right series—*chakra*, *abhaya*, *gada*, and a *śūla*; and the left series—*śaṅkha*, *śhepa*, *kapala* and a *putaka(?)*".

² *Cf.* Hindu *Mahābhāratam* arjuna.

Mahākālī or *Ajitā* (Yakshi of the ninth Tīrthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated as Yaksha Śyāma. Has four arms: upper, rod, fruit or *vajra*; lower, *abhaya*, *kaṭaka*. Has no cognizance.

Śvet.—Called *Sutārā* or *Sutārakā*. *Gaura* or fair-white in colour. Has four arms: right, rosary, *varada*; left, water-pot, goad. Bull is her *vāhana*.

(i) Golden colour. Has four arms: sword, fruit, thunderbolt, lotus. Lion (*vāja-kaṇṭhirava*) is her *vāhana*.

(ii) Black in colour. Has four arms: *Survajña*? (probably a weapon or *jñāna-mudra*, the pose of knowledge), hammer (*mudgara*), fruit, *varada*. Tortoise is her *vāhana*.

Brahmeśvara or *Brahmā* (Yaksha of the tenth Tīrthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated as Yaksha Śyāma. Has three eyes, four heads and eight arms: six arms with weapons like mace, sword, shield, rod, and the remaining two *abhaya* and *kaṭaka*. Lotus-bud is his cognizance.

He is often confused with the Hindu Aiyānār, whose other names such as Hariharaputra and Śāstā are also in vogue among the Jains. Though he is the special attendant of Śītalānātha he is also represented in the form in which we recognize Aiyānār, either as seated with an elephant below him as in fig. 2 of plate v, or as mounted on horseback, with four hands, holding whip, reins, sword and shield. In the former he is two-handed, the right holding a crooked stick called *śeṇḍu* and the left stretched in ease with its elbow resting on the left knee, which is placed vertically on the seat and is secured by a *yoga*-band going between the left leg and the waist, the attitude suggested by the figure being one of serenity and inner contemplation.¹ Sometimes Pūrṇā and Pushkalā, the two goddesses that Hindu iconography speaks of as the wives of Aiyānār are associated with this Yaksha. Yet another form of this Yaksha which conclusively proves his confusion with the Hindu Aiyānār is supplied by a group of three bronze images used in worship in the temple at Tiruparuttikunṅam (pl. xxxi, fig. 1). The three images represent Brahmadeva or Brahmeśvara and Pūrṇā and Pushkalā. The Yaksha stands in the middle on a *padmāsana* in the *sama-bhāṅga* pose, wearing a *jaṭā-makuṭa* on his head, *makara-kunḍalas* in his ears, and a *yajñopavīta* on his chest besides other ornaments serving a decorative purpose. He has four arms, the upper two holding a goad and noose and the lower two the *śeṇḍu* and fruit. Pūrṇā stands on his right on a *padmāsana* in the *tribhāṅga* pose bending towards him and wearing besides other ornaments a *karāṇḍa-makuṭa* on her head, *patra-kunḍalas* in her ears, the breast-band over her breasts and a *yajñopavīta* across her body. Her right hand is hanging down like the tail of a cow while her left holds a lotus. Pushkalā stands on the left of the Yaksha and is similarly equipped except for a water-lily that she holds in her right hand, *makara-kunḍalas* in her ears and the absence of the breast-band. Both

¹ Cf. "Catalogue of the South Indian Hindu Metal Images in the Madras Government Museum", p. 14—Madras Museum Bulletin, New Series, General Section, Vol. 1, part 2.

² Pl. v, fig. 2.

Pūrṇa and Pushkalā are provided by the temple priest with the *tālī*, symbol of marriage-tie, round their necks. Given this group and a group of Aiyanār with consorts according to the Hindu canon it will be difficult to say which is which.

Śvet.—White in colour. Has three eyes, four faces and eight arms: right, citron, hammer, noose, *abhaya*; left, mongoose, mace, goad, rosary. He is seated on a lotus.

(i) White in colour. Has eight arms: sword, shield, arrow, bow, axe, thunderbolt, noose, *abhaya*, or *varada*. Lion is his *vāhana*.

(ii) White in colour. Has four heads and eight arms: sword (*attahāsa*), shield, *varada*, arrow, bow, staff, axe, thunderbolt. Red lotus is his *vāhana*.

Mānavī (Yakshinī of the tenth Tīrthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated like Yaksha Śyāma. Has four arms: upper, rosary, fish; lower, *abhaya*, *kaṭaka*. No cognizance is given.

Śvet.—Called *Aśokā*. Of bean-colour. Has four arms: right, noose, *varada*; left, fruit, goad. Her *vāhana* is a cloud.

(i) Dark-blue (*śyāma*) in colour. Has two arms: *varada*, lotus. Crocodile (*makara*) is her *vāhana*.

(ii) Dark? (*hisatvarṇa*?) in colour. Has four arms: fish (*jhaṣa*), rosary, garland, *varada*. Black boar or pig (*sūkara*) is her *vāhana*.

Īśvara (Yaksha of the eleventh Tīrthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated as the Yaksha Śyāma. Has four arms: right, *kaṭaka* and *abhaya*; left, *triśūla* and rod. A crescent is attached to the outer side of the *makuta*. *Nandī* or the bull is his *vāhana*. Surely in this Yaksha we can recognize Śiva who carries the moon on his head and who rides on *Nandī*.

Śvet.—Called also *Yakshet*. White in colour. Has three eyes and four arms: right, citron, mace; left, mongoose, rosary. Bull is his *vāhana*.

(i) White in colour. Has four arms: arrow, bow, trident, staff. Bull is his *vāhana*.

(ii) Colour not mentioned. Has three eyes, four arms: fruit, *abhaya*, trident, staff. Bull is his *vāhana*.

Gaurī (Yakshinī of the eleventh Tīrthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated like Īśvara. Has four arms: right, water-pot, *abhaya*; left, *varada*, rod. The bull (*Nandī*) is also her *vāhana*. The crescent is also attached to the outer side of her *makuta*. Surely this is Gaurī or Pārvatī or Umā, the wife of Śiva.

Śvet.—Called *Mānavī*. Fair white (*gaurā*) in colour. Has four arms: right, *varada*, hammer; left, axe and goad. Her *vāhana* is a lion. Surely the lion is the *vāhana* assigned to *Aṇbhikā* or *Devī* in Hindu iconography.

(i) White in colour. Has two arms: whip (*kaṣṭhā*), elephant-goad. *Huṃsa* is her *vāhana*.

(ii) Golden colour. Has four arms: lotus, hammer? (*munira*, probably *mudgara*), vessel (*kalāṣa*), *varada*. Deer is her *vāhana*.

Kumāra (Yaksha of the twelfth Tirthaṅkara)—

Diḡ.—Seated like *Īśvara*. Has three heads and six arms: right, noose, spear, *abhaya*; left, *vajra*?, bow, *varada*. His cognizance is the peacock. This is the Hindu *Subrahmanya*, also called *Kumāra*.

Śvet.—White in colour. Has four arms: right, citron, arrow; left, mongoose, bow. *Haṁsa* is his *vāhana*.

(i) White in colour. Has four arms: arrow, bow, fruit, staff. *Haṁsa* is his *vāhana*.

(ii) White in colour. Has three heads and six arms; contents of arms not mentioned. *Haṁsa* is his *vāhana*.

Gāndhārī (Yakshinī of the twelfth Tirthaṅkara)—

Diḡ.—Seated like *Kumāra*. Has four arms: upper, 2 mirrors; lower right *abhaya*, lower left, rod or cane. Serpent is her emblem.

Śvet.—Called *Chandrā* or *Chandā*. Dark in colour. Has four arms: right, *varada*, spear; left, flower, mace. Horse is her *vāhana*.

(i) Dark blue (*śyāmā*) in colour. Has two arms: *varada*, pose indicative of knowledge (*jñāna-mudrā*). *Haṁsa* is her *vāhana*.

(ii) Green in colour. Has four arms: *varada*, pestle (*musala*), lotus, lotus. *Makara* is her *vāhana*.

Shaṇmukha or *Kārttikēya* (Yaksha of the thirteenth Tirthaṅkara)—

Diḡ.—Seated with the right leg hanging down and the left tucked up in front on the seat. Has six heads and twelve hands, one of the latter showing *abhaya*. The cock (*kukkuta*) is his cognizance. This is the same *Shaṇmukha*, the six-headed form of *Subrahmanya* known to the Hindu.

Śvet.—White in colour. Has twelve arms: right, fruit, *chakra*, sword, noose, rosary; left, mongoose, discus, bow, tablet, goad and *abhaya*. Peacock is his *vāhana*.

(i) Dark-blue (*śyāma*) in colour. Has twelve arms: sword, shield, axe, *varada* in eight arms, and pose of knowledge (*jñāna-mudrā*). Monkey is his *vāhana*.

(ii) Fair in colour. Has twelve arms: axes in eight arms, one in each, shield, sword, staff, and rosary. Peacock is his *vāhana*.

Vairoṣī or *Vairāṭyā* (Yakshinī of the thirteenth Tirthaṅkara)—

Diḡ.—Seated like *Shaṇmukha*. Has four arms: upper, snakes; lower right, *abhaya*, lower left, *kaṭaka*. A spear leans against her right shoulder. The serpent is her emblem.

Śvet.—Called *Viditā*. Yellowish-green in colour. Has four arms: right, noose, arrow; left, snake and bow. Seated on a lotus which serves as her *vāhana*.

(i) White in colour. Has four arms: arrow, bow, *varada*, lotus. Spotted deer (*kṛishṇasāra*) is her *vāhana*.

(ii) Green in colour. Has four arms: snakes in two arms, one in each, arrow, bow. A kind of snake (*gonasa*) is her *vāhana*.

Pātāla (Yaksha of the fourteenth Tirthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated as *Shaṇmukha*. Has three heads and six arms: right, rod, spear, *abhaya*; left, axe, noose, hook or spear. *Makara* or the crocodile is his emblem.

Śvet.—Red in colour. Has three heads and six arms: right, lotus, sword, noose; left, mongoose, tablet, rosary. Crocodile (*makara*) is his *vāhana*.

(i) Red (*kuṅkuma*) in colour. Has three heads, and six arms: whip (*kaśā*), elephant-goad, fruit, *varada*, trident, noose. *Makara* is his *vāhana*.

(ii) Red in colour. Has three heads and six arms: arrow, elephant-goad, plough, trident, fruit, lotus. A snake surrounds his head. *Makara* is his *vāhana*.

Anantamati (Yakshiṇī of the fourteenth Tirthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated like *Pātāla*. Has four arms: upper, arrow, bow or crook; lower right *abhaya*, lower left *kataka*. *Haṁsa* is her cognizance.

Śvet.—Called *Aikuśā*. Fair-white (*gaura*) in colour. Has four arms: right, sword, noose; left, tablet, goad. Lotus is her *vāhana*.

(i) White in colour. Has two arms: *varada*, lotus. Peacock is her *vāhana*.

(ii) Golden colour. Has four arms: bow, arrow, fruit, *varada*. *Haṁsa* is her *vāhana*.

Kinnara (Yaksha of the fifteenth Tirthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated like the previous Yaksha. Has three heads and six hands: right, rosary, rod, *abhaya*; left, *śakti*, spear, *mālā* or garland or *kataka*. Fish is his emblem.

Śvet.—Dark-red in colour. Has three heads and six arms: right, citron, club, *abhaya*; left, mongoose lotus, rosary. Tortoise is his *vāhana*.

(i) Red (*kuṅkuma*) colour. Has six arms: *mudga*¹ or a kind of kidney-bean, discus, thunderbolt, rosary, *varada*, elephant-goad. Fish is his *vāhana*.

(ii) Red like lotus. Has six arms: discus, hammer or club (*mudgara*), thunderbolt, elephant-goad, *varada*, rosary. Fish is his *vāhana*.

Mānasi (Yakshiṇī of the fifteenth Tirthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated like the Yaksha. Has four arms: right, goad, spear or arrow; left, flower or *chakra*, hook or bow. Lion is her emblem.

Śvet.—Called *Kandarpā*. Fair-white (*gaura*) in colour. Has four arms: right, goad, *nīlotpala*; left, *abhaya*, lotus. Fish is her *vāhana*.

(i) Yellow in colour. Has four arms: arrow, bow, *varada*, lotus. Spotted deer (*kṛishṇasāra*) is her *vāhana*.

(ii) Red like coral (*vidrumaprabhā*). Has six arms: lotus, bow, *varada*, elephant-goad, arrow, water-lily (*utpala*). Tiger is her *vāhana*.

Kīmpurusha (Yaksha of the sixteenth Tirthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated like the previous Yaksha. Has four arms: upper, *chakra*, *śakti*; lower, *abhaya*, *kataka*. Bull is his emblem.

¹ What was probably intended is *mudgara*, i.e., hammer or club.

Śvet.—Called *Garuḍa*. Has the head of a (?) boar. Black in colour. Has four arms: right, citron, lotus; left, mongoose, rosary. Elephant is his *vāhana*.

(i) Blue in colour. Has four arms: thunderbolt, lotus, discus, lotus or *abhaya* or *varada*. *Garuḍa* is his *vāhana*.

(ii) Dark-blue (*śyāma*) in colour. Has four arms: thunderbolt, fruit, discus, lotus. Boar is his *vāhana*.

Mahāmānasi (Yakṣiṇī of the sixteenth Tirthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated like the Yaksha. Has four arms: upper, dart, *chakra*; lower, *abhaya*, *kaṭaka*. Peacock is her cognizance.

Śvet.—Called *Nirvāṇī*. Fair-white (*gaura*) in colour. Seated on a lotus. Has four arms: right, *nīlotpala*, book; left, water-pot, lotus. Lotus is her cognizance or *vāhana*.

(i) White in colour. Has four arms: sword, shield, lance (*śakti*), noose. Crocodile (*jalacharagraheshu grāhavaram*) is her *vāhana*.

(ii) Golden colour. Has four arms: fruit, sword, discus, *varada*. Peacock is her *vāhana*.

Gandharva (Yaksha of the seventeenth Tirthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated like the previous Yaksha. Has four arms: upper, snakes; lower, spear or arrow, crook or bow. Deer is his cognizance.

Śvet.—Black in colour. Has four arms: right, noose, *varada*; left, citron, goad. *Haiṣa* is his *vāhana*.

(i) Dark-blue (*śyāma*) in colour. Has four arms: arrow, bow, noose, noose. A car? (*ratha-nandana*) is his *vāhana*.

(ii) Dark-blue (*śyāma*) in colour. Has four arms: noose in two, bow, arrow. Bird is his *vāhana* (*pakshi-yāna*).

Vijayā or *Jayā* (Yakṣiṇī of the seventeenth Tirthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated like the Yaksha. Has four arms: upper, *chakras*; lower, *abhaya*, sword. Peacock is her emblem.

Śvet.—Called *Balā*. Fair-white (*gaura*) in colour. Has four arms: right, trident, citron; left, a stick or rod of iron four cubits long (*muṣaṇḍhi*), lotus. Peacock is her *vāhana*.

(i) White in colour. Has two arms: *varada*, blue water-lily. *Haiṣa* is her *vāhana*.

(ii) Golden colour. Has four arms: conch, sword, discus, *varada*. A black boar is her *vāhana*.

Kendra (Yaksha of the eighteenth Tirthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated like the previous Yaksha. Has six heads and twelve arms: one pair lying in his lap; another pair, *abhaya*, *kaṭaka*; a third pair, crook and snake; the rest with other emblems not specified. Peacock is his *vāhana*.

Śvet.—Called *Yakshendra* or *Yakshet*. Dark in colour. Has three eyes, six faces and twelve arms: right, citron, arrow, sword, hammer, noose, *abhaya*; left, mongoose, bow, shield, trident, goad, rosary. Conch is his emblem or *vāhana*.

(i) Also called *Jaya*. Blue in colour. Has two arms: trident, staff. His *vāhana* is said to be *Ambārāvana*, the meaning of which is not clear.

(ii) Colour and *vāhana* not mentioned. Has twelve arms: bow, thunderbolt, noose, hammer or club (*mudgara*), elephant-goad, *varada*, arrow, lotus, fruit, ladle (*sruk*), garland, rosary.

Ajitā (Yakshinī of the eighteenth Tirthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated like the Yaksha. Has four arms: upper, snakes; lower, *abhaya*, *śakti*. *Haṁsa* is her emblem.

Śvet.—Called *Dhārīnī* or *Dhanā*. Blue in colour. Seated on a lotus. Has four arms: right, citron, *nilotpala*; left, lotus, rosary. Lotus is her *vāhana*.

(i) Also called *Vijayā*. Dark-blue (*śyāma*) in colour. Has six heads and twelve arms: sword, shield, arrow, bow, discus, elephant-goad, staff, rosary, *varada*, blue water-lily, *abhaya*, fruit. Bull is her *vāhana*.

(ii) Called *Vijayā*. Golden colour. Has four arms: snake, thunderbolt, deer, *varada*. *Haṁsa* is her *vāhana*.

Kuberā (Yaksha of the nineteenth Tirthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated like the previous Yaksha. Has four heads and eight arms: right, sword, javelin, dagger, *abhaya*; left, arrow, bow or crook, double-pointed javelin or mace, *kaṭaka* or with some other weapon. Elephant is his cognizance.

Śvet.—Of rain-bow colour. Has four heads and eight arms: right, axe, trident, *abhaya*, *varada*; left, citron, spear, hammer, rosary. Elephant is his *vāhana*.

(i) Red (*knīkuma*) in colour. Has four heads, eight arms: sword, shield, arrow, bow, fruit, axe, *varada* and *śaṇḍa-mudrā*?. Elephant is his *vāhana*.

(ii) Red in colour. Has eight arms: sword, shield, arrow, bow, lotus, staff, noose, *varada*. Elephant is his *vāhana*.

Aparājitā (Yakshinī of the nineteenth Tirthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated like the Yaksha. Has four hands: upper, sword, shield; lower right *abhaya*, lower left *kaṭaka*. *Haṁsa* is her cognizance.

Śvet.—Called *Vairotyā* or *Dharaṇapriyā*. Black in colour. Seated on a lotus which is also her *vāhana*. Has four arms:—right, lotus, *varada*; left, citron, spear.

(i) White in colour. Has two arms: *varada*, maddar flower (*satara*). Fox is her *vāhana*.

(ii) Green in colour. Has four arms: fruit, sword, shield, *varada*. A spider or a fabulous animal called *Śarabha* (*aṣṭāpada*) is her *vāhana*.

Varuṇa (Yaksha of the twentieth Tirthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated like the previous Yaksha. Has seven heads and four hands: right, flower (lotus), *abhaya*; left, *kaṭaka*, shield. He has no cognizance.

Śvet.—White in colour. Has three eyes, four heads with matted hair (*jaṭās*) and eight arms: right, citron, mace, arrow, spear; left, mongoose, rosary, bow and axe. Bull is his *vāhana*.

(i) White in colour. Has five heads, eight arms: sword, shield, arrow, bow, fruit, noose, *varada*, staff. *Makara* is his *vāhana*.

(ii) White in colour. Has three eyes and four arms: sword, *varada*, shield, fruit. Bull is his *vāhana*.

Bahurūpīnī (Yakshīnī of the twentieth Tirthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated like the Yaksha. Has four arms: upper, sword, shield; lower, *abhaya*, *kataka*. Her cognizance is a snake.

Śvet.—Called *Naradattā*. Fair (*gaura*) in colour. Seated on a throne. Has four arms: right, *varada*, rosary; left, citron, trident. The throne is perhaps her *vāhana*.

(i) Goddess of learning (*vidyā-yakshī*). Has two arms: sword, shield. Peacock is her *vāhana*.

(ii) Golden colour. Has four arms: shield, sword, fruit, *varada*. Black snake is her *vāhana*.

Bhṛīkūtī (Yaksha of the twenty-first Tirthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated like the previous Yaksha. Has four heads and eight arms: right, sword, dart, flower, *abhaya*; left, shield, crook or bow, arrow and *kataka*. Bull is his *vāhana* or cognizance.

Śvet.—Golden colour. Has three eyes, four heads and eight arms: right, citron, spear, hammer, *abhaya*; left, mongoose, axe, thunderbolt, rosary. Bull is his cognizance.

(i) Also called *Vidyut-prabha*. Red (*kuṅkuma*) in colour. Has four heads and eight arms: sword, shield, arrow, bow, discus, elephant-goad, *varada*, mango-flower (*sahakāra-pushpa*). *Haṁsa* is his *vāhana*.

(ii) Red in colour. Has four heads and eight arms: shield, sword, arrow, bow, discus, lotus, elephant-goad, *varada*. *Nandī* or bull is his *vāhana*.

Chāmūṇḍī (Yakshīnī of the twenty-first Tirthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated like the Yaksha Bhṛīkūtī. Has four arms: right, rosary, sword or *abhaya*; left, rod, *kataka*. *Makara* or the crocodile is her cognizance.

Śvet.—Called *Gāndhārī*. White in colour. Has four arms: right, sword, *varada*; left, citrons. *Haṁsa* is her *vāhana*.

(i) White in colour. Has two arms: *varada*, lotus. *Haṁsa* is her *vāhana*.

(ii) Of terrible form. Green in colour. Has four arms: sword, staff, shield, rosary. *Makara* is her *vāhana*.

Sarvāhṇa (Yaksha of the twenty-second Tirthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated like the previous Yaksha. Has three heads and six arms: right, *takti*, flower, *abhaya*; left, rod, axe, *kataka*. A small temple is his cognizance.

Śvet.—Called *Gomedha*. Dark in colour. Has three heads and six arms: right citron, axe, *chakra*; left, mongoose, trident, spear. A man is his *vāhana*.

(i) Dark-blue in colour. Has three heads, six arms: whip (*kaśā*), hammer or club (*mudgara*), fruit, axe, *varada*, staff. Rides on a man.

(ii) Called *Gomedha*. Dark-blue in colour. Has four arms: *abhaya*, elephant-goad, noose, *varada*. Carries in his head a *dharmachakra* or "wheel of the law." A flower serves as his cognizance.¹ Elephant is his *vāhana*.

Answering fairly well this description (ii) is a bronze image in the temple at Tiruparuttikunram (pl. xxxii, fig. 1) which superficially resembles Hindu images of Chandrasekhara. It stands in the *samabhaṅga* pose on a *padmāsana*, the lower part of which reveals the form of a bull, meant to be the Yaksha's *vāhana*. This is a deviation from the text which speaks of the elephant as the *vāhana*. The apparent resemblance of this figure to the Hindu Chandrasekhara whose *vāhana* is a bull, is obvious. The arms carry the prescribed emblems. A *kirita-makuta* surmounted by a *dharmachakra* and with the figure of the Tirthankara Neminātha in its front adorns the head. Other features worth noting are *patra-kundalas* and *makara-kundalas* in both the ears, a *yajñopavīta* and the exquisite drapery of the under-garment. The temple priest informed me that this image and that of Dharma-Devī to be described below, also of the temple at Tiruparuttikunram, are the oldest in the whole temple collection of *utsava-vigrahas*. To me these two appear to date from about 1600 A.D.

Kūshmāṇḍinī (Yakshiṇī of the twenty-second Tirthankara)—

Dig.—Also called *Dharma-Devī*. Seated like the Yaksha. Has four arms: upper arms, sword, *chakra*; lower resting on the lap and supporting two children, her sons, seated one on each thigh. A lion is her cognizance. It is believed that the lion represents her husband.²

Śvet.—Called also *Amṛikā*. Golden in colour. Has four arms: right, noose and cluster of mangoes; left, child, goad. Her *vāhana* is a lion.

(i) Dark-blue in colour. Has two arms: fruit, *varada*; lion (*rājakañthirava*) is her *vāhana*.

(ii) Also called *Dharma-Devī*. Seated with her two sons on her lap, one on each thigh. Has four arms: two support the sons, one left arm holds a bunch of mango flowers, the corresponding right is extended towards the lion that serves as her *vāhana*.

The bronze image of this Yakshiṇī in the temple at Tiruparuttikunram (pl. xxxii, fig. 3) represents her as standing, slightly bent, on a *padmāsana*, the lower part of which reveals the lion, her *vāhana*. Her right hand holds a lotus bud while her left hangs down. A *jaṭā-makuta* showing the seated figure of the Tirthankara Neminātha in front adorns her head; *makara-kundalas* adorn her ears. Other features worth noting are the *yajñopavīta*,

¹ I take the flower to be cognizance, though the text has it as a *vāhana* or vehicle, (or elephant is also referred to as *vāhana*).

² See above, p. 158.

the exquisite drapery of the under-garment and an artificial (removable) *tāli*, the last mentioned provided by the temple priest.

Dharaṇendra or Pārsvayaksha (Yaksha of the twenty-third Tīrthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated like the previous Yaksha. Has a single head over which rise five snake-hoods. Has four arms: upper, snakes; lower, *abhaya*, *kataka*. A tortoise is his cognizance.

Śvet.—Dark in colour. Has the head of an elephant and a serpents' hood for an umbrella. Has four arms: right, citron, serpent; left, mongoose, serpent. Tortoise is his *vāhana*.

(i) Blue in colour. Has four arms: water-vessel (*kalāśa*), noose, goad and fruit. Tortoise is his *vāhana*.

(ii) Black in colour (*śyāma*). Has four arms: noose, goad, fruit, water-lily? (*utphulla-dhara?*) or water-vessel? (*kalāśa?*). Tortoise is his *vāhana*. A snake is seen over his head.

In the temple at Tiruparuttikunṇam there is a bronze image of Dharaṇendra (pl. xxxiii, fig. 1) representing him standing in the *samā-bhaṅga* pose on a *padmāsana* resting as it were on a tortoise, the whole supported by a *bhadrāsana*. The Yaksha wears a *kirita-makuta* presenting the seated figure of his Tīrthaṅkara in its front and surmounted by a cobra with five hoods. He has *makara-kundalas* in his ears and wears a *yajñopavita*, while his arms, of which there are four, hold the goad and noose in the upper two and a fruit (pomegranate) in the lower left while the lower right presents the *abhaya*. The image, though modern looking, is highly interesting as also another of the same Yaksha (pl. xxxii, fig. 2) which is at present in household worship, being in the possession of the temple priest's son. The latter is similar to the former except that its lower left hand indicates the *varada* instead of holding the fruit and that the tortoise underneath the *padmāsana* is not shown.

Padmāvati (Yakshi of the twenty-third Tīrthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated with left leg down and right tucked up in front. Has four arms: upper, axe, thunderbolt; lower, *abhaya*, *kataka*. Has five snake-hoods (*śeṣha-phaṇā*) over her *makuta*. *Haṁsa* is her cognizance.

Śvet.—Golden colour. Has four arms: right, lotus, noose; left, fruit, goad. Her *vāhana* is a *kukkuṭa-sarpa*.

Monier Williams translates the term *kukkuṭa-sarpa*, whose other equivalents are *kukkuṭābha* and *kukkuṭāhi* as "a kind of snake compared to a fowl perhaps from having a crest or comb."

(i) Yellow in colour. Has three eyes and four arms: goad, noose, *varada* and lotus. *Kukkuṭa-sarpa* is her *vāhana*.

(ii) Red in colour. Has three eyes and four arms: noose, goad, fruit, *varada*. Snake is her *vāhana* and a snake is seen over her head.

There are three bronze images of this Yakshi (pls. xxxi-xxxiii) in the temple at Tiruparuttikunṇam, two of them standing and the third sitting on *padmāsanas*. One of the

standing ones (pl. xxxii, fig. 2) belongs to the temple priest's son and is therefore in household worship. The other (pl. xxxiii, fig. 3) represents the Yakshī as wearing a *kirita-makuta* surmounted by a cobra with five hoods and showing the seated figure of the Tirthaṅkara in its front, *makara-kundalas* in her ears, and as carrying in her upper two arms goad and noose and in her lower two a water-lily (*utpala*) and a fruit, probably pomegranate, while her cognizance, the *kukkuta-sarpa* can be seen in front of the lower part of the *padmāsana*. The image in private ownership (pl. xxxii, fig. 2) is much similar to this but shows *abhaya* in the lower right and wears *patra-kundalas* in the ears while the *kukkuta-sarpa* is not in evidence. The sitting one (pl. xxxi, fig. 2) is similar to the latter except that its right leg rests on the *kukkuta-sarpa* while the cobra over the *makuta* is bigger.

Mātāṅga (Yaksha of the twenty-fourth Tirthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated like the previous Yaksha. Has four arms: upper arms are lifted up in worship and are applied to the sides of his *makuta*; lower right, *abhaya*; lower left, open with its fingers hanging down and the palm inwards. Elephant is his cognizance.

Śvet.—Black in colour. Has two arms: right, citron; left, mongoose. Elephant is his *vāhana*.

(i) Blue in colour. Has six arms: *dharmachakra*, whip (*kaśā*), noose (*pāśa*), thunderbolt (*vajra*), staff (*daṇḍa*), and *varada*.

Answering this description there is a bronze image at Tiruparuttikunṅam (pl. xxxiv, fig. 1) which shows this Yaksha as standing in the *sama-bhāṅga* pose on a *padmāsana*, the lower part of which shows the carving of a lion which is intended to be his cognizance¹. The Yaksha has six arms which are characterised by the following emblems: *dharmachakra* and *vajra* in the upper row; goad and noose in the middle row; and whip and *varada* in the lower one. *Makara-kundalas* adorn his ears while a *kirita-makuta* showing the seated figure of the Tirthaṅkara Vardhamāna in front rests on his head.

(ii) Green in colour (*mudga-varṇa*). Carries *dharmachakra* on his head. Has two arms: *varada*, pomegranate fruit. Elephant is his *vāhana*.

Siddhāyini or *Siddhāyikā* (Yakshī of the twenty-fourth Tirthaṅkara)—

Dig.—Seated like Padmāvatī. Has two hands only: right, *abhaya*; left, open with its fingers hanging down and the palm inwards. *Hansa* is her cognizance.

Śvet.—Green in colour. Has four arms: right, citron, lute; left, book, *abhaya*. Lion is her *vāhana*.

(i) Golden colour. Has twelve arms: sword, shield, flower, arrow, bow, noose, discus, staff (*daṇḍa*), rosary, *varada*, blue water-lily (*nilotpala*) and *abhaya*. Garuḍa is her *vāhana*.

¹ All the versions are agreed in claiming for him the elephant as the emblem of cognizance. This deviation would therefore speak for the tendency to manipulate iconographical details over and above those warranted by the canon.

Answering this description there is a bronze image of this Yakshini in Tiruparuttikunram (pl. xxxiv, fig. 3) which represents her as standing in the *sambhanga* pose on a *padmāsana*, the lower part of which shows the carving of a Garuḍa, her cognizance. She wears a *karaṇḍa-makuta* showing the seated figure of Vardhamāna in front, on her head, *patra-kundalas* in her ears and a *yajñopavīta* on her body while her arms, of which there are twelve, carry the following emblems and weapons: first row of two *chakra* and conch, second row goad and noose, third row arrow and bow, fourth row sword and shield, fifth row water-lily or lotus and lotus, sixth and bottom row rosary and *varada*.

(ii) Golden colour. Has two arms.

TIRTHANKARAS OF THE FUTURE AGE (*Bhāvīkūla-Tirthaṅkaras*).—The Jains believe that 24 Tirthaṅkaras will appear in the coming age, the first of them with life duration of 116 years and height of 7 cubits (*hastas*) and the last of them with life duration of a *koti* of *pūrvas* and height of 500 *dhanushas*. They are²:

1. *Mahāpadma* or *Padmanābha*, who will appear in the *Dushama Sushama* age of the coming era as was seen above (p. 169).

2. *Suradeva*, the first of the remaining 23 Tirthaṅkaras who are to appear in the *Sushama* age of the coming era. *Supārśva*, who was an uncle of Vardhamāna and who is now in the second *kalpa* (heaven) will be born as this Tirthaṅkara.

3. *Supārśva*. *Udayi*, the son of *Kuṇika*, who is now in the third *kalpa* will become the third Tirthaṅkara of the coming era.

4. *Svayamprabha*.³ *Prosthila*, now in the fourth *kalpa*, becomes the fourth of these Tirthaṅkaras.

5. *Sarvāmabhūta*.⁴ *Dridhaketu*, now in the second *kalpa*, will become the fifth Tirthaṅkara.

6. *Devaputra*.⁵ *Kārttikaśreshtha*, now in the first *kalpa*, will become the sixth Tirthaṅkara.

7. *Kulaputra*.⁶ becomes the seventh.

8. *Udāka*.⁷ becomes the eighth.

9. *Prosthila*, becomes the ninth.

10. *Jayakīrti*, will become the tenth.

11. *Munisuvrata*. *Devaki*, the mother of *Kṛishṇa*, now working out her *karma* in the eighth *kalpa* will become the eleventh.⁸

12. *Ara*.⁹ will become the twelfth Tirthaṅkara.¹⁰

¹ *Trilokaśāstra*, v. 876.

² The list given below is taken from *Trilokaśāstra*, vv. 872-5 and from *Jayamālā*.

³ The *Svetāshvatara* list is different. It is as follows—

1-3 the same as in our list. 4. *Svayamprabha* 5. *Sarvāmabhūta*. 6. *Devaputra*. 7. *Udayaprabha*. *Sankhaśravaka*, now in the twelfth *kalpa* becomes this Tirthaṅkara. 8. *Prosthila*. *Ānandāśravaka*, now in the first *kalpa*, will become the eighth. 9. *Prosthila*. *Sunandāśravaka*, now in the first *kalpa*, will become the ninth. 10. *Satakīrti*. A man named *Satakīrtāśravaka*, now in the third *kalpa*, will become the tenth.

⁴ These are some of the "elements of the Hindu influence" taken in deliberately or unconsciously by the Jains to placate Brahmanical hatred, to which we drew attention at the beginning of this paper. See above, pp. 9-10.

13. *Nishpāpa*,¹ will become the thirteenth Tirthaṅkara.²
14. *Nishkashāya*,¹ will become the fourteenth Tirthaṅkara.²
15. *Vipula*,¹ will become the fifteenth Tirthaṅkara.
16. *Nirma'a*,¹ will become the sixteenth Tirthaṅkara.
17. *Chitrāgupta*,¹ Rohiṇī, the mother of Baladeva and step-mother of Kṛṣṇa, who is at present in the second *kalpa*, will become the seventeenth Tirthaṅkara.²
18. *Samādhigupta*,¹ will become the eighteenth Tirthaṅkara.
19. *Soayambhūh*,¹ do, nineteenth do.
20. *Antvartaka*,¹ do, twentieth do.
21. *Jaya*,¹ do, twenty-first do.²
22. *Vimala*,¹ do, twenty-second do.
23. *Devapālu*,¹ do, twenty-third do.
24. *Anantavīrya*,¹ do, twenty-fourth do.

ARHATS.

Souls that like Tirthaṅkaras are embodied and have attained omniscience, but unlike them "have not yet discarded the last vestments of the human body" are the *arhats*. They await going to *nirvāṇa* after shedding the "kāramaṇa" body. They have the following twelve chief qualities:—

1-8. The *prātihāryas*.³ 9. Complete freedom from any kind of harm or injury (*apāyāpagamūtiśaya*). 10. Perfect knowledge (*jñānūtiśaya*). 11. Worship by every one (*pūjātiśaya*). 12. Supernatural characteristics of speech (*vachanūtiśaya*), which are 35 according to Hemachandra.⁴

¹ The Svetāshvara list is different:—

12. *Amara*, Kṛṣṇa himself, now in the third *kalpa*, will become the twelfth.²
13. *Nishkashāya*, Harasatyaki, the guru of Ravana, now in the fifth *kalpa*, will become the thirteenth.²
14. *Nishpālu*, Baladeva, the brother of Kṛṣṇa, now spending his time in the sixth *kalpa* will become the fourteenth.²
15. *Nirmama*, Sulasa, a man now in the fifth *kalpa*, will become the fifteenth.
16. *Chitrāgupta*.²
17. *Samādhi*, Revati, a woman, now in the twelfth *kalpa*, will become the seventeenth.
18. *Samādhigūptā*, a lady of the name of Subalā in her past birth and later a chaste woman of the name of Magavati, who is now in the eighth *kalpa*, will become the eighteenth.
19. *Valadhara*, Dvapāyana, who set fire to Dvārakā, and is now one of the Agnikumāras will become the nineteenth.²
20. *Vīrya*, Kumika, who in his past birth was named Javakumara and a relative of Kṛṣṇa, is now in the twelfth *kalpa*, and will be born as the twentieth.²
21. *Mallinātha* or *Malayadeva*, Nārada, a layman in the time of Ravana of Hindu mythology, who is now in the fifth *kalpa*, will become the twenty-first Tirthaṅkara.
22. *Devajina*, Ambaḍa, a layman or ascetic in his past birth, who is now in the twelfth *kalpa*, will become the twenty-second.
23. *Anantavīrya*, Amara, now in the ninth *Graiveyaka*, becomes the twenty-third.
24. *Bhadrajiṇa*, Srayambudhi, now in the highest of all the *devolakas* (*Sarvārthasiddhā*) will become incarnate as the twenty-fourth and last.

² These are some of the "elements of Hindu influence" taken in deliberately or unconsciously by the Jaina to placate Brahmanical hatred, to which we draw attention at the beginning of this paper. See above, pp. 9-10.

³ See above, p. 190.

⁴ See his *Abhidhānābhīnāmāni*.

ĀCHĀRYAS.

Āchāryas are the heads of groups of saints or sages. They have among others 36 qualities, which can be classified under five heads:—

I. Twelve kinds of penance (*tapas*)—1. Not taking food (*anāśana*). 2. Eating less than necessary (*anavāpta*). 3. *Vrata-parisamkhyāna*, a pledge taken by a saint on the way to receive food, that he will accept it only if a particular thing is fulfilled, otherwise go without it. This pledge, of course, is secret and extempore. 4. Renunciation and suppression of taste (*rasaparitīyāga*) and of tasteful things. Six such tasteful things are milk, ghee, curds, sugar, salt and oil. 5. Sitting or sleeping alone (*vivikta-śayyāsana*). 6. Self-mortifications (*kāya-kleśa*), not by inflicting injuries on the body but by refusing it many comforts and necessities. These six are called external *tapas*. The remaining six which constitute internal *tapas* are—7. Penance to expiate sins or faults committed knowingly or otherwise (*prāyaścitta*). 8. Zeal in the pursuit of right faith, knowledge, conduct and proper *tapas* or restraint, and also loving obedience to superiors (*vinaya*). 9. Service in the manner of attending on old, infirm or sick ascetics and elders (*vaiyāpritya*). 10. Studying the scriptures (*svādhyāya*). 11. Detachment to the body (*vyutsarga*). 12. Meditation (*dhyāna*).

II. Ten kinds of duties or *dharma*s—1. The highest type of endurance, complete annihilation of feelings of anger, etc., and a ready spirit of forgiveness of all injuries, real or imaginary (*uttama-kṣamā*). 2. Gentleness or humility (*mārdava*). 3. Frankness or frank straightforwardness (*ārjava*). 4. Truth in mind, speech and action or conduct (*satya*). 5. Purity and freedom from sinful feelings such as avarice, hatred, etc. (*śauca*). 6. Restraint (*śamya*), which is of two kinds: restraint of the senses, and practice of compassion towards six kinds of living beings, viz., (a) mineral life which is the lowest, (b) aquatic life, (c) fire-life, (d) air-life, (e) vegetable-life, and (f) animal-life. 7. Asceticism (*tapas*) mainly of the various kinds enumerated under the first heading. 8. Benevolence (*tyāga*). This term is also generally interpreted as gift of knowledge by means of lessons and precepts when applied to the *āchāryas* as here, and sometimes as renunciation of all worldly connections as applied to all ascetics. 9. Beggary or development of the feeling, "nothing is mine," more probably the latter (*ākīñchana*). 10. Chastity (*brahmacharyā*). Jaini translates it as "the devoted contemplation of the self by the soul" which could be attained "by securing self-concentration through celibacy and other means of freeing the mind from the bondage of worldly care and attachment."¹

III. Six kinds of daily duties called *āvśyakas*—1. Cultivating in slow degrees and peacefully a spirit of indifference to worldly things with a view to attain eventually tranquillity of mind and thereby equanimity of soul (*śāntāyika*). 2. Worshipful bowing before perfect souls and their images (*vandana*). 3. Singing the praises of perfect souls and other holy beings (*stuti*). 4. Repentance for sins and faults already done which have "attached themselves to the soul" (*pratikramana*). 5. Zeal to avoid such faults adhering

¹ See *Outlines of Jainism*, p. 132.

to the soul in future (*pratyākhyāna*).¹ Sometimes *svādhyāya*, or studying scriptures, is given in the place of *pratyākhyāna*. 6. Detachment from the body and practice of self-contemplation (*kāyotsarga*).

IV. Five kinds of exercises (*āchāras*)—practice with a view to (1) induce strong and steady faith (*darśanāchāra*), (2) increase knowledge (*jñānāchāra*), (3) improve daily life or conduct (*chārītrāchāra*), (4) to become a great ascetic (*tapāchāra*), and (5) to increase power, which is here the power of one's inner self (*vīryāchāra*).

V. Three kinds of restraint—(1) restraint of mind (*mano-guṇṭī*), (2) of speech (*vacana-guṇṭī*), and (3) of body (*kāya-guṇṭī*).

A list of *āchāryas*, who were historically important and pre-eminently great, is available from a palm-leaf manuscript (without heading) in the temple of Vardhamāna, wherein the subject is dealt with under the caption *Āchāryaprasasti* or "Praise of Āchāryas." After Vardhamāna attained *nirvāṇa* propagation of the religion that he had founded was taken up first by the apostles and next by their successors who thus established a continuous line of pontiffs. While the earlier ones knew all the teachings of Vardhamāna comprised in the twelve *āngas*, fourteen *pūrvas*,² etc., the later ones were successively less and less learned in them till the time came when they were masters of but a fraction of what Vardhamāna taught the world. These pontiffs of the Jaina faith are—

Eleven *Ganadhuras* or apostles, that explained things in accordance with Vardhamāna's teachings—

1. Śrī Gautama.	5. Maurya.	9. Akampava.
2. Vāyubhūti.	6. Mandara.	10. Achelaka.
3. Agnibhūti.	7. Putra.	11. Prabhāsa.
4. Sudharma.	8. Maitreya.	

Five *Pañcha Sarvāṅga-Dhuras*, who were masters of all the *āṅga* literature and the *pūrvā* literature³—

1. Viṣṇu.	3. Aparājita.	5. Bhadrabahu (I).
2. Nandimitra.	4. Govardhana.	

Eleven *Pūrvā-Dhuras*, masters of all the fourteen kinds of *pūrvā*⁴ literature—

1. Viśākha.	5. Nagasena.	9. Buddhila.
2. Proshthila.	6. Siddhārtha.	10. Gaṅgadeva.
3. Kshatriya.	7. Dhṛitishena.	11. Dharmasena.
4. Jaya.	8. Vijaya.	

Five *Āṅga-Dhuras*, masters of eleven *āṅgas*⁵—

1. Nakshatra.	3. Pāṇḍu.	5. Kamsa.
2. Jayapāla.	4. Dhruvasena.	

¹ Roughly *pratyūramana* and *pratyākhyāna* correspond to two of the seven principles (*latvas*) of Jainism, *virjara* which means the falling away of *kārmic* matter from the soul, and *santvara*, which means *kārmic*-check, i.e., checking the inflow of *kārmic* matter.

² See below, p. 219.

Four *Āchārāṅga*-Dharas, masters of one *aṅga*, the *āchāra-aṅga*—

- | | |
|----------------|---------------------|
| 1. Subhadra. | 3. Bhadrabāhu (II). |
| 2. Yaśobhadra. | 4. Lohachārya. |

From here follow propagators of the Jaina faith who had not perfect knowledge of even one *aṅga*. But the line of pontiffs, was never broken.

Mukhya-Pañchamakūla-Dharma-pravartakas, principal propagators of *dharma* of the fifth age (*dushama*), through which we are now passing—

- | | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Arhadbali. | 14. Nēmichandra. | 23. Śiva-Gupti-Bhaṭṭāraka. |
| 2. Māghanandi. | 15. Prabhāvachandra. | 24. Samantalihadra. |
| 3. Pushpadanta. | 16. Vāsavachandra. | 25. Śivakoṭi. |
| 4. Umāchārya. | 17. Balachandra. | 26. Pajya-pāda. |
| 5. (H)elachārya. | 18. Meghachandra. | 27. Akalaṅka. |
| 6. Kundakunda. | 19. Sarvabhūtahita-Bhaṭṭāraka. | 28. Nishkalaṅka. |
| 7. Griddhrapiñchchha. | 20. Tribhuvana-Svayambhū-Bhaṭṭāraka. | 29. Anantavīrya. |
| 8. Mayūrapīñchchha. | 21. Śruta-Sāgara-Bhaṭṭāraka. | 30. Vidyānanda. |
| 9. Dharasena. | 22. Samādhi-Gupti-Bhaṭṭāraka. | 31. Māṇikyānanda. |
| 10. Vīrasena. | | 32. Kaviparameshthi. |
| 11. Jinasena. | | 33. Vardhamāna. |
| 12. Rāmasena. | | 34. Guṇabhadra. |
| 13. Jinachandra. | | |

Jaini's list of sages¹ is critical and has been drawn after a careful comparison of the various *pañcāvalis* recording the extant traditions concerning the sages. It is worth quoting here for comparison with the list of sages culled from the temple manuscripts given above:—

Serial number of saint.	Name.	Number of years that he was head of Jainism	From and to the year of Lord Mahāvīra, i.e., after Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa—527 B.C.
I			
3 <i>Kevalī</i> (for 62 years).			
1	1. Gautama Svāmi	12	1-12 A.V.
2	2. Sudharmāchārya	12	13-24 "
3	3. Jambu Svāmi	38	25-62 "
II			
5 <i>Śruta Kevalī</i> (100 years).			
4	1. Viṣṇudhara	14	63-76 A.V.
5	2. Nandimitra	16	77-92 "
6	3. Aparājita	22	93-114 "
7	4. Gauvardhana	19	115-133 "
8	5. Bhadrabāhu I	29	134-162 "

¹ Umāsvāmi, *Tattvārthadhigamaśūtra*, pp. 15-2.

Serial number of saints.	Name.	Number of years that he was head of Jainism.	From and to the year of Lord Mahāvira, i.e., after Mahāvira's Nir- vāṇa—527 B.C.
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III

II Ten-Pūrvi (181 years).

9	1. Viśakhāchārya	10	163-172 A.V.
10	2. Prosṭhīlāchārya	19	173-191 "
11	3. Kshatriyāchārya	17	192-208 "
12	4. Jayasenāchārya	21	209-229 "
13	5. Nāgasenāchārya	18	230-247 "
14	6. Siddārthāchārya	17	248-264 "
15	7. Dhṛtiśeṇāchārya	18	265-282 "
16	8. Vijayasenāchārya	13	283-295 "
17	9. Buddhilīṅgāchārya	20	296-315 "
18	10. Devāchārya	14	316-329 "
19	11. Dharmasenāchārya	14	330-343 "

IV

5 Eleven-Aṅgins (123 years).

20	1. Nakshatrāchārya	18	344-361 A.V.
21	2. Jayapālākāchārya	20	362-381 "
22	3. Pāṇḍavāchārya	39	382-420 "
23	4. Dhruvasenāchārya	14	421-434 "
24	5. Kāmsāchārya	32	435-466 "

V

4 Minor Aṅgins (99 years).

25	1. Subhadrāchārya	6	467-472 A.V.
26	2. Yaśobhadrāchārya	18	473-490 "
27	3. Bhadrabāhu II	23	491-513 "
28	4. Lohāchārya	52	514-565 "

VI

5 One-Aṅgins (118 years).

29	1. Arhadbali	28	566-593 A.V.
30	2. Māghanandī	21	594-614 "
31	3. Dharaśena	19	615-633 "
32	4. Puṣhpādanta	30	634-663 "
33	5. Bhūtabali	20	664-683 "

After Bhūtabali, there was no one who had perfect knowledge of even one *āṅga*. But the line of Jaini pontiffs was never vacant, and the list of Jaini continues as follows:—

Name.	Became Pontiff on	Remained Pontiff for	A.V. from and to
1. Guptigupti ...	Phālgunā, Sudi 14, Śaka 26	... 10 years.	683-693 A.V.
2. Māghanandi ...	Āśvina, " 14 " 36	... 4 "	694-697 "
3. Jinachandra ...	Phālgunā, " 14 " 40	... 9 "	698-706 "
4. Kundakunda ...	Pausha Badi 8 " 49	... 52 "	707-758 "
5. Umāsvāmi. ...	Kāntika Badi 8 " 101	... 40 years, 8 days.	759-799 "

As Mr. Jaini admits, the dates that he has assigned to these sages and pontiffs tentatively are not to be relied upon as absolutely correct, for different dates are given to them in other *pattāvalis* resulting in a discrepancy of a few years which "is inevitable." The dates found in Jaini's list must therefore be taken to be rough and approximate. The sequence of the tradition regarding these saints is however universally acknowledged and may be relied upon thoroughly.

There is also another palm-leaf manuscript in the temple in which a list of these sages (*munīsvāraṇaṃ varalāraṇa*) is found. According to it numbers 17 and 18 of Jaini's list¹ are Buddhila, Gaṅgadeva; No. 29 is Arhadbali; Vṛishabhāchārya, and Uchchārāṇāchārya take the place of Guptigupti, Māghanandi, and Jinachandra of Jaini's list.

Ārya-Devīs.—From yet another palm-leaf manuscript entitled "*Punyāhavachana*" preserved in the temple the following list is available regarding the *Ārya-devīs*, or leaders of the female converts to Jainism, associated with the twenty-four Tirthaṅkaras², whose position corresponds to that of the *Āchāryas* in our classification of the souls:—

1. Brāhmī.	9. Ghoshavattī.	17. Bhavaśrī.
2. Prāgabjā.	10. Dharāṇāśrī.	18. Kūrmaśrī.
3. Dharmāśrī.	11. Dhāraṇā.	19. Buddhishenā.
4. Pauruṣheṇā.	12. Varasenā.	20. Pushpadantā.
5. Anantamatī.	13. Padmaśrī.	21. Maṅginī.
6. Rātriṣheṇā.	14. Sarvaśrī.	22. Yakshaśrī.
7. Mīnaśrī.	15. Suvratā.	23. Sulochanā.
8. Varuṇāśrī.	16. Harishenā.	24. Chandanā.

¹ See introduction of Jaini to Umāsvāmi's *Tattvārthadharmasūtra*, vii-1.

² See *above*, table on p. 187.

UPĀDHYĀYAS.

Upādhyāyas are teaching saints who have twenty-five qualities inasmuch as they have to study and teach Jaina scripture consisting of the eleven *aṅgas* and fourteen *pūrvas*.¹

SĀDHUS.

All ascetics or saints are *sādhus*. They have twenty-eight chief qualities among several other subsidiary ones, which can be arranged under five broad heads:—

- I. Restraint of the five senses (touch, taste, smell, sight and hearing).
- II. Six daily duties or *āvāśyakas* specified under *āchāryas*.²
- III. Seven other duties—I. Not to bathe. 2. To sleep on the ground. 3. Nakedness. 4. Pulling the hair on the face and the head with one's own hands (*loch*). 5. Eating very little food and that once a day. 6. Desisting from the use of tooth-brushes. 7. Receiving food in the hollow of the hands held together and eating it standing (*cf.* paintings Nos. 35, 47, 82).

IV. Five *saṃitis* or religious observances:—I. To walk observing carefully all the things and insects, if any in the way, $3\frac{1}{2}$ yards ahead at least (*Jryā*). 2. To speak relevantly and that in a manner prescribed by the scriptures (*Bhāṣā*). 3. To partake of pure food, not however specially prepared for the person concerned (*Eṣhaṇā*). 4. To handle very carefully the things in the possession of the *sādhū* such as water-bowl (*kamaṇḍalu*), scriptures, peacock-brush, *etc.* (*Ālāna-nikshepana*). 5. To select with great care places where the *sādhū* should answer calls of nature, *etc.* (*Pratishthāpana* or *Pārishtāpanikā*).

V. Five great vows or austerities (*mahā-vratas*)—I. "Not to cause, or tend to cause, pain or destruction to any living being, by thought, speech, or conduct" (*ahiṃsā*). 2. Truth in thought, speech and deed (*satya*). 3. To take nothing unless offered (*asteya*). 4. Chastity (*brahma-charyā*) as in the case of *āchāryas*. 5. Renunciation of all worldly things and concerns (*parigrahyāga*).

NON-ASCETIC GREAT SOULS.

The non-ascetic class of the human mundane souls as opposed to the ascetic class described above can be divided into Ordinary and Great souls. Such human beings as

¹ The *Aṅgas* are:—1. *Āchāra-aṅga*, 2. *Sūtrakṛita-aṅga*, 3. *Sthāna-aṅga*, 4. *Samavāya-aṅga*, 5. *Vyākhyā-prajñapti*, or *Bhagavati* or *Pravāha-prajñapti*, 6. *Dharma-kathā-aṅga*, also called *Jñātṛidharma-kathā-aṅga*, 7. *Upāsa-sādhyayana-aṅga*, 8. *Antahriḍ-dalā-aṅga*, 9. *Anuttaropapādaka-dalā-aṅga*, 10. *Pratna-avyākaraṇa-aṅga*, and 11. *Vipāka-sūtra-aṅga*. Sometimes a twelfth *aṅga* is added to these which is called *Dṛishṭi-pravāda-aṅga*.

The 14 *Pūrvas* or *Pūrvagatas* as they are called are:—1. *Utpāda-pūrva*, 2. *Agrāyāniya-pūrva*, 3. *Paryānavaḍa-pūrva*, 4. *Atināstī-pravāda-pūrva*, 5. *Jñāna-pravāda-pūrva*, 6. *Satya-pravāda-pūrva*, 7. *Ātma-pravāda-pūrva*, 8. *Karma-pravāda-pūrva*, 9. *Pratyākhyāna-pūrva*, 10. *Pidyānuvāda-pūrva*, 11. *Kalyāṇa-vāda-pūrva*, 12. *Prāna-vāda-pūrva*, 13. *Kriyā-vilāsa-pūrva*, and 14. *Triloka-bindu-sāra-pūrva*. For details of the contents of the *aṅgas* and the *pūrvas* see Jaini, *Outlines of Jainism*, pp. 135-145; *Jaina Gazette*, 1905, pp. 133-140; Namichandra, *Gommatasāra*, *Jiva-kāṇḍa*; *Tattvārthasūtra* by Umāsvāmi, edited by J. L. Jaini, 1920, pp. 29-31 and 32-36.

² See *ibid.*, pp. 214-215.

are great in life and have superior status, attainments and the like are called pre-eminently great souls. They are—

TWELVE CHAKRAVARTINS OR CHAKRINS.—These were universal monarchs and lived during the times of the Tirthaṅkaras of the present age. All of them were golden in colour and belonged to the *gotra* of *Kāśyapa*. They are—

1. *Bharata*, the son of *Rishabhadeva*, the first Tirthaṅkara and therefore nearly contemporaneous with him. His height was 500 *dhanushyas* or bows and he lived for 84 lakhs of *pūrvas*. Soon after death he reached *moksha*.

2. *Sagara* of *Ayodhya*, the son of *Sumitra* through *Yaśomati* and contemporaneous with *Ajitanātha*, the second Tirthaṅkara. His height was 450 bows and he lived for 72 lakhs of *pūrvas*. After death he went to *moksha*.

3. *Maghavā*, born in *Śrāvastī* to *Samudravijaya* and *Bhadra*, in the interval between *Dharmanātha* and *Śāntinātha*, the fifteenth and the sixteenth Tirthaṅkaras. His height was $42\frac{1}{2}$ bows and he lived for five lakhs of years. After death he went to the third heaven (*kalpa*), *Sanatkumāra*.

4. *Sanatkumāra*, who must be distinguished from *Sanatkumāra-Indra*, the *Indra* of *Sanatkumāra*, the third heaven. He was born in *Hastināpura* to *Aśvasena* and his wife *Sahadevī*, in the interval between *Dharmanātha* and *Śāntinātha*. His height was $41\frac{1}{2}$ bows and he lived for three lakhs of years. After death he reached the *Sanatkumāra-kalpa* like *Maghavā*.

5. <i>Śāntinātha</i> .	} These three were both Tirthaṅkaras and Chakravartins. For their description, see pp. 192-195.
6. <i>Kunthunātha</i> .	
7. <i>Aranātha</i> .	

8. *Subhauma*, son of *Tārā* and *Kṛitavīrya*. He lived in *Hastināpura* in the interval between *Aranātha* and *Mallinātha*, the eighteenth and nineteenth Tirthaṅkaras. His height was 28 bows and he lived for 60,000 years. After death he reached the seventh earth, or seventh hell as it is more often called, *Mahātamaḥ-prabhā*.

9. *Mahāpadma*, also called *Padma* or *Padmanābha*, son of *Padmottara* and *Jvalā*. He lived in *Vārāṇasī* (Benares) in the interval between *Mallinātha* and the next Tirthaṅkara *Munisuvrata*. His height was 22 bows according to *Trilokasāra* (verse 819), and 20 bows according to *Hemachandra's Trishashtīśalākāpuruṣacharitra*. He lived for 30,000 years, and after death went to *moksha*.

10. *Harishena*, son of *Merā* and *Mahāhari*. He lived in *Kāmpilya* in the interval between *Munisuvrata* and the next Tirthaṅkara *Naminātha*. His height was according to *Trilokasāra* (verse 819) 20 bows, and according to *Trishashtīśalākāpuruṣacharitra* 15 bows. He lived for 10,000 years and soon after death went to *moksha*.

11. *Jaya*, also called *Jaya-sena*. He was born in *Rājagṛiha* as the son of *Vijaya* and *Vapṛā* in the interval between the Tirthaṅkaras *Naminātha* and *Neminātha*. His height according to the *Trilokasāra* was fifteen bows and according to the *Trishashtīśalākāpuruṣacharitra* twelve bows. He lived for 3,000 years and after death went to *moksha*.

12. *Brahmadatta*, son of Chulanī and Brahma. He ruled in Kāmpīlya in the interval between Neminātha and Pārśvanātha. His height was seven bows and he lived for 700 years. After death he went to the seventh hell, *Mahātamaḥ-prabhā*, as he had engaged in evil meditation.

NINE NĀRĀYANAS OR VĀSUDEVAS OR ARDHACHAKRINS.—They were all black in colour, and ruled over three parts of the earth and enjoyed half the power of the Chakravartins. All of them belonged to the family of Gautama, except the eighth who belonged to the Kāśyapa family. They were—

1. *Trippriṣṭha*, son of Prajāpati and Mrigavati. He lived in the city of Potana in the time of Śreyāmsanātha, the eleventh Tirthaṅkara. His height was 80 bows and he lived for 84 lakhs of years. After death he went to the seventh hell.

2. *Dvipriṣṭha*, son of Padmā and Brahmanandana. He lived in Dvārāvati in the time of Vāsupūjya, the twelfth Tirthaṅkara. His height was 70 bows and he lived for 72 lakhs of years. After death he went to the sixth hell, *Tamaḥ-prabhā*.

3. *Svayambhūh*, son of Bhadrarāja and Prithvīdevī. He lived in Dvārāvati and was a follower of Vimalanātha, the thirteenth Tirthaṅkara. His height was 60 bows. After living for 60 lakhs of years he reached the sixth hell.

4. *Purushottama*, son of Soma and Sitā. He lived in Dvārāvati in the time of Anantanātha, the fourteenth Tirthaṅkara. His height was 50 bows and he lived for 30 lakhs of years. After death he went to the sixth hell.

5. *Purushasimha*, also called Narasimha, son of Śiva and Rājāmrītā. He ruled in Aśvapura in the time of Dharmanātha, the fifteenth Tirthaṅkara. He was 45 bows tall and lived for 10 lakhs of years, after which he went to the sixth hell.

6. *Purusha-puṇḍarīka*, also called Puṇḍarīka, son of Lakshmiṃvati and Mahāśiras. He ruled in Chakrapur in the interval between Aranātha and Mallinātha, the eighteenth and the nineteenth Tirthaṅkaras, respectively. His height was according to *Trilokasāra* 29 bows, but according to *Trishasṭhiśālākāpurushacharitra* 19 only and he lived for 65,000 years. After death he went to the sixth hell.

7. *Purusha-datta*, also called Datta or Datta-deva, son of Agnisimha and Śeṣavati. He ruled in Vārāpaṣṭi in the interval between Mallinātha and Munisuvrata, the nineteenth and twentieth Tirthaṅkaras, respectively. He was 22 bows high according to *Trilokasāra*, and 26 according to *Trishasṭhiśālākāpurushacharitra*, and lived according to the former for 32,000 years and according to the latter for 56,000 years. After death he went to the fifth hell (*Dhūma-prabhā*).

8. *Nārāyana*, in some works also called *Lakshmana*, son of Daśaratha and Kaikeyī (cf. the Hindu Rāma). He lived in Rājagriha in the interval between Munisuvrata and Naminātha, the twentieth and twenty-first Tirthaṅkaras. His height was 16 bows and he lived for 12,000 years, after which he went to the fourth hell (*Pañka-prabhā*) according to *Trilokasāra*, and to the third hell (*Vāluka-prabhā*) according to *Trishasṭhiśālākāpurushacharitra*.

9. *Kṛishṇa*, son of Vasudeva and Devakī. He was born in Mathurā and ruled in Dvārāvātī in the time of Neminātha, the twenty-second Tīrthāṅkara, who was his cousin. His height was 10 bows and he lived for 1,000 years. After death he went to the third hell (*Vāluka-prabhā*).

NINE PRATI-NĀRĀYANAS OR PRATI-VĀSUDEVAS.—They were the respective foes of the nine Nārāyaṇas or Vāsudevas, and each shared with his particular foe the latter's height, period of life, and destination (hell). They fought against these foes with the *chakras* (discus) and perished from their own *chakras* which went to their foes' hands. They were—

1. *Aśvagrīva*, foe of Triprishṭha.

2. *Tāraka*, foe of Dvipriṣṭha.

3. *Meraka*, rival of Svayambhūḥ. In some books he is called Naraka.

4. *Nisumbha*, rival of Purushottama.

5. *Madhukaitabha*, sometimes merely called Madhu. Rival of Purushasimha.

6. *Bali*. In some works the next (seventh) Prati-Vāsudeva is given as the sixth and Bali is treated as the seventh. He was the rival of Purusha-puṇḍarīka.

7. *Praharāṇa*, sometimes called Prahlāda and treated as the sixth Prati-Vāsudeva. Rival of Purusha-datta.

8. *Rāvaṇa*, rival of Nārāyaṇa.

The above eight Prati-Vāsudevas moved in the sky. The ninth, Jarāsandha, to be described now, was alone a denizen of the earth like any mortal.

9. *Jarāsandha*, rival of Kṛishṇa.

NINE BALADEVAŚ OR BALABHADRAS¹.—They were all white in colour and were the half-brothers of the respective Vāsudevas. The father of each Baladeva is the same as that of the corresponding Vāsudeva, the Baladeva being the son of a co-wife. The first eight Baladevas went to *moksha*, while the ninth and the last (Padma) went to *Brahma-kalpa* from where he will come down to *Bharata-kshetra* and attain *moksha* in the coming *utsarpiṇī* era when Kṛishṇa becomes the Tīrthāṅkara, Amama². The Baladevas are—

1. *Vijaya*. In some texts he is given as the second, the second being treated as the first³. He was son of Subhadrā and was of the same height as his half-brother, the Vāsudeva, Triprishṭha. He lived for 87 lakhs of years⁴.

2. *Achala*. In some works Achala is treated as the first Baladeva. He was the son of Bhadrā, and was of the same height as his half-brother, the Vāsudeva Dvipriṣṭha. He lived for 77 lakhs of years⁵.

¹ The four groups, viz., *Chakravartins*, *Nārāyaṇas*, *Prati-Nārāyaṇas*, and *Baladevas* were contemporaneous with the 24 Tīrthāṅkaras of the present age, forming with them a group of 63 great and spiritual persons collectively known as the *Trishashī-Salākā-purushas*.

² See above, p. 213.

³ See Hemachandra, *Trishashīlālākāpurushacharitra*, p. 351.

⁴ According to Hemachandra, he lived for 75 lakhs of years.

⁵ According to Hemachandra, he lived for 85 lakhs of years.

3. *Sudharma*. In some works he is called Bhadra or Dharma-prabha. He was the son of Suprabha and was of the same height as his half-brother, the Vāsudeva Svayambhūh. He lived for 67 lakhs of years.¹

4. *Suprabha*, son of Sudarśana. He was of the same height as the fourth Vāsudeva, his half-brother. He lived for 37 lakhs of years.²

5. *Sudarśana*, son of Vijaya. He was of the same height as the Vāsudeva, Purushasimha. He lived for 17 lakhs of years.

6. *Nandi*. In some texts he is called Ānanda. Son of Vaijayanti, he was of the height of the sixth Vāsudeva, Purusha-puṇḍarika. He lived for 67,000 years.³

7. *Nandimitra*, sometimes called Nandana. Son of Jayanti, he shared the height of his half-brother, the Vāsudeva Purusha-datta, and lived for 37,000 years.⁴

8. *Rāma*, also called Rāmachandra.⁵ Son of Aparājita, he shared the height of the Vāsudeva Nārāyaṇa, and lived for 17,000 years.⁶

9. *Padma*,⁷ son of Rohiṇī. He shared the height of his half-brother Kṛishṇa and lived for 1,200 years.

Besides these 63 great ones Jaina hagiology recognizes other less important classes of great souls that also find prominent places in Jaina mythology. They are—

14 Kulakaras or Manus.

24 fathers of Tirthaṅkaras } see under Tirthaṅkaras, pp. 192-195.

24 mothers of Tirthaṅkaras }

9 Nāradas.

11 Rudras.

24 Kāmadevas.

Total ... 106

FOURTEEN KULAKARAS OR MANUS.—They were wise men who arose from time to time and laid the foundation of civilization, for which reason the Jainas call them saviours.

The first Manu was *Pratiśruti*. He is sometimes called *Prati-Svāti*. In his time the trees that were shedding light till then disappeared and the sun and the moon that were till then overshadowed by the lumination of the light-shedding *kalpa*-trees became visible. The people of the world who saw them for the first time became bewildered and were running helter-skelter when *Pratiśruti* came to their rescue and explained to them the significance of the two new lights. The division of day and night dates from

¹ According to Hemachandra, he lived for 65 lakhs of years.

² 55 lakhs of years according to Hemachandra.

³ 85,000 years according to Hemachandra.

⁴ 65,000 years according to Hemachandra.

⁵ A different version is obtained from Hemachandra's *Trishakṣīśālikāpurushaśāstra* which is as follows:—

8. *Paama*, son of Aparājita, with a life of 15,000 years.

9. *Rāma*, The ninth will be Rāma, son of Rohiṇī, living for 1,200 years.

⁶ 15,000 years according to Hemachandra.

his time. He was also instrumental in establishing a sort of rule approaching kingship, and offences were almost unknown as the people were simple folk, strangers to fraud and vice.

Sanmati, the second Manu, explained to the people the significance of the seasons. In his time the light-giving trees had become so feeble that even the stars appeared to the people. It was given to this Manu to define the different constellations. It was therefore said of him that he was the "first astronomer of the half-cycle."

Kshemaikara, the third Manu, taught the world the nature of animals and of men and that the latter should not imitate the former. In his time animals began to grow troublesome as, owing to changed conditions and the inactivity of the feeding-trees that were till then supplying both animals and men with food, they were forced to fend for themselves. He was also responsible for drawing a distinction between domestic and wild animals and for teaching people how to make use of the former with advantage.

Kshemandhara, the fourth Manu, advised men, who were becoming the prey of food-hunting wild animals, to protect themselves from them with the aid of stones, missiles, weapons of wood and stone and sticks.

Simāṅkara, the fifth Manu, was so called because he fixed the *simās* or boundary marks of property and proprietorship. In his time people were fighting for the individual possession of a few *kalpa*-trees that remained. He determined their proprietorship, assigning them to the possession of groups or communities of men.

Simandhara, the sixth Manu, who continued the work of the former and determined the individual ownership over these *kalpa*-trees. The quarrels of the people over these trees had become so intense that he had to set marks on them.

Vimalavāhana, the seventh Manu, taught men how to make use of certain domestic animals like the elephant and the horse by inventing the tethering rope, the bridle and the like.

Chakshushmān, the eighth Manu, who explained to the world the nature of *bhogabhūmi*¹ and the causes for the changes in that world such as parents not dying at the birth of their progeny. Hitherto the rule in the *bhogabhūmi* was that parents died as soon as they gave birth to children, a rule which was necessary to restrict the number of its residents.

Yāśasvān, or *Yāśasvin*, the ninth Manu, who taught men how to regard their children as their own, how to rear them up and bless them.

Abhichandra, the tenth Manu, who made some more changes in the old order of things and taught men to play with their children and give them useful instruction. It is said that this Manu came to acquire the name *Abhichandra* as he was the first to play with his children in moon-light.

Chandrābha, the eleventh Manu, who also devoted his time to the betterment and proper guidance of children.

¹. See above, pp. 72, 177-178.

Marudeva, the twelfth Manu, who established state-control over all the *kalpa*-trees that still remained in the country and taught men among other things navigation and engineering work, as for instance, building forts, halls, steps, boats and ships. Many small hills, lakes and rivers came into existence during his time and there was rainfall for the first time, though scanty and irregular.

Prasenajit, also called *Prasena-chandra*, the thirteenth Manu, about whose work the Śrī Purāṇa is silent, appears to have acquired such a name owing to the fact that in his time children were first born with the *prasena* or amnion, the membrane in which a child is born. Prior to his time children appear not to have been born wrapped in a membrane.

Nābhi Mahārāja,¹ the fourteenth and the last Manu, is said to be the wisest of all and appears to have earned the name *Nābhi* from the fact that he taught men how to cut the navel chord called *nābhī*. He taught men how to make use of vegetables, fruits, grain and other eatables and thereby appease hunger. In his time the *kalpa*-trees had failed to function completely and rain and clouds became a regular feature of the world. It appears that till then the existence of *kalpa*-trees coupled with some other natural force prevented cloud-formation. Cultivation became a regular feature and fruit trees began to grow in abundance.² There was no need to resort to elaborate measures to check crimes, etc., as the people still continued to be very simple. The first five Manus were able to check a wrong-doer by making the exclamation, "ha"! The next five said "ma" to express their disapproval ("ma" signifies regret), and this was enough to make the culprit straight for the future. The remaining Manus added "dhik" (curse you!) to express their disapproval. But the necessity for the codification of laws, penal and otherwise, arose only in the days of Bharata, the son of Rishabhadeva, the first Tirthāṅkara.

For 24 parents of Tirthāṅkaras see above, pp. 192-195.

NINE NĀRADAS.—Their function is tale-bearing and as a result of this self-inflicted office they go after death to hell. Occasionally, however, they have been inclined towards *dharma*, for which reason they are treated as great souls. They are—

- | | | |
|------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------|
| 1. <i>Bhīma</i> , | contemporaneous with the first | Vāsudeva. |
| 2. <i>Mahābhīma</i> | do. | second do. |
| 3. <i>Rudra</i> | do. | third do. |
| 4. <i>Mahārudra</i> | do. | fourth do. |
| 5. <i>Kāla</i> | do. | fifth do. |
| 6. <i>Mahākāla</i> | do. | sixth do. |
| 7. <i>Durmukha</i> | do. | seventh do. |
| 8. <i>Naraka-mukha</i> | do. | eighth do. |
| 9. <i>Adhomukha</i> | do. | ninth do. |

¹ Wilson, *Fishan Purāṇa*, Vol. II, pp. 100-103.—Nābhi, his son Rishabhadeva and Bharata, the latter's son, find a place in the Hindu Purāṇic lists, where Nābhi is said to be the son of Agnidra, King of Jambūdvīpa, son of Priyavrata, King of Antarvāṇa. Also see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II, p. 135, and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXX, p. 248.

² *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 9, p. 259. Nābhi allotted to men the means of subsistence, viz. *ati* (sword), *śaiti* (letters, lit. ink), *ṭṭiśāi* (agriculture), *vāṇijya* (commerce), *paṭupālana* (attendance on cattle).

It was Adhomukha-Nārada that informed Kāṁsa of the whereabouts of Kṛṣṇa, when the latter was spending his boyhood in *Godāvana*.

ELEVEN RUDRAS OR EKĀDAŚA-RUDRAS, as they are popularly called, took to the right spiritual path, setting their hearts on the highest goal, *vis.*, to become liberated (*siddha*), but left off perseverance (in repeated meditation, contemplation, etc.) after some stage. As, however, they had the right faith and had started well, they are destined to become *siddhas* after a few more births (*bhavas*). They are—

1. *Bhīmāvali*.—In some texts he is called Bhīma-bali. He lived in the time of Rishabhadeva. His height was 500 bows, his life-period was 83 lakhs of *pūrvas*, and after death he went to the seventh hell.

2. *Jita-śatru*.—He was contemporaneous with Ajitanātha. His height was 450 bows, his life-period was 72 lakhs of *pūrvas*, and after death he went to the seventh hell.

3. *Rudra*.—He must be distinguished from the third Nārada of the same name. He lived in the time of the ninth Tīrthaṅkara, Suvidhinātha; his height was 100 bows, his life-period was 2 lakhs of *pūrvas*, and after death he went to the sixth hell.

4. *Viśālanayana*.—In some texts his name is given as *Viśvānala*. He was contemporaneous with Śītalānātha, the tenth Tīrthaṅkara; his height was 90 bows, and after living for a lakh of *pūrvas* he went to the sixth hell.

5. *Supratishṭha*.—He was living in the time of the eleventh Tīrthaṅkara, Śreyāṁśa-nātha. His height was 80 bows and after living for 84 lakhs of years he went to the sixth hell.

6. *Achala*.—He was contemporaneous with the twelfth Tīrthaṅkara, Vāsupūjya. His height was 70 bows and his life-period was 60 lakhs of years. After death he went to the sixth hell.

7. *Pundarika*.—He lived in the time of the thirteenth Tīrthaṅkara, Vimalānātha. His height was 60 bows, and after living for 50 lakhs of years he went to the sixth hell.

8. *Ajitandhara*.—Sometimes spelt as Ajitadhara. He lived in the time of Anantanātha, the fourteenth Tīrthaṅkara. His height was 50 bows and after living for 40 lakhs of years he went to the fifth hell.

9. *Jitanābhi*.—He lived in the time of the fifteenth Tīrthaṅkara, Dharmanātha. His height was 28 bows, and his life-period was 20 lakhs of years. After death he went to the fourth hell.

10. *Pīṭha*.—He was contemporaneous with Śāntinātha, the sixteenth Tīrthaṅkara. His height was 24 bows, and after living for one lakh of years he went to the fourth hell.

11. *Sātyaki*.—He lived in the time of Mahāvīra, the last Tīrthaṅkara. His height was seven *hastas* or cubits and after living for 69 years he went to the third hell.

TWENTY-FOUR KĀMA-DEVAS.—There is nothing special to note about the 24 *Kāma-devas*, except that some of them have to be distinguished from their namesakes occurring in other parts of Jaina mythology and iconography. They are as follows :—

1. *Bāhubali*, the brother of Bharata and one of the sons of the first Tirthaṅkara. The colossal figure at Śravaṇa Belgola represents him. There is a bronze image of Bāhubali in the temple at Tiruparuttikunram (pl. xxxvi, fig. 1) which is fashioned like the colossal figure at Śravaṇa Belgola. It stands on a *padmāsana* in the *kāyotsarga* pose, with arms hanging down, and answers well the description of Bāhubali given by Hemachandra¹.
2. *Prajāpati*.
3. *Śrīdhara*.
4. *Darśanabhadra*.
5. *Prasenachandra*, to be distinguished from the thirteenth Manu of the same name.
6. *Chandravarna*.
7. *Agni-yukta*.
8. *Sanat-kumāra*, to be distinguished from the Indra of the *kalpa* of the same name.
9. *Vatsarāja*.
10. *Kanaka-prabha*.
11. *Megha-prabha*.
12. *Śāntinātha*.
13. *Kunthunātha*.
14. *Arahanātha*.
15. *Vijayarāja*.
16. *Śrīchandra*.
17. *Nalārāja*, can be compared with the *Nala* of Hindu mythology, and the hero of the Sanskrit classic *Naishadhha*.
18. *Hanumān*, can be compared with the monkey-devotee of Rāma of Hindu mythology.
19. *Balirāja*.
20. *Vāsudeva*, to be distinguished from the nine *Vāsudevas*.
21. *Pradyumna*, can compare with his namesake in Hindu mythology, the son of Kṛishṇa through Rukmiṇī.
22. *Nāga-kumāra*, to be distinguished from the *Nāgakumāras*, one of the ten classes of the *Bhavanavāsi-devas*.
23. *Jivandhara*.
24. *Jambūsvāmī*.

Sub-human² and hellish souls³ also come under the head of mundane souls. As in Hinduism they are classified according to the various sufferings they have to undergo. There are no pre-eminently great souls among them such as are found among the human (mortal) class of the non-ascetic group of mundane souls.

DEVAS.

Among the four kinds of mundane souls, *viz.*, human, sub-human, hellish and celestial mentioned above (p. 187) the last are the *devas*, so called because they have

¹ "Thinking this, proud, he stood in that very spot in *kāyotsarga*, his arms hanging down, like a jewelled image . . . Bāhubali, remained there alone, as if sprung up from the earth, as if fallen from the sky. Devoted to meditation, his eyes fixed on the end of his nose, motionless, the *muni* appeared like a sign-post . . . Both of his feet were covered with moss caused by dripping water, like the steps of a deserted village-tank . . . He was surrounded completely by creepers with a hundred branches shooting up, like a drum by leather thongs. Dense clusters of reeds grew up and around him, . . . His feet were surrounded by serpents, like anklets, that had left the ant-hill near his feet. See *Trishaṅkṣalākṣṇaṇishacharitra*, pp. 323-5.

² See above, p. 187, under cosmology for details.

³ *Ibid.*

shining constitutions and the following eight heavenly acquisitions:—(1) power to make their bodies very small (*aṇimā*), (2) power to assume any immense dimension (*mahimā*), (3) power to make their bodies light (*laghimā*), (4) power to make them heavy (*garimā*), (5) power to assume any kind of forms as well as any number of bodies at one time (*sakamā*), (6) power to control others (*vaśitva*), (7) overlordship, *i.e.*, power by which they can show their superiority over others (*īśitva*), (8) power to act as they chose (*prākāmya*).

They have fluid or changeable (*vaikriyika*) bodies¹ which they can change at will. The *deva*-body has no flesh, blood and bones, and knows neither sweating nor excretions; it is ever bright and glorious like "a cloud shot with the shining glory of a rising or setting sun."

There are four broad orders or groups of *devas* and they are—

1. *Bhavanavāsi* or residential *devas* (see p. 171).
2. *Vyantara* or peripatetic *devas* (see p. 171).
3. *Jyotishka* or stellar *devas* (see p. 182).
4. *Vaimānika* or heavenly *devas* (see pp. 183-184).

Each order or group has generally ten grades and they are—

1. *Indra*, of supreme authority, like the king of the land. This grade includes a sub-grade, that of the *Prati-Indra*, whose position will correspond to that of the deputy of *Indra*.

2. *Sāmānika*, not so authoritative as *Indra* but still powerful like teacher or father.

3. *Trayastrīṃśa*, so called because the *devas* coming under this grade are 33 in number. Their position will correspond to that of minister, priest or princes of the common land.

4. *Pārīśad*, like courtiers.

5. *Ātmarakṣa*, like body-guards.

6. *Lokapāla*, like the police and other protectors of the people.

7. *Anika*, corresponds to the army.

8. *Prakṛnaka*, like the people, *i.e.*, villagers and townsmen.

9. *Abhiyogya*.—The *devas* that came under this grade formed themselves into conveyances as horse, lion, bullock, swans, *etc.*, for the other grades of *devas*.²

10. *Kilbishika*, like the servile or lowest castes.

The *Vyantaras* and *Jyotishkas* do not have the *Trayastrīṃśa* and *Lokapāla* grades.

The *Bhavanavāsi*, *Vyantara*, *Jyotishka devas* and the *Vaimānikas* of the first two heavens (to be described below) have bodily sexual enjoyment like human beings.

BHAVANAVĀSI-DEVAS.—The *Bhavanavāsi*—*devas* are of ten classes, and they are.—

1. *Asura-kumāra*, with a crest-jewel cognizance (*chihna*).
2. *Nāga-kumāra*, with a snake hood cognizance.
3. *Suparna-kumāra*, with a garuḍa bird cognizance.

¹ In Jainism mundane souls have always at least three bodies:—(1) *Kārmāṇa* body or the body made up of *kārmā* matter which changes according to the intensity or mildness of the motives and actions we are doing by means of mind, speech and body, (2) *Taijasa* body, luminous or electric body, which is co-extensive with the *kārmāṇa* body, (3) *Ādāraka* body or physical body.

² According to Hemachandra they were like slaves.

4. *Dvīpa-kumāra*, with an elephant cognizance.
5. *Udadhi-kumāra*, with a *makara* cognizance.
6. *Vidyut-kumāra*, with a powder-flask cognizance.
7. *Stamita-kumāra*, with a thunderbolt cognizance.
8. *Dik-kumāra*, with a lion cognizance.
9. *Agni-kumāra*, with a vessel containing fire as his cognizance.
10. *Vāta-kumāra*, with a horse cognizance.

They are all called *kumāras* or youngsters because their lives and actions are like those of playful youths (*kumāras*). All the *Bhavanavāsi-devas* live in the first earth, *Ratna-prabhā*,¹ the *Asura-kumāras* alone living in the *pañka-bhāga* and the other classes living in the *khara-bhāga*. The thought-colours (*leśyas*) of the *Bhavanavāsi-devas* are black, indigo, grey and yellow. Their minimum age is 10,000 years while their maximum is as follows:—

One *sāgara* for *Asura-kumāras*; 3 *palya* for *Nāga-kumāras*; $2\frac{1}{2}$ *palya* for *Suparna-kumāras*; 3 *palya* for *Dvīpa-kumāras*; and $1\frac{1}{2}$ *palya* for the remaining six classes.

The *Asura-kumāras* are 25 bows (*dhanus*) high and the other *kumāras* are 10 bows high. There are 20 *Indras*, two for each of the 10 divisions of the *Bhavanavāsi-devas*. They are arranged as follows:—

Chamara and Vairochana are the two *Indras* of the *Asura-kumāras*. Bhūtānanda and Dharaṇānanda are the *Indras* of the *Nāga-kumāras*. Veṇu and Veṇudhārī are the *Indras* of the *Suparna-kumāras*; Pūrṇa and Vasiṣṭha² of the *Dvīpa-kumāras*; Jalaprabha and Jalakānta of the *Udadhi-kumāras*; Ghosha and Mahāghosha of the *Vidyut-kumāras*; Harisheṇa and Harikānta of the *Stamita-kumāras*; Amitagati and Amitavāhana of the *Dik-kumāras*; Agniśikhī and Agnivāhana of the *Agni-kumāras*; Velamba and Prabhañjana of the *Vāta-kumāras*.

Chamara often fights with Saudharmendra; Bhūtānanda with Veṇu. From Vairochana onwards the enmity is between the alternating *Indras*, as for instance between Vairochana and Dharaṇānanda and so on.

VIANTARA-DEVAS.—There are eight classes of these *devas*:—

1. *Kinnara*, with the *āsoka* tree as cognizance.³
2. *Kimpurnsha*, with the *chāmpaka* as cognizance.
3. *Mahoraga*, with the *nāga* tree as cognizance.
4. *Gandharva*, with the *tumburu* tree as cognizance.
5. *Yaksha*, with the banyan tree as cognizance.
6. *Rākshasa*, with the *kaṇṭa* tree⁴ as cognizance.
7. *Bhūta*, with the *tulasī* plant as cognizance.⁵
8. *Pisācha*, with the *kadamba* tree as cognizance.

Some of the *Vyantara-devas* live in the innumerable oceans and continents of the middle world.⁶ The *Rākshasas* live in the *pañka-bhāga* of *Ratnaprabhā*, while the other seven classes live in the *khara-bhāga* of the same earth.

¹ See above, p. 171 for details.

² Vasiṣṭha according to Hemachandra.

³ Here the trees, though they are the distinguishing marks, are spoken of as *chāyā-taru*. See *Trilokaiṇdra*, v. 253.

⁴ *Kaṇṭa* tree according to Hemachandra.

⁵ *Sulasa* tree according to Hemachandra.

⁶ See above, pp. 171, 179 under cosmology for details.

The maximum age of the *Vyantara-devas* is a little over one *palya* while the minimum is 10,000 years. Their height is 10 bows (*dhanus*). There are 16 *Indras* for the whole order, two for each class, each with his own deputy or *Prati-Indra*. The *Indras* are arranged as follows:—

Kinnara and Kimpurusha are the *Indras* of the Kinnara class, Satpurusha and Mahapurusha of the Kimpurusha class, Mahākāya and Atikāya of the *Mahoraga* class, Gitarati and Gitayaśas of the *Gandharva* class, Mañibhadra and Pūrṇabhadra of the *Yaksha* class, Bhīma and Mahābhīma of the *Rākshasas*, Surūpa and Prati-rūpa¹ of the *Bhūtas*, and Kāla and Mahākāla of the *Piśāchas*. Each *Indra* has two principal consorts (*vallabhikā*).

Each class of *Vyantara-devas* is subdivided as follows:—

Kinnara has 10 subdivisions—1. Kimpurusha, 2. Kinnara, 3. Hridayaṅgama, 4. Rūpapālī, 5. Kinnara-kinnara, 6. Anindita, 7. Manorama, 8. Kinnarottama, 9. Ratipriya and 10. Jyeshtha.

Kimpurusha has 10 subdivisions—1. Purusha, 2. Purushottama, 3. Satpurusha, 4. Mahapurusha, 5. Purushaprabha, 6. Atipurusha, 7. Maru, 8. Marudeva, 9. Marut-prabha and 10. Yaśasvān.

Mahoraga has 10 subdivisions—1. Bhujaga, 2. Bhujagaśālī, 3. Mahākāya, 4. Atikāya, 5. Skandhaśālī, 6. Manohara, 7. Aśanijava, 8. Mahaiśvarya, 9. Gambhīra and 10. Priyadarśin.

Gandharva has 10 subdivisions—1. Hāhā, 2. Hūhū, 3. Nārada, 4. Tumburu, 5. ? 6. Kadamba, 7. Vāsava, 8. Mahāśvara, 9. Gitarati and 10. Gitayaśas.

Yaksha has 12 subdivisions—1. Mañibhadra, 2. Pūrṇabhadra, 3. Śailabhadra, 4. Manobhadra, 5. Bhadraka, 6. Subhadra, 7. Sarvabhadra, 8. Mānusha, 9. Dhanapāla, 10. Surūpa-yaksha, 11. Yakshottama and 12. Manohara.

Rākshasa has seven subdivisions—1. Bhīma, 2. Mahābhīma, 3. Vighnavināyaka², 4. Uḍaku, 5. Rākshasa, 6. Rākshasarākshasa and 7. Brahmarākshasa.

Bhūta has seven subdivisions—1. Surūpa, 2. Prati-rūpa, 3. Bhūtottama, 4. Prati-bhūta, 5. Mahābhūta, 6. Praticchhanna and 7. Ākāśabhūta.

Piśācha has 14 subdivisions—1. Kūshmāṇḍa, 2. Rakshas, 3. Yakshas, 4. Sammoha, 5. Tāraka, 6. Aśuchi, 7. Kāla, 8. Mahākāla, 9. Śuchi, 10. Satalaka, 11. Deha, 12. Mahādeha, 13. Tūshṭika and 14. Pravachana.³

JYOTISHKA-DEVAS.—There are five classes of them:—1. Suns, 2. Moons, 3. Planets, 4. Constellations and 5. Scattered stars.⁴

¹ Aprati-rūpa according to Hemachandra.

² Corresponds to the Hindu *Ganaka*.

³ According to Hemachandra the *Vyantaras* are divided as follows:—In the first 100 *yojanas* of *Ratnaprabha*, with the exception of 10 above and 10 below, i.e., in 80 *yojanas*, there are 8 classes of *Vyantaras*: Aprajñaptikas, Piśāchaprājñaptis, Rishivāditas, Bhūtavāditas, Kranditas, Mahākranditas, Kūshmāṇḍas, Pachakas. The two *Indras* in these classes are respectively, Sammihita and Samāna; Dhātṛi and Vidhātṛika; Rishi and Rishipāla; Iśvara and Mahāiśvara; Suvatsaka and Viśala; Hāsa and Hāsarati; Śveta and Mahāśveta; Pachaka and Pachakādhipa—*Triśaṣṭiśatīkākāpurāṇacharitra*, p. 383.

Mrs. Stevenson calls the above subdivisions *Pāṇavāntaras* and assigns them the lower regions. See *Heart of Jātum*, p. 270.

⁴ See above, pp. 182-183 under cosmology for details.

Their *Indra* is the sun and *Prati-Indra* the moon. Their maximum age is a little over one *palya*, while their minimum is $\frac{1}{8}$ *palya*. The suns and moons have each 16,000 *Abhiyogika-devas*, the planets 8,000, the constellations 4,000 and the scattered stars 2,000.

VAIMĀNIKA-DEVAS.—They are of two classes:—1. *Kalpapapannas* or *Kalpavāsi-devas*, born in the *kalpas* which are 16 in number¹ and 2. *Kalpātittas*, born beyond the *kalpas*, i.e., in the nine *Grāiveyakas*, nine *Anudīśas* and five *Anuttaras*². Those that live in the *kalpas* are named after the heavens in which they live. There are 12 *Indras* for these 16 *kalpas* and they are distributed as follows:—

1. Saudharma-*Indra* for the first heaven, Saudharma. He corresponds to the Hindu Devendra and his wife is Śachī. He is much the most important, being the only one commonly sculptured; he is frequently figured also with his wife Śachī on ceilings and on the lower jambs of the doorways of temples.

2. Īśāna-*Indra* in the second *kalpa*, Aīśāna.

3. Sanatkumāra-*Indra* in the third, Sanatkumāra.

4. Māhendra in the fourth, Māhendra.

5. Brahmendra in the fifth and sixth *kalpas*, Brahma and Brahmottara.

6. Lāntava in the seventh and eighth, Lāntava and Kāpishṭa.

7. Śukra in the ninth and tenth, Śukra and Mahāśukra.

8. Śatāra in the eleventh and twelfth, Śatāra and Sahasrāra.

9. Ānata in the thirteenth, Ānata.

10. Prāṇata in the fourteenth, Prāṇata.

11. Āraṇa in the fifteenth, Āraṇa.

12. Achyuta in the sixteenth, Achyuta.

There are no grades nor *Indras*³ in the heavens beyond the *kalpas*, viz., the *Grāiveyakas*, *Anudīśas* and *Anuttaras*,⁴ for the inhabitants of those heavens are called "Ahamindras" (i.e., lit. "I am Indra") and are all alike.

The *devas* are spontaneously born, without either pregnancy or labour attendant upon their birth. A mundane soul to be born as a *deva* rises as it were from a couch (*śayyā*) of "divine space." There is no neuter sex in the upper world. In each heaven

¹ See above p. 183 under cosmology for details.

² See above pp. 183-184 under cosmology.

³ The total number of *Indras* in the Jaina pantheon is 100 and is arrived at as follows:—

	<i>Indra</i>	<i>Prati-Indra</i>
Bhavanavāsi-devas	20	20
Vyantara-devas	16	16
Jyotiṣṭha-devas	1	1
Vaimānika-devas	12	12
Human	4	—
Sub-human	1	—
	51	49 = Total 100.

The *Indra* of human beings is called Chakravartī and the *Indra* of sub-human beings Singha. Both have no *Prati-Indras*.

⁴ See above, pp. 183-184 under cosmology.

there are many *devīs*, each *deva* having many *devīs* in his family. No *deva* has less than 32 *devīs*. Each *deva* and *devī* has a retinue of numerous minor *devas* and *devīs*, and also a host of *vāhanas*, elephants, horses, bulls, etc. It should be noted that every animal is an *abhiyogya-deva* or menial *deva* transformed on account of his fluid body.

The *devas* of the first two *kalpas* as well as all beings living below them have physical sexual union. The *devas* in the third and fourth *kalpas* have sexual gratification by touch only; in the fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth *kalpas* by sight only, *i.e.*, by seeing their loved ones; in the ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth *kalpas* by sound alone, *i.e.*, by songs, etc.; in the thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth *kalpas* by mind only, *i.e.*, by contemplating the charms of their beloved. The heavenly beings beyond the sixteenth *kalpa* have no sexual impulse, and there are no *devīs*, the only sex that is known there being the male sex. Their bliss is infinite, unlike that of the *devas* who marry.

In the fifth *kalpa*, Brahma, which is situated in the upper world in the place that corresponds to the elbow of the man representing the universe (pl. xxxvii), live a special kind of *devas* called *Laukāntikas* so called because they have reached the end of the universe. They are called *deva-rishis* because they are all alike, independent and without sexual desire. They are of 24 classes in the following eight groups:—*Sārasvata*, *Āditya*, *Vahni*, *Aruṇa*, *Gardatoya*, *Tushita*, *Avyābādha* and *Arishta*. The total number of the *Laukāntikas* is given as 407,806. They descend and attend to the *Tīrthaṅkaras* when the latter get the spirit of "world-flight" (*vairāgya*).¹ Their good offices, coupled with the fact that they are in their celestial incarnation, entitles them to be born as human beings in their next birth and to attain liberation then.

In *Saudharma* there are 32 lakhs of palaces of the *devas*; in *Aiśāna*, *Sanatkumāra*, *Māhendra*, and *Brahma* there are 28, 12, 8 and 4 lakhs, respectively. There are 50,000 in *Lāntava*, 40,000 in *Śukra*, 6,000 in *Sahasrāra*, 400 in *Ānata* and *Prāṇata*, and 300 in *Āraṇa* and *Achyuta*. In the first three *Graiveyakas* there are 111, in the middle three 107, and in the last three 100 palaces. There are only five in the five *Anuttaras*, one for each. Women are born up to *Aiśāna*, ascetics are born up to the *Jyotishkas*, wandering monks are born up to *Brahma-kalpa*, five-sensed creatures are born up to *Sahasrāra*, laymen are born up to *Achyuta*, and monks having wrong belief but observing the austerities in good faith up to the *Graiveyakas*. Those who have studied the 14 *pūrvas* are born from *Brahma-kalpa* up to the last *Anuttara-vimāna*. Monks and laymen of good behaviour are born at least in the first *kalpa*.

The thought-colours (*śeṣyas*) of the *devas* are as follows:—Yellow in the first and second *kalpas*; yellow-pink in the third and fourth *kalpas*; pink in fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth and tenth *kalpas*; pink-white in eleventh and twelfth *kalpas*; white in the remaining four *kalpas* and the higher regions which are collectively called *kalpātītas* as opposed to the *kalpas*.

¹ See above, pp. 94-95.

The maximum and minimum ages of the *devas* are as follows:—A little over two *sāgaras* is the maximum age in the first and second *kalpas*, while the minimum in these two *kalpas* is a little over one *palya*; in the third and fourth *kalpas* the maximum is a little over seven *sāgaras*. Further on the maximum age of the preceding *kalpa* becomes the minimum for the next *kalpa*. The maximum age in the fifth and sixth *kalpas* is a little over ten *sāgaras*. The age of the *Laukāntikas* who live in the fifth *kalpa* is eight *sāgaras* which is both the minimum and the maximum for them, while the minimum for the other *devas* in the same *kalpa* is seven *sāgaras* (the maximum of the fourth *kalpa*) and the maximum ten *sāgaras*. The maximum age in the seventh and eighth *kalpas* is a little over fourteen *sāgaras*; in the ninth and tenth a little over sixteen *sāgaras*; in the eleventh and twelfth a little over eighteen *sāgaras*; in the thirteenth and fourteenth twenty *sāgaras* and in the fifteenth and sixteenth 22 *sāgaras*. In each of the nine *Graiveyakas* it increases by one *sāgara*, i.e., it is 23 to 31 *sāgaras*, respectively. In the nine *Anudīśas* it is 32 *sāgaras*; in the first four *Anuttaras* it is 33 *sāgaras* as a rule but in the last *Anuttara*, *Sarvārthasiddhi*, it is never less than 33 *sāgaras*.

The size of the *devas* goes on decreasing as we go up to the higher heavens. Thus:—

In the first and second *kalpas* it is about seven hands or cubits (*hasta*).

In the third and fourth *kalpas* it is about six hands or cubits (*hasta*).

In the fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth *kalpas* it is about five hands or cubits (*hasta*).

In the ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth *kalpas* it is about four hands or cubits (*hasta*).

In the thirteenth and fourteenth *kalpas* it is about three and a half hands or cubits (*hasta*).

In the fifteenth and sixteenth *kalpas* it is about three hands or cubits (*hasta*).

In the first, second and third *Graiveyakas* it is two and a half hands or cubits (*hasta*).

In the fourth, fifth and sixth *Graiveyakas* it is two hands or cubits (*hasta*).

In the seventh, eighth and ninth *Graiveyakas* it is one and a half hands or cubits (*hasta*).

In the *Anudīśas* it is one hand or cubit (*hasta*).

In the five *Anuttaras* also it is one hand or cubit (*hasta*).

The *devas* breathe extremely slowly, for their respiration occurs only at fixed interval, which is of a fortnight for each *sāgara* of their maximum age. Thus, for instance, the *devas* of the first and second *kalpas*, whose maximum age is a little over two *sāgaras* breathe once in two fortnights, i.e., once a month.

The *devas* have the sensation of hunger, though they do not ordinarily take food. It arises at fixed intervals, the intervals being the number of years which is 1,000 times the number of *sāgaras* constituting their maximum age. Thus as the maximum age of the *devas* of the first two *kalpas* is a little over two *sāgaras* their hunger interval works to

2,000 years. If we compare the hunger interval with the respiration period we find that a *deva* has the sensation of hunger in 2,000 years, if one respiration takes a month or two fortnights; in other words one hunger interval covers 24,000 respirations, as 2,000 years have 24,000 months.

From the first *kalpa* onwards up to *Sarvārthasiddhi* the *devas* become stronger in each successive heaven in respect of duration of life, power, enjoyment, brilliance, purity of *leśya* (thought-colour), sense-faculties, and visual or clairvoyant knowledge; in respect of attachment to worldly objects, pride, height of body and sexual impulses they become weaker and weaker successively. All the *devas* usually have pleasant feelings, but if they cherish any unpleasant ones these last only for one *antarmuhūrta*.

The *devas* of the *kalpas* attend the ceremonial worship of the Tirthaṅkaras whenever the five kinds of auspicious events (*pañchakalyāṇas*) associated with every Tirthaṅkara happen; but the *Ahamindras* do not go out of their heavens, merely worshipping the Tirthaṅkaras on those occasions by placing their hands in *añjali* over their heads.

OTHER DEVAS AND DEVĪS.

Among other celestial souls that are pre-eminently great, mention may be made of sixteen *Vidyā-devīs* or *devīs* of learning common to both the sects, who are included among the *Yakṣiṇīs* described above (pp. 193, 195). They are as follows:—

1. Rohiṇī, 2. Prajñaptī, 3. Vajrasṛiṅkhala, 4. Kuṣiṅkuṣā, 5. Chakreśvarī, 6. Nara-dattā, 7. Kālī, 8. Mahākālī, 9. Gaurī, 10. Gāndhārī, 11. Sarvāstramahājvalā, 12. Mānavī, 13. Vairotṣyā, 14. Achchhuptā, 15. Mānasī, 16. Mahāmānasikā.

Sarasvatī, the Hindu goddess of learning, is regarded as a messenger (*śāsanadevī*) of all the Tirthaṅkaras and is figured in temples and private houses. She is usually shown with four hands but sometimes with two hands only. In the former case she ordinarily holds a *vinā* in two of her hands, and a lotus or rosary and a book in the other two; in the latter the *vinā* is alone held by both her hands. The swan (*haṁsa*) is her cognizance or *vāhana*. Sometimes, however, her upper hands hold a goad and noose and her lower hands a rosary and book; and the hair on her head is arranged in the form of a *jatā-makuta*. There is a bronze image of *Sarasvatī*, almost modern looking, used in worship in the Tiruparuttikūṇṇam temple (pl. xxxv, fig. 2) which answers this description pretty strictly.

In some Jaina temples large figures are shown as guards or *Dvārapālas* at the entrance of shrines as in Hindu temples, who can be treated as *devas*. The *Dikpālas* or the guardians of the quarters, the *Yoginīs*, *Jñātidevatās* and Hanumān that have representations in the larger Jaina temples can also be classed under *devas*, though perhaps Hanumān alone, who compares well with the Hindu monkey-devotee of Rāma, can be treated as a pre-eminently great soul among the sub-human class of mundane souls¹.

¹ See above, pp. 187, 227.

Jaina iconography finds a place, as does Hindu iconography, for the *Kshetrapālas* who have to be classed under *devas*. Their functions are much the same as those of the Hindu Gaṇeśa and Vishvaksena, being removal of obstacles from the way of their devotees. They are classed by Āśādhara under the *Yaksha* group of the *Vyantara-devas*¹. They are—

1. Māṇibhadra ; 2. Bhairava. There is a stone image of Bhairava in worship in the temple of Tiruparuttikunṇam which is similar in every respect to the Hindu form of this deity ; 3. Virabhadra² ; 4. Jaya ; and 5. Vijaya³.

¹ See above, pp. 229-230.

² Can be compared with the Hindu Virabhadra.

³ Āśādhara, *Pūjapāṭha*, p. 78 :—

Prathamā Māṇibhadraika dvitīya Bhairava-tatāḥ |
Tritīya Virabhadra-cha caturtha Jayajñānakāḥ ||
Pañcama Vijaya-chaivam Kshetrapālā ami turāḥ |
Yakṣe kṛte bhavāḥ kṣyātāḥ vīṛav:ghānavighātakāḥ ||

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		Vṛṣabhāsena ...	193		

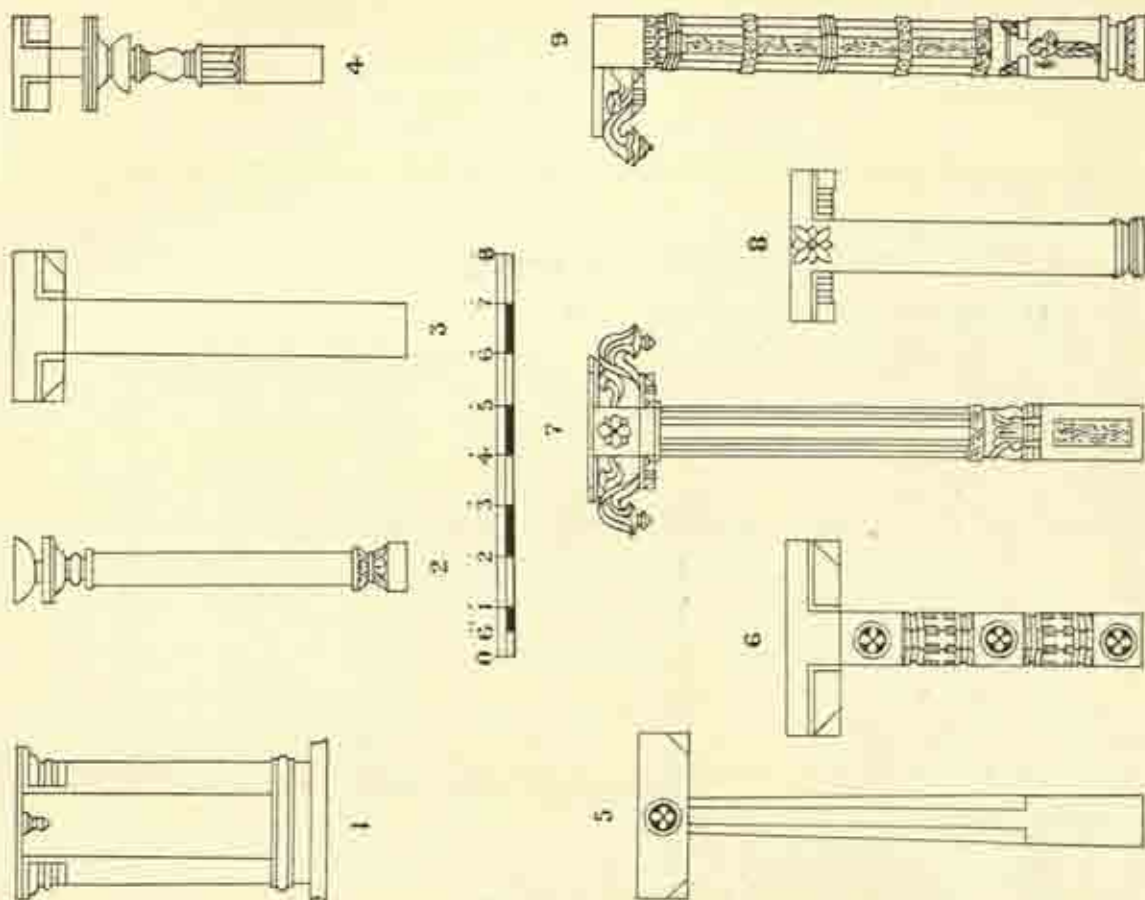
	PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
<i>Yāji</i>	102, 121, 126, 127, 132, 188	<i>Yāsodā</i>	117	<i>Yoginī</i>	234
<i>Yamaka</i>	177	<i>Yāsodhara</i>	10, 100, 113n	<i>Yojana</i>	83, 84, 106, 106n, 108, 132, 148, 165, 166, 170, 171, 171n, 173, 173n, 174-177, 179, 180, 181, 182, 182n, 183, 184, 190, 230n
<i>Yamunā R.</i>	137, 138	<i>Yāsodharā</i>	154n		
<i>Yāsa</i> (Gaṇadhara) ...	195	<i>Yāsomati</i>	220	<i>Yuan Chwang</i>	4n
<i>Yāsavān</i> (a Mann) ...	224	<i>Yatī</i>	40	<i>Yūka</i>	166
Do. (of Kimpurusha class)	230	<i>Yatindra</i>	41	<i>Yūpaka</i>	179
<i>Yāsasvatī</i>	65, 85, 87	<i>Yava-madhyā</i>	166	<i>Yuvarāja</i>	8n
<i>Yāsavin</i>	224	<i>Yavanas</i>	177		
<i>Yāsobhadra</i>	216	<i>Yenür</i>	48, 191		
<i>Yāsobhadrāchārya</i> ...	217	<i>Yoga</i>	103, 104, 113		
		<i>Yoga-sūtra</i>	191n		

PLATE I.

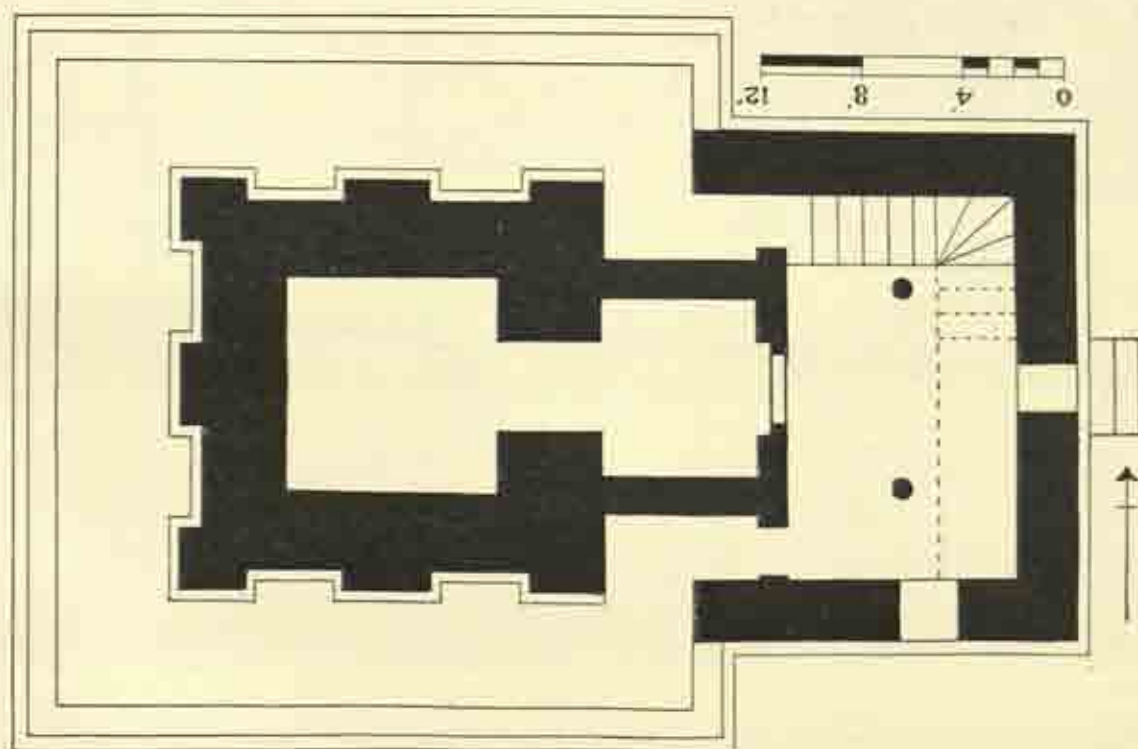
A. Ground plan of Chandraprabha temple.

B. Details of architecture—

- | | |
|--|------------------------------|
| 1. Pallava niche (Rājasimha style). | } From Chandraprabha temple, |
| 2. Pallava pilaster (do.). | |
| 3. Chola pillar (870—1250 A.D.). | } From Vardhamāna temple. |
| 4. Chola pilaster (do.). | |
| 5. Early Vijayanagara pillar (1350—1450 A.D.). | |
| 6. Late Chola pillar (1070—1250 A.D.). | |
| 7. Early Vijayanagara pillar (1350—1450 A.D.). | |
| 8. Do. do. | |
| 9. Do. do. | |



B
DETAILS OF ARCHITECTURE.

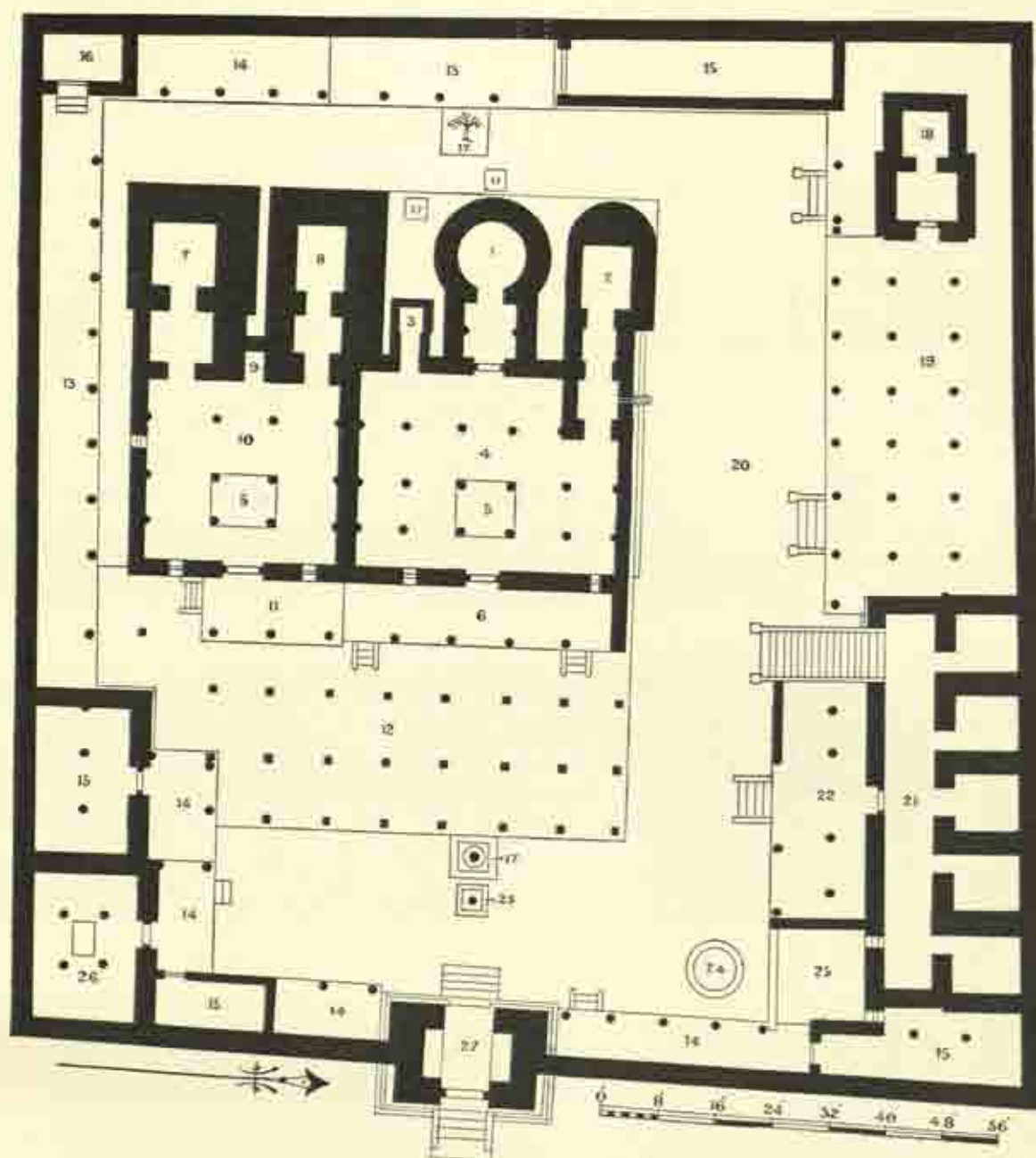


A
PLAN OF CHANDUKAPRABHA TEMPLE.

PLATE II.

Ground plan of Vardhamāna temple—

1. Vardhamāna shrine.
2. Pushpadanta do.
3. Dharmadevi do.
4. Vardhamāna-Ardhamandapa.
5. Elevations.
6. Vardhamāna-Mukhamandapa.
7. Padmaprabha shrine
8. Vāsudējya shrine
9. Pārśvanātha shrine
10. Trikūṭa-Basti-Ardhamandapa.
11. Trikūṭa-Basti-Mukhamandapa.
12. Saṅgīta-Mandapa.
13. Cloister.
14. Verandas.
15. Store-rooms.
16. Brahmadeva shrine.
17. Balipīṭhas, one with the "Kōra " tree on it.
18. Rishabhadeva shrine.
19. Śanti-Mandapa.
20. Processional path.
21. Munivāsa.
22. Munivāsa-Mandapa.
23. Dhvaja-Stambha or flag-staff.
24. Temple well.
25. A small garden.
26. Kitchen (maṇḍapaḥi).
27. Gopura.



PLAN OF VARDHAMANA TEMPLE.

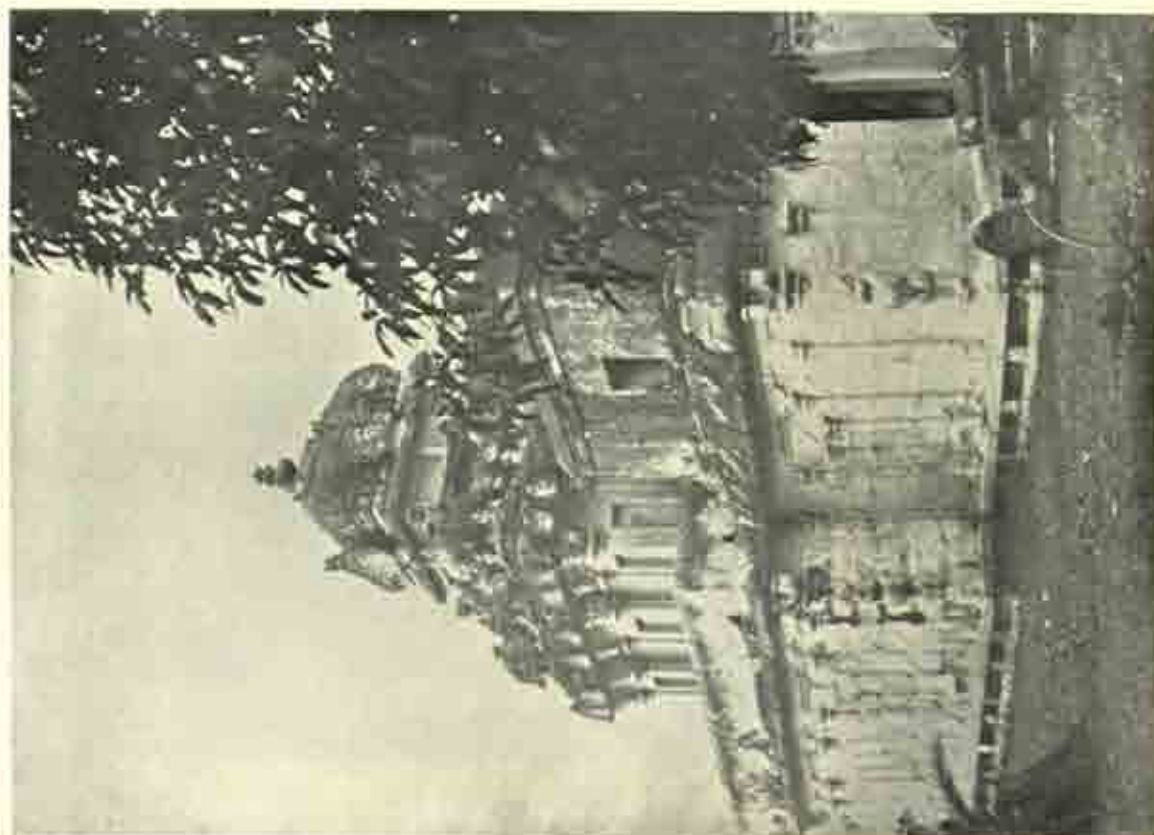
PLATE III

1. Chandraprabha temple.
2. Image of Vardhamāna from the Vardhamāna shrine, Vardhamāna temple.



2

IMAGE OF VARDHAMANA.

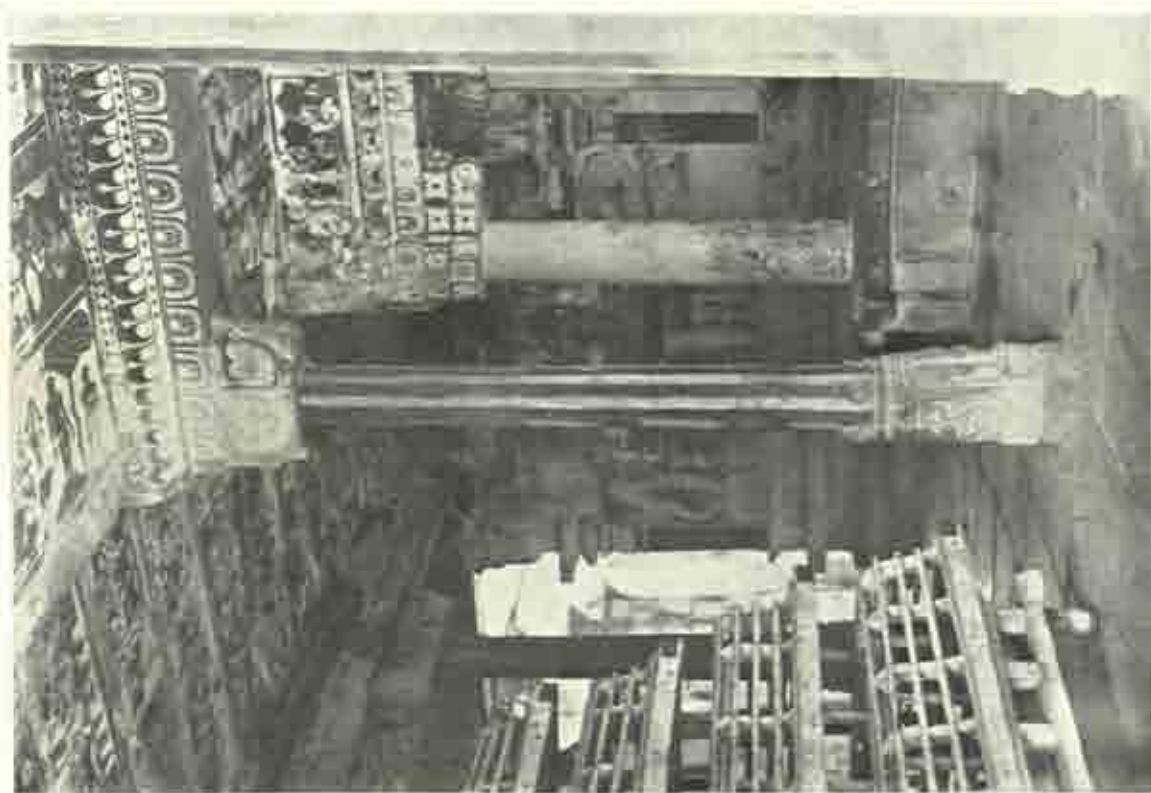


1

CHANDRAPRABHA TEMPLE.

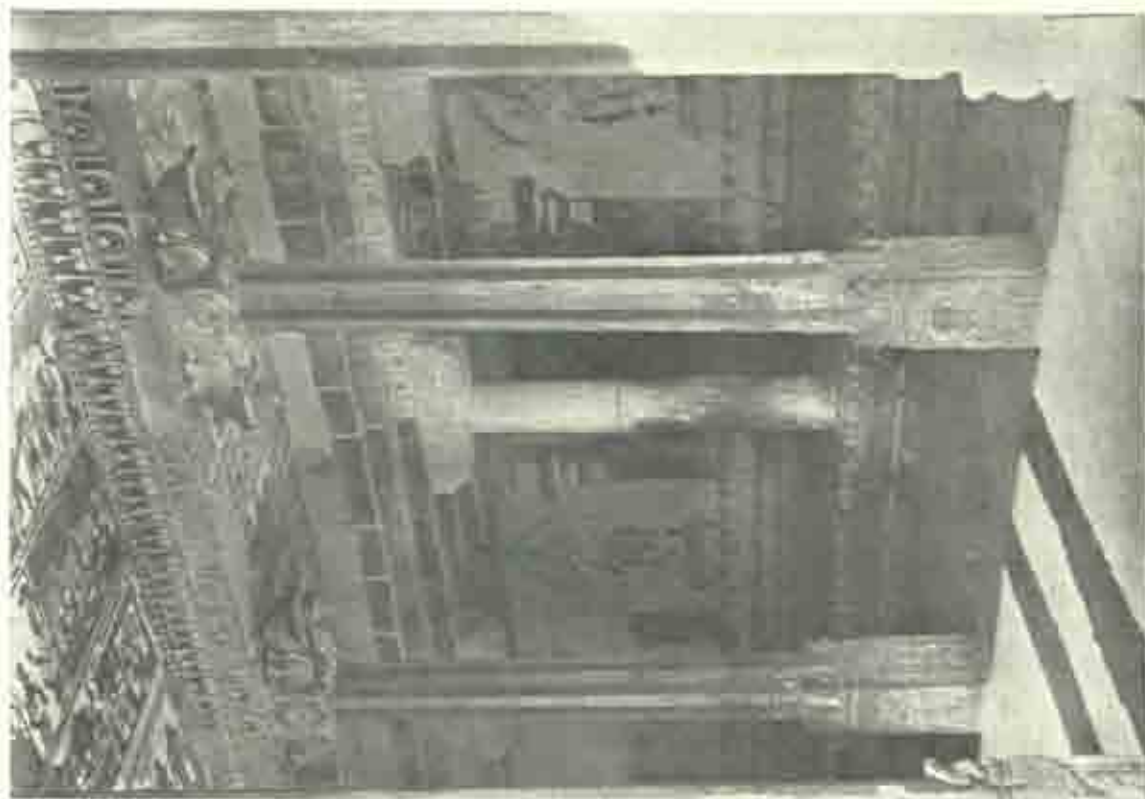
PLATE IV.

1. Left wing of Saṅgita-Maṇḍapa, Vardhamāna temple.
2. Right wing of do. do.



1

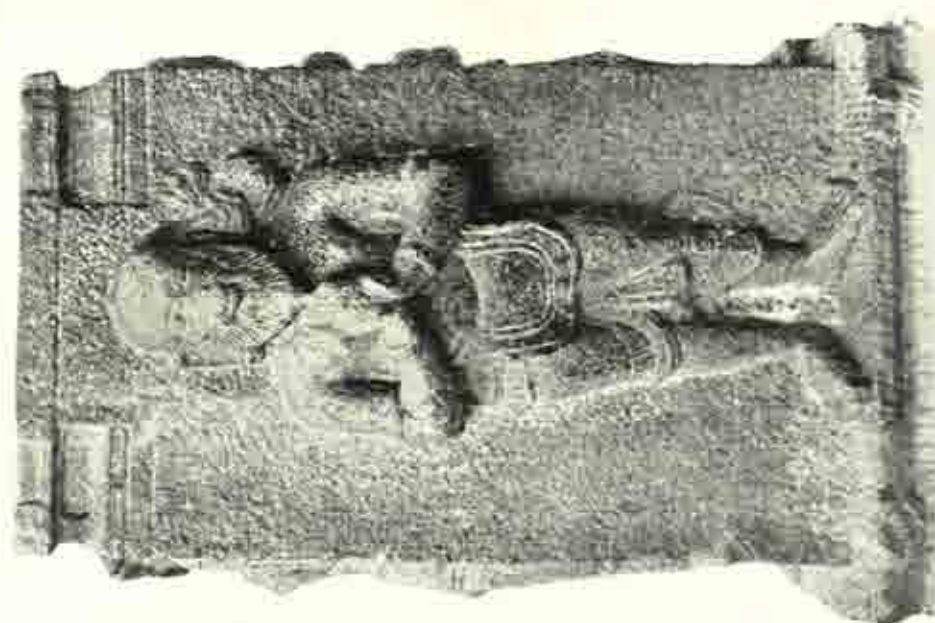
SANGITA-MANDAPA, VARDHAMANA TEMPLE



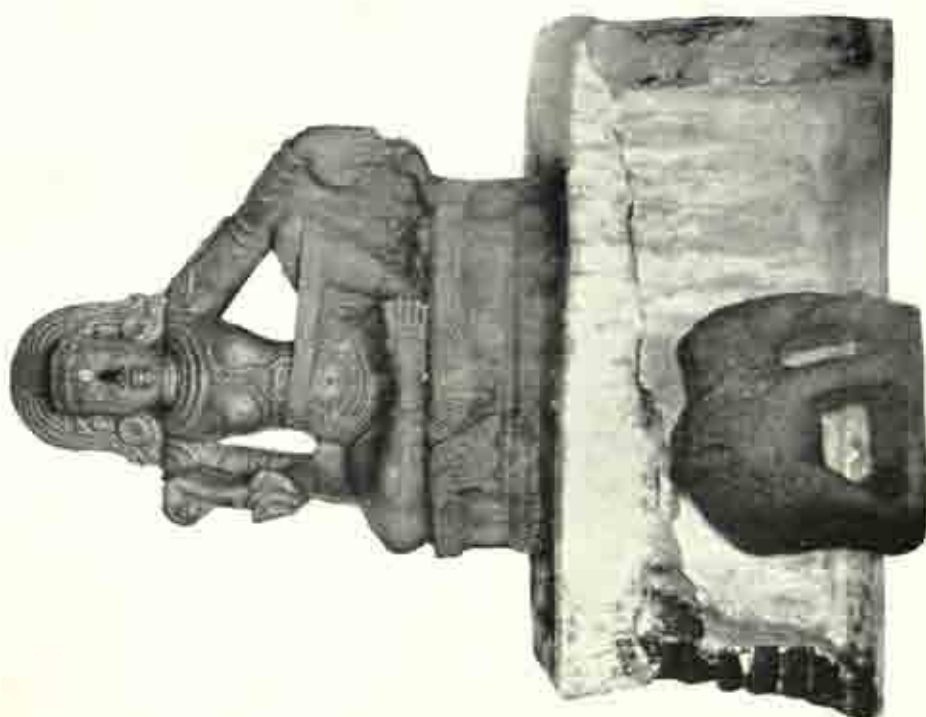
2

PLATE V.

1. Portrait of Irugappa from Saṅgita-Maṇḍapa, Vardhamāna temple.
2. Brahmadeva Yaksha, Vardhamāna temple.



1
TRUGAPPA.



2
BRAHMADEVA YAKSHA.

PLATE VI.

1. Fragment of early painting showing floral design, Saṅgita-Maṇḍapa.
2. Do. women on horseback, Saṅgita-Maṇḍapa.
3. Do. floral design, Saṅgita-Maṇḍapa.
4. *Samādhi* of five sages from Aruṇagiri-mēḍu, Tiruparuttikunram.

1



2



3

4



EARLY PAINTINGS; SAMADHI.

PLATE VII

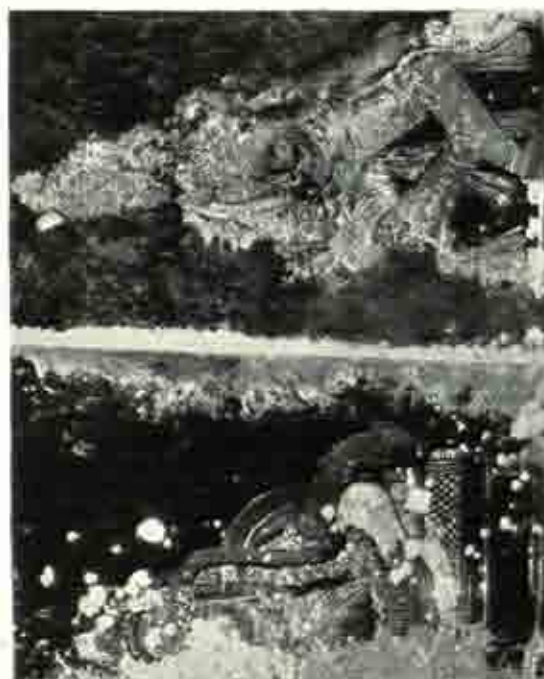
Fragments of early painting representing scenes from the life of Vardhamāna—

1. Subduing Saṅgama.
2. Saudharmendra's dance before Vardhamāna after returning from *janmābhisheka*.
3. *Samavasāraṇa* of Vardhamāna.
4. *Janmābhisheka* of Vardhamāna.
5. Nativity of Vardhamāna.

3



2



1



5



4

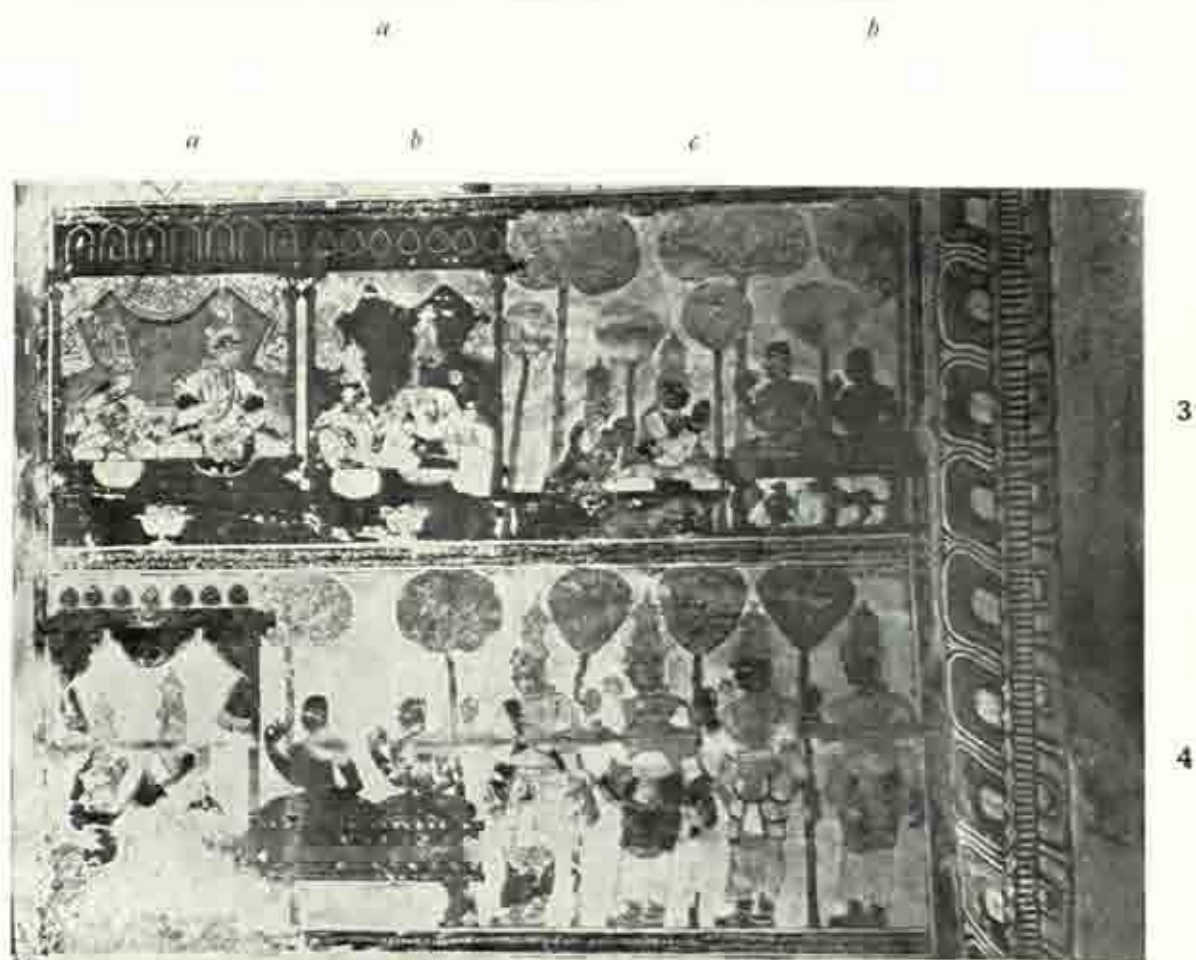


EARLY PAINTING; SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF VARDHAMANA.

PLATE VIII

Scenes from the life of Rishabhadeva, the first Tirthaṅkara—

1. (a) Śrīsheṇa Mahārāja and his queen Sundarī.
(b) Śrivarman.
(c) Jayavarman receiving *dīkshā* at the hands of Svayamprabha.
(d) Death of Jayavarman by snake-bite.
2. (a) The Vidyādhara king Mahābala and his wife listening to their minister Svayambuddha.
(b) Mahābala performing with his minister *āshtāṇhika-vrata* in Siddhakūta-chaityālaya.
3. (a) The *deva* Lalitāṅga and his wife Svayamprabhā.
(b) King Vajrajaṅgha and his wife Śrīmātī.
(c) King Vajrajaṅgha and Śrīmātī hearing from *chārāṇa* sages their previous births, along with their minister, priest, general and treasurer. Four animals, a tiger, monkey, boar and mongoose also listen.
4. The king and queen who were born as a couple in *Uttamabhogabhūmī* listening to *dharma* from *chārāṇa* sages. The four animals, tiger, monkey, boar and mongoose of the previous birth are now born as Āryas and are also listening to *dharma* from the same sages.



SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF RISHABHADEVA.

PLATE IX.

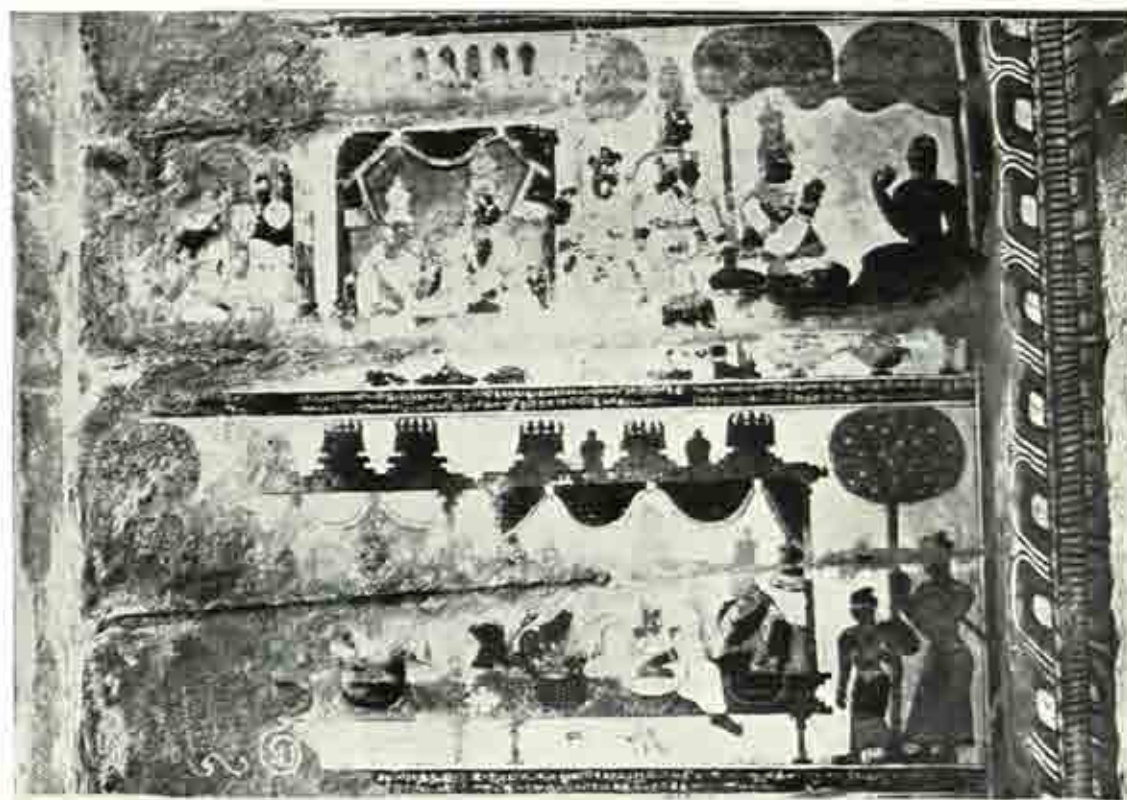
Scenes from the life of Rishabhadeva—

5. (a) The *deva* Śrīdhara and his wife.
(b) King Suvidhi and his wife Manoramā.
(c) Disgusted with worldly life Suvidhi received *dīkṣhā* from a sage.
6. (a) Achyutendra and his wife.
(b) King Vajranābhi and his queens.
7. (a) Vajranābhi's minister Dhanadeva-śreṣṭhi going in a palanquin.
(b) Aparājita riding an elephant.
(c) Vaijayanta and Jayanta riding an elephant.
8. (a) Subāhu and Mahābāhu riding a chariot.
(b) Piṭha on elephant-back.
(c) Mahāpiṭha and Vijaya riding horses.

a

b

c



5

6

a

b

a

b

c



7

8

a

b

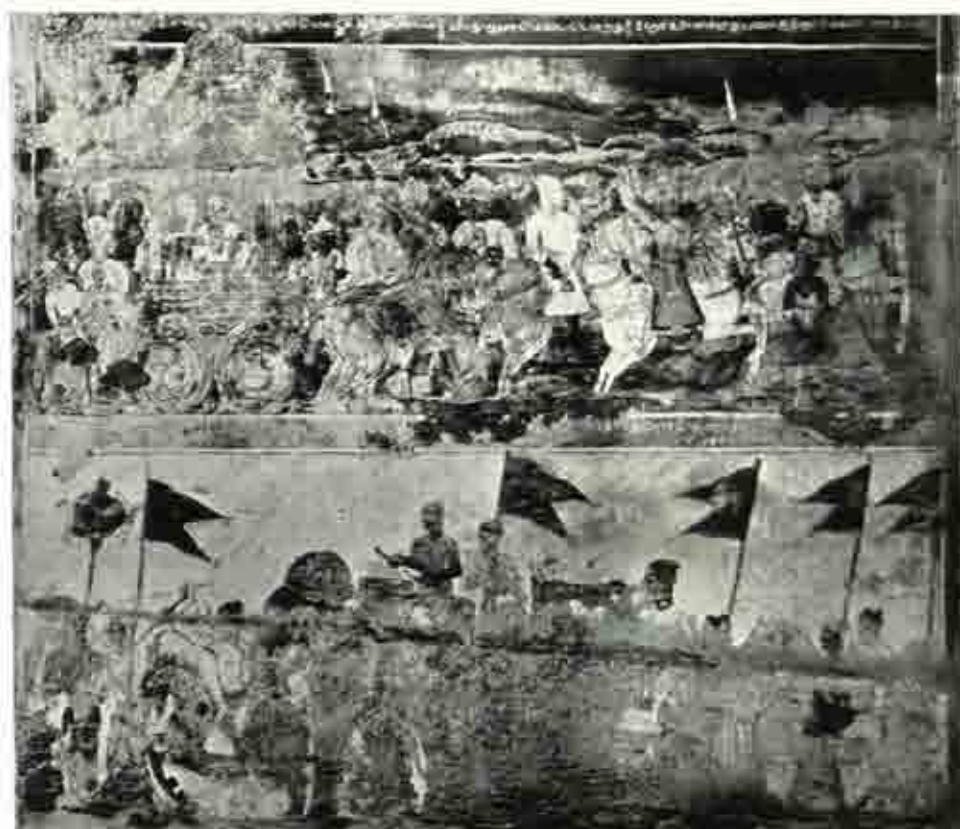
c

SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF RISHABHADEVA.

PLATE X.

Scenes from the life of Rishabhadeva—

9. Vajranābhi going with his brothers and merchant-friend to Vajrasena Tīrthāṅkara to hear from the latter an exposition of *dharma*.
10. Do, do, do.
11. (a) Vajranābhi receiving *dīkshā* at the hands of Vajrasena Tīrthāṅkara.
(b) Vajranābhi born as an *Ahamindra-deva*, in the heaven Sarvārthasiddhi.
12. The king's brothers and merchant-friend also born as *Ahamindra-devas*.
13. The ten *kalpaka-vṛkṣas* or "wish-trees."

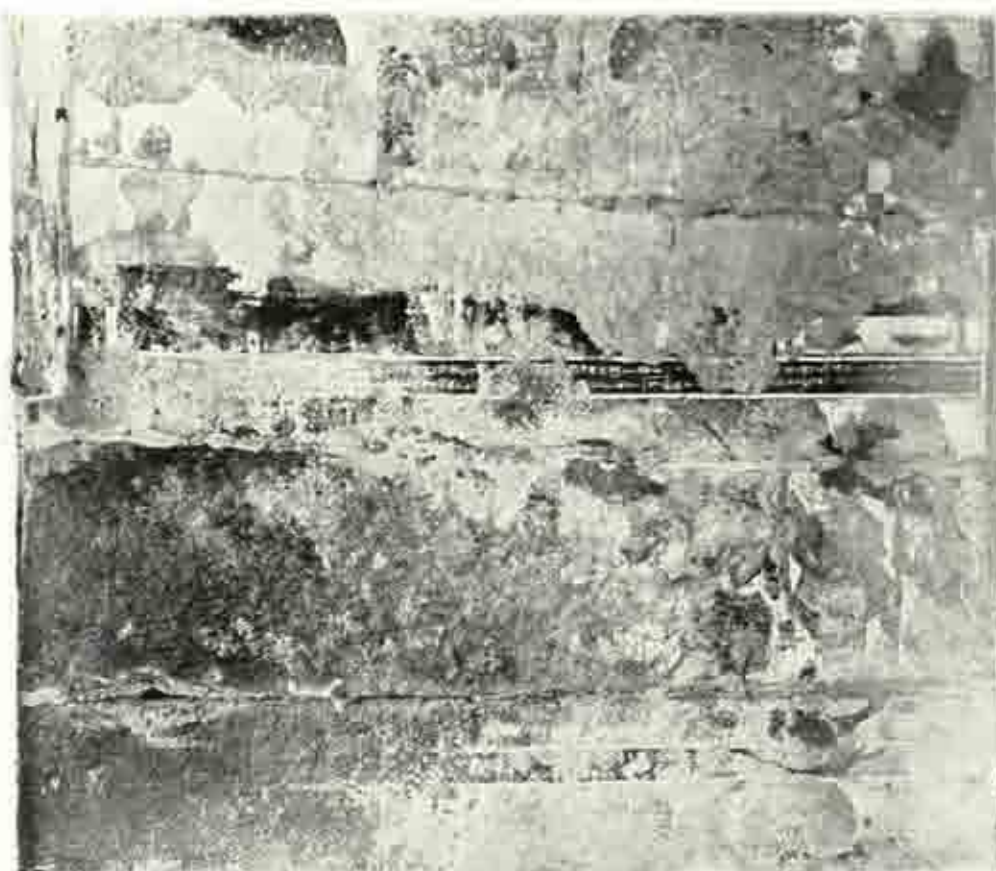


9

10

a

b



11

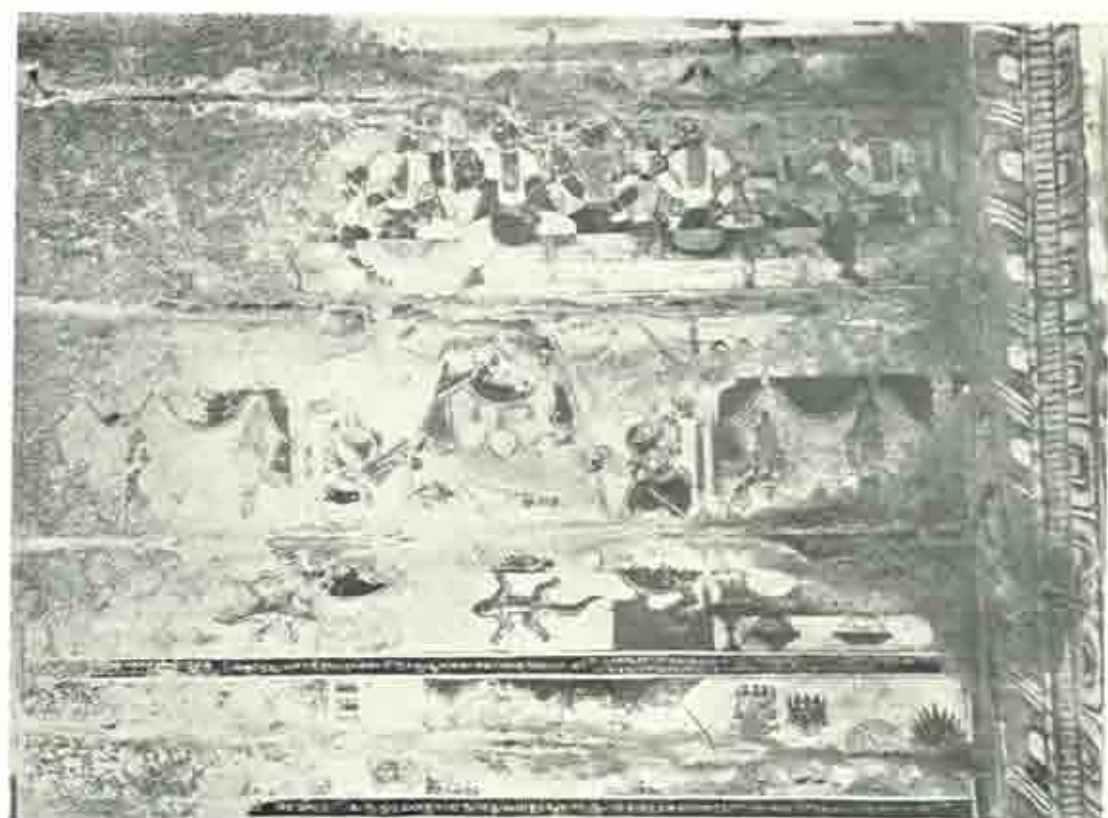
12

13

PLATE XI.

Scenes from the life of Rishabhadeva—

14. The Manus.
15. The fourteenth Manu Nābhi Mahārāja and his wife Marudevī.
Marudevī dreaming.
Nābhi explaining to her the significance of her dreams.
16. Marudevī's dreams.
17. (a) Celestial ladies (*devīs*) attending on Marudevī.
(b) Birth of Rishabhadeva.
(c) Removal of the child by Śacī for *Janmābhisheka*.
18. The procession to *Pāṇḍuka-vana* for *Janmābhisheka*.



14

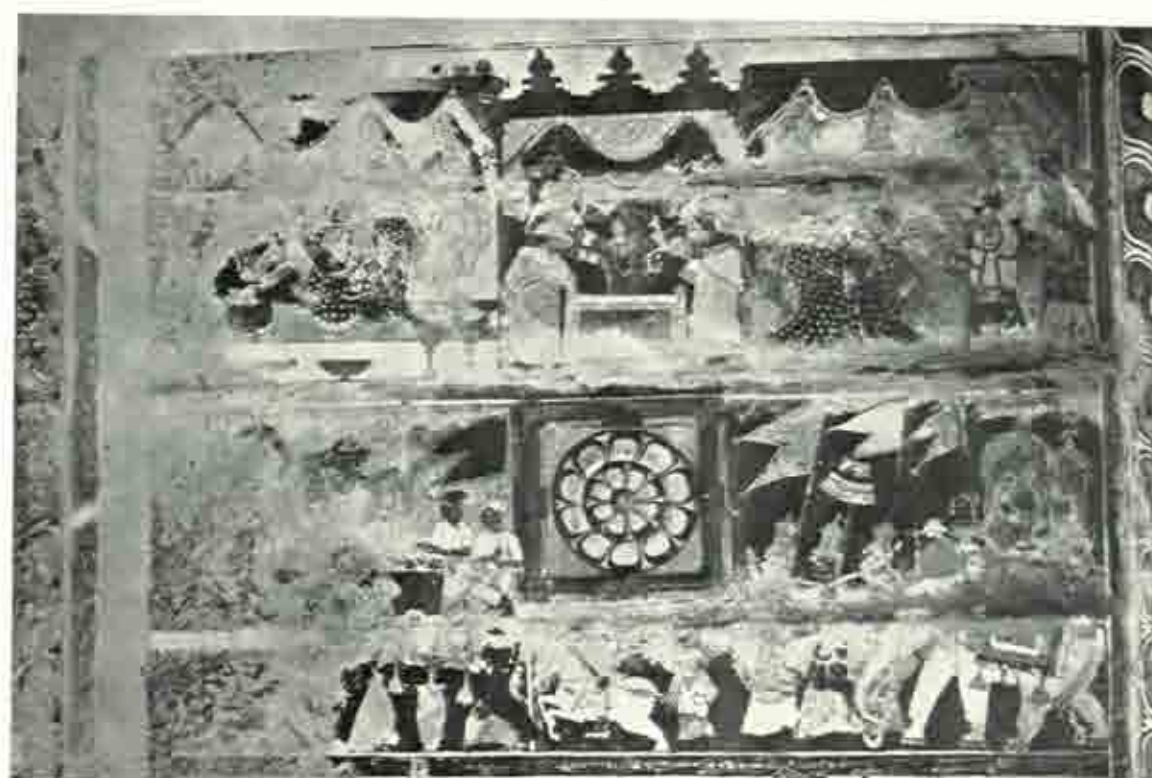
15

16

a

b

c



17

18

SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF KRISHNADEVA.

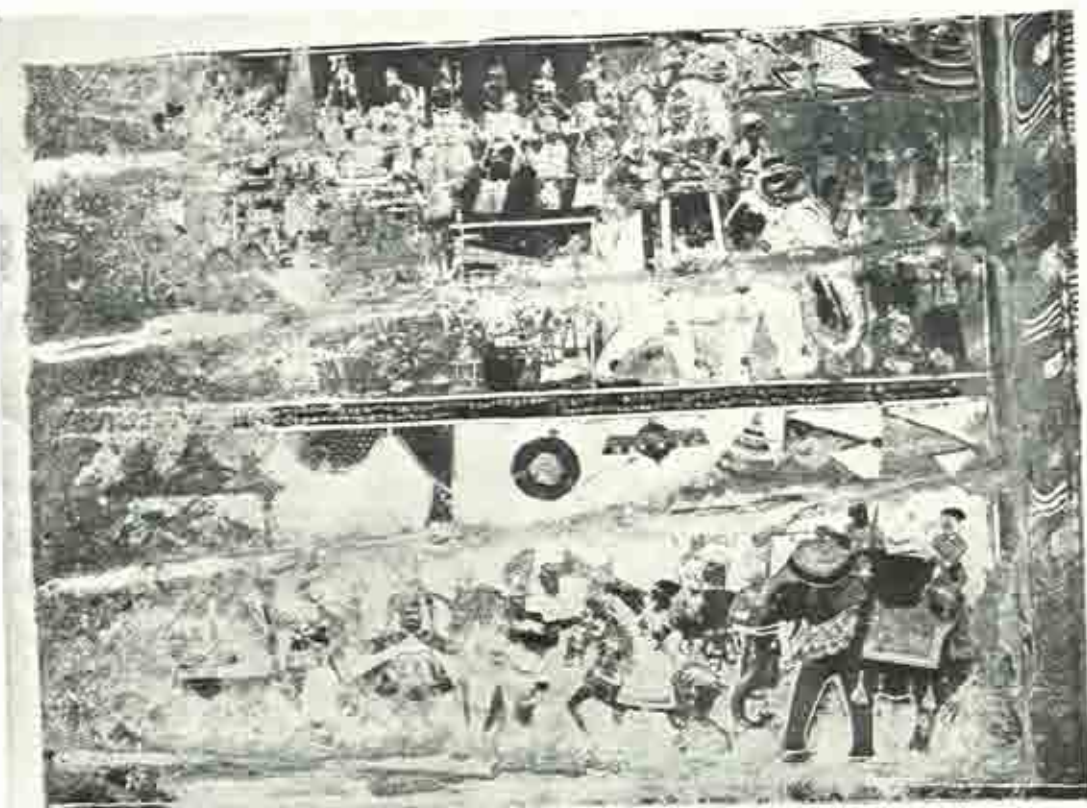
PLATE XII

Scenes from the life of Rishabhadeva—

19. (a) The *Janmābhisheka* ceremony.
(b) Return of the party from *Pāṇḍuka-vana*.
20. Return of the party to the city and Saudharmendra dancing, after placing Rishabhadeva on a throne.
21. (a) Nābhi requesting Rishabhadeva to marry.
(b) Rishabhadeva walking in procession with his brides.
22. Marriage of Rishabhadeva with the two Vidyādhara brides.

a

b

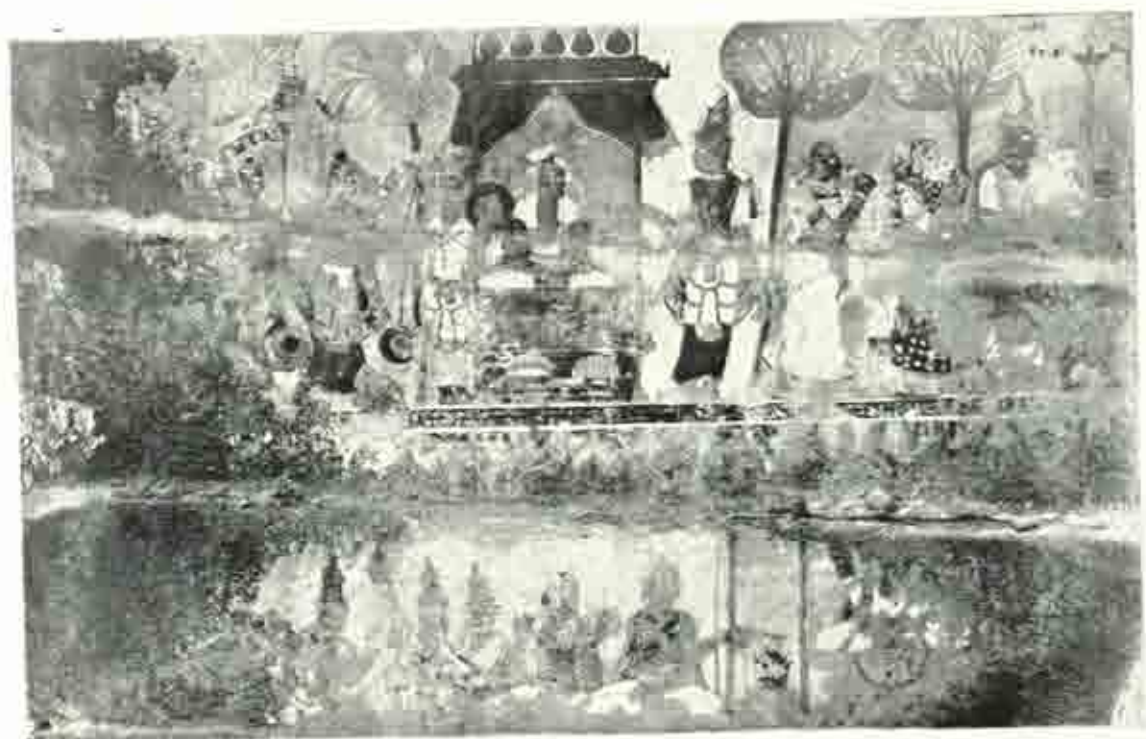


19

20

a

b



21

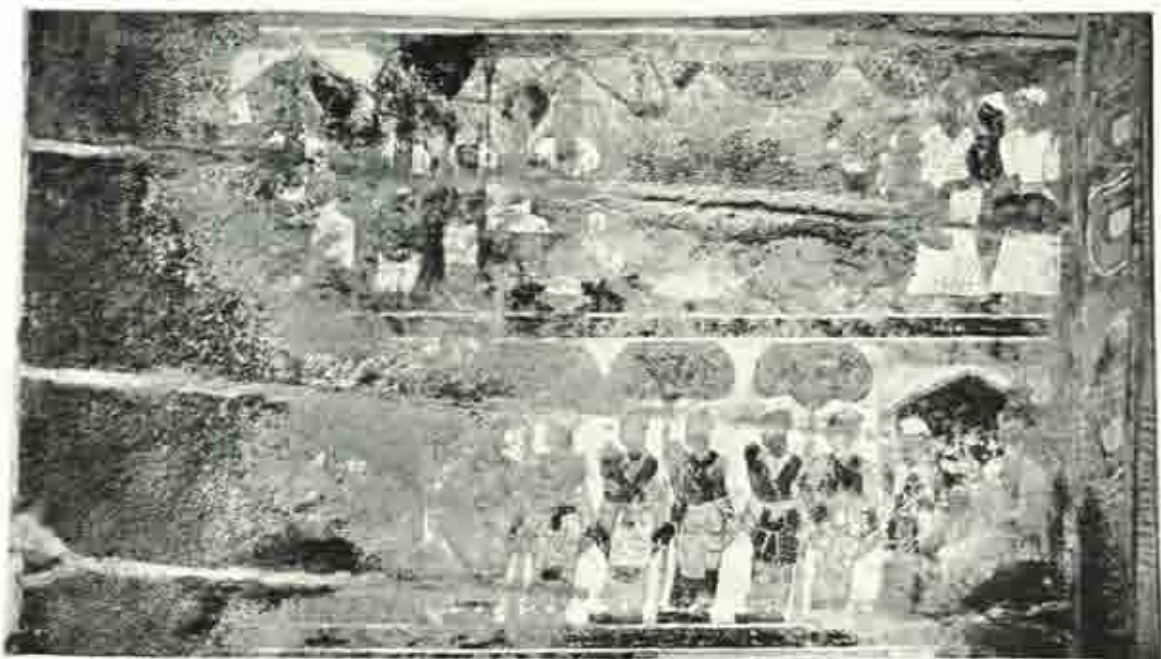
22

SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF RISHABHADRYA.

PLATE XIII.

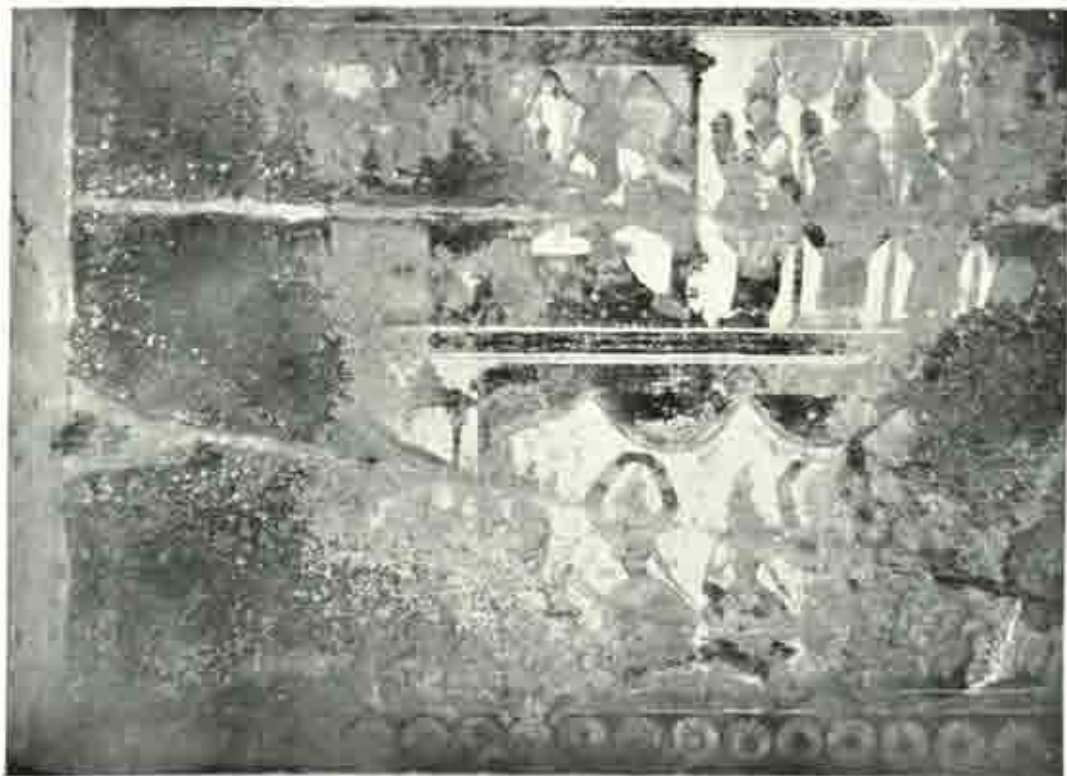
Scenes from the life of Rishabhadeva—

23. Marriage-festivities and entertainments.
24. Rishabhadeva teaching the world professions, trade, agriculture and the like and classifying people into castes after their respective professions.
25. (a) Coronation of Rishabhadeva as king.
(b) Classification of dynasties or families (*vamsas*).
26. The dance of the celestial nymph Nīlāñjana.



23

24



25

26

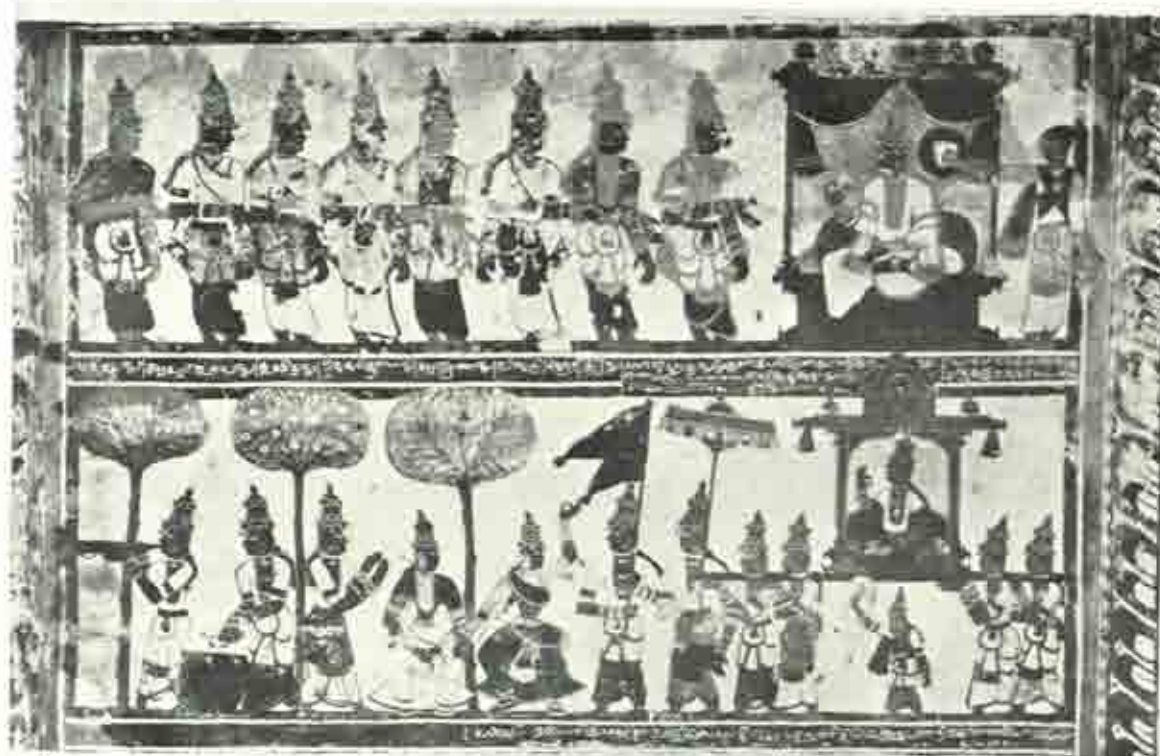
PLATE XIV.

Scenes from the life of Rishabhadeva—

27. (a) The *Laukātika-devas* reminding Rishabhadeva that it was time for *dikshā* and his renunciation.
(b) Rishabhadeva disgusted with worldly life.
28. Rishabhadeva proceeding for *dikshā* in a palanquin called Sudarsana.
29. (a) The *dikshā* ceremony.
(b) Kachchha, Mahakachchha and others trying to imitate Rishabhadeva in his *dikshā*.
(c) Unable to bear cold they clothed themselves; and unable to bear hunger they fed themselves with forest-products such as fruits and roots.
30. (a) Nami and Vinami approaching Rishabhadeva, who was then in meditation, for their share in the distribution of his kingdom.
(b) Dharanendra in human form advising them.
(c) Then assuming his *nāga*-form Dharanendra takes them in his *vimāna* and starts for Mount Vijayardha.

a

b



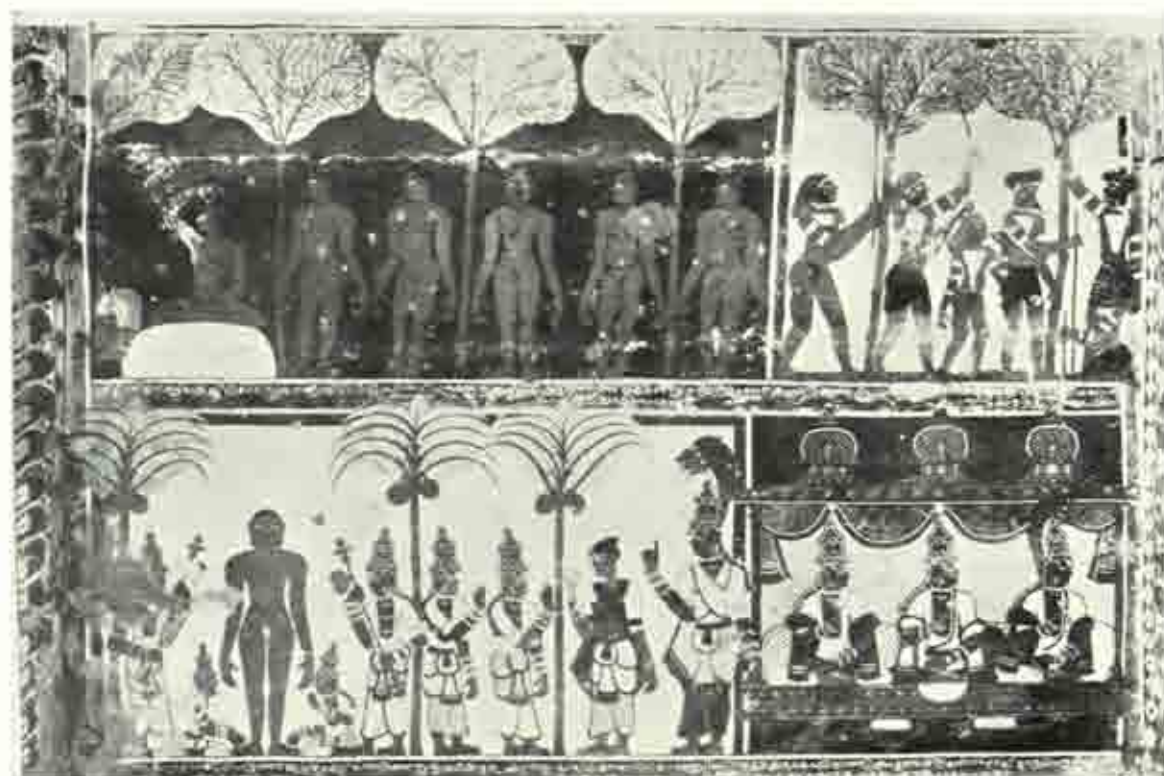
27

28

a

b

c



29

30

a

b

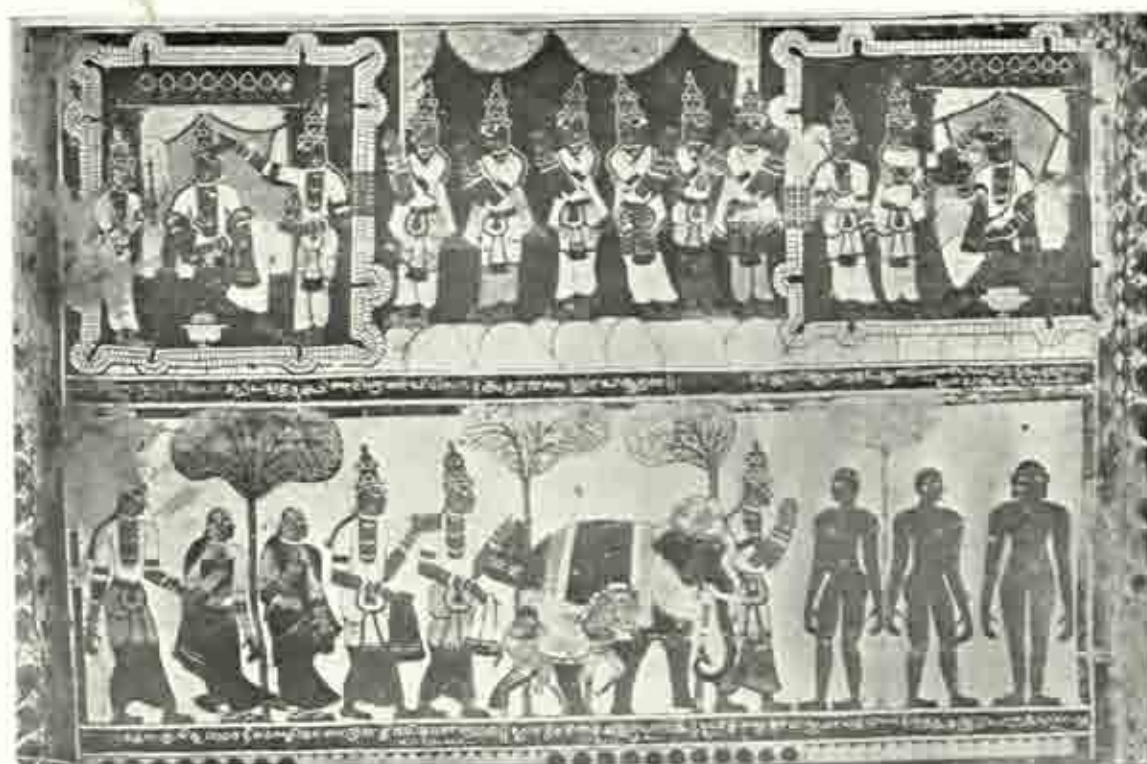
c

SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF VISHNUIADEVA.

PLATE XV.

Scenes from the life of Rishabhadeva—

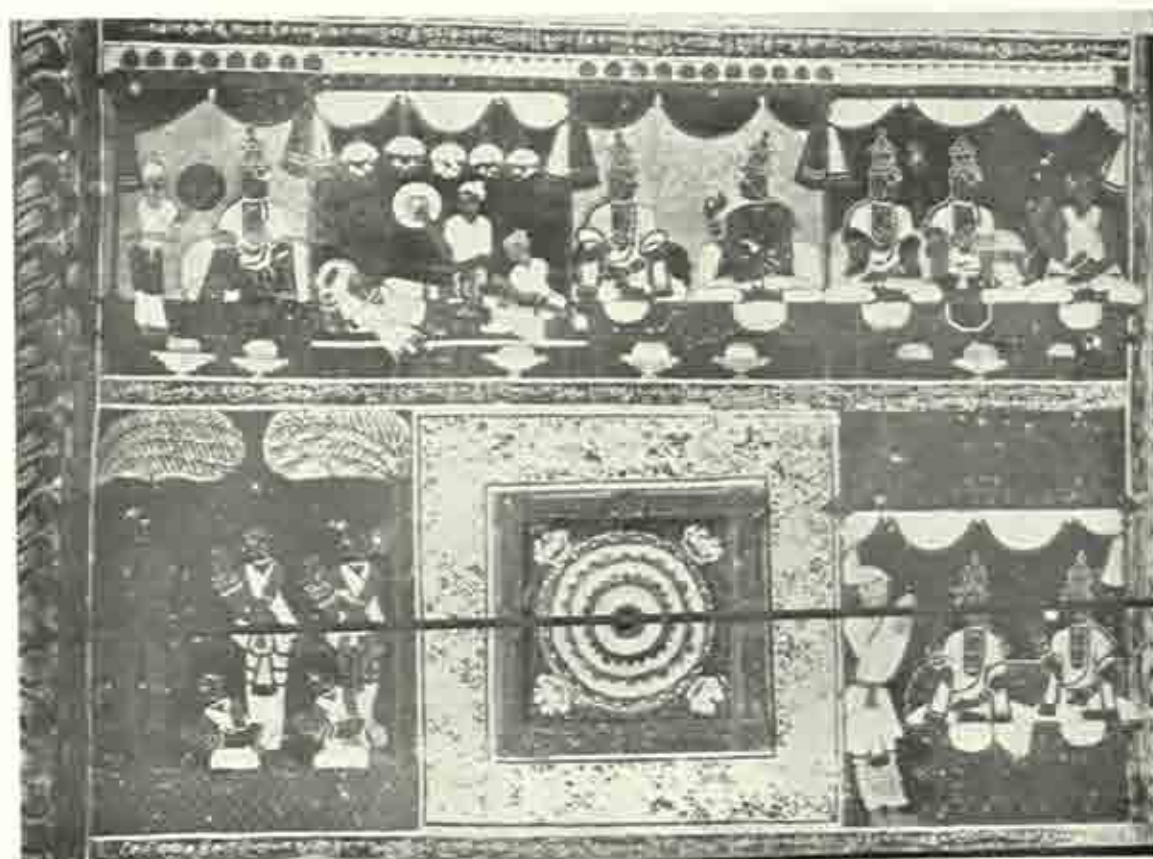
31. Dharapendra performing the coronation ceremonies of the brothers, of Nami on the left and of Vinami on the right.
32. (a) When Rishabhadeva went to the city for his first *charyā*, the kings of the land presenting him with elephants, horses, etc., in fact with everything else than what he actually required.
(b) His return to the forest without doing his *charyā*.
33. (a) Somaprabha.
(b) Śreyānkumāra dreaming.
(c) Do. narrating his dreams to his brother Somaprabha.
(d) The family priest explaining to them the significance of the dreams.
34. (a) A messenger informing Śreyānkumāra that Rishabhadeva was coming to their city for *charyā*.
(b) Śreyānkumāra receiving Rishabhadeva.



31

32

a b c d



33

34

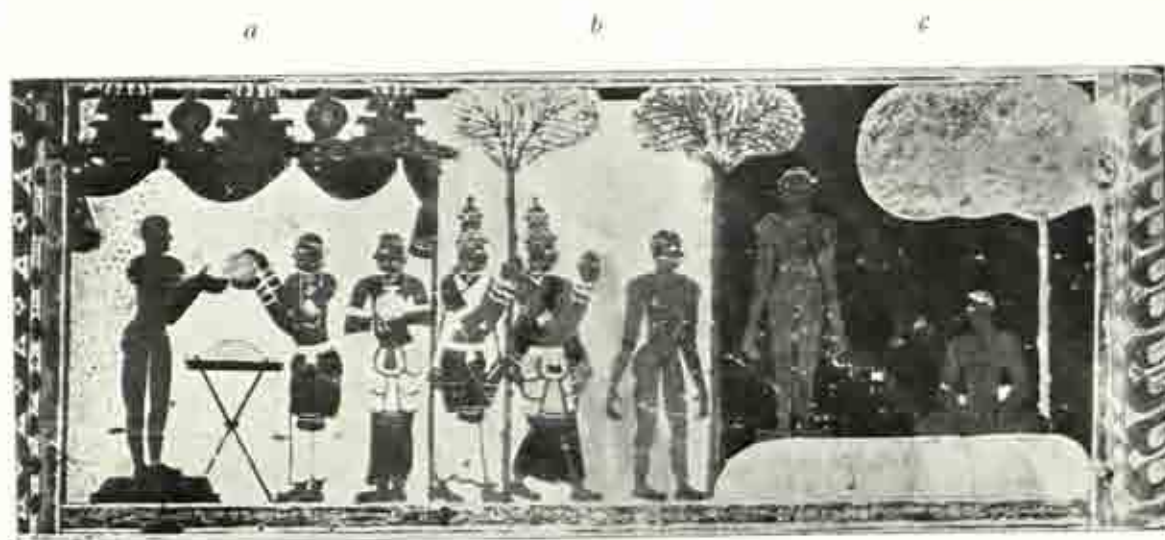
b a

SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF RISHABHADEVA.

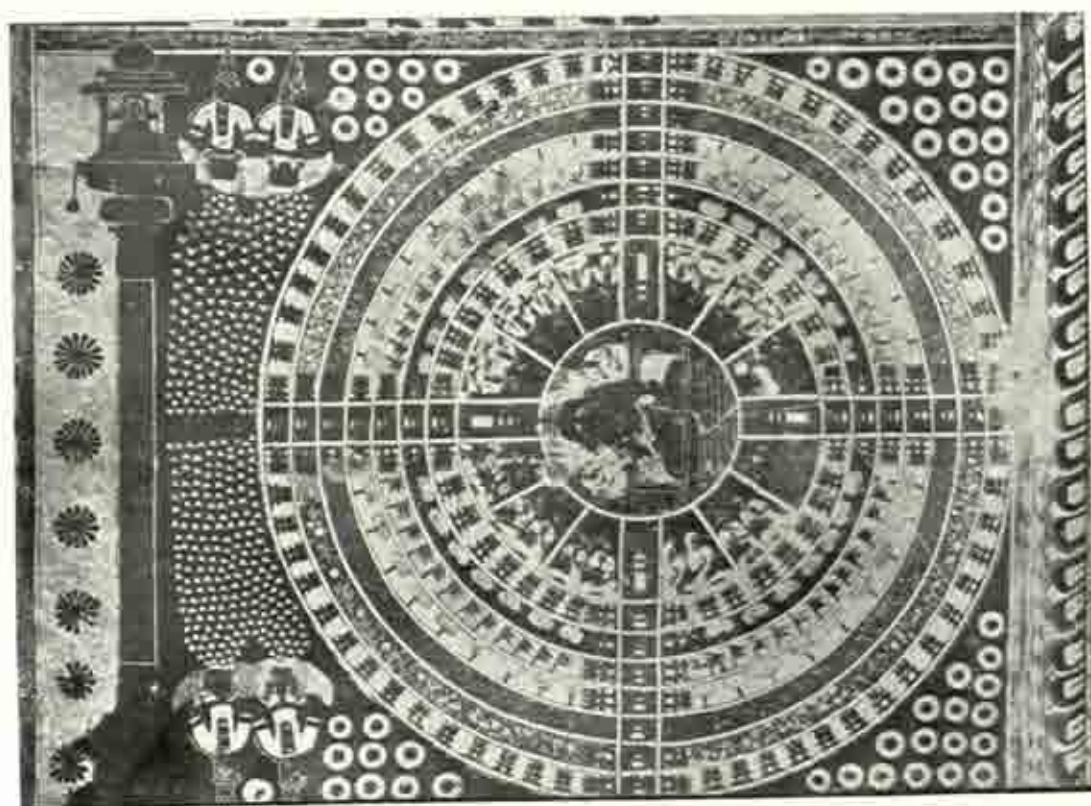
PLATE XVI.

Scenes from the life of Ṛishabhadeva—

35. (a) Śreyānkumāra offering food to Ṛishabhadeva.
(b) The departure of Ṛishabhadeva after his *charyā*.
(c) Ṛishabhadeva spending all his *karma*.
36. The *Samavasarana*.



35



36

SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF RISHABHADEVA.

PLATE XVII.

Scenes from the life of Rishabhadeva—

37. Saudharmendra's dance at sight of the *samavaśarāṇa*.

Scenes from the life of Vardhamāna, the 24th Tirthaṅkara—

38. (a) King Siddhārtha and his wife Priyakāriṇī.

(b) Priyakāriṇī dreaming.

(c) do. narrating her dreams to her husband.

(d) The family priest explaining their significance.

39. (a) Sacī, the wife of Saudharmendra removing the child (Vardhamāna) for *janmā-bhisheka*.

(b) The *devas* placing the child on the back of Airāvata and proceeding to Mount Mahā-Meru in a procession.

40. The procession.



37

38

a

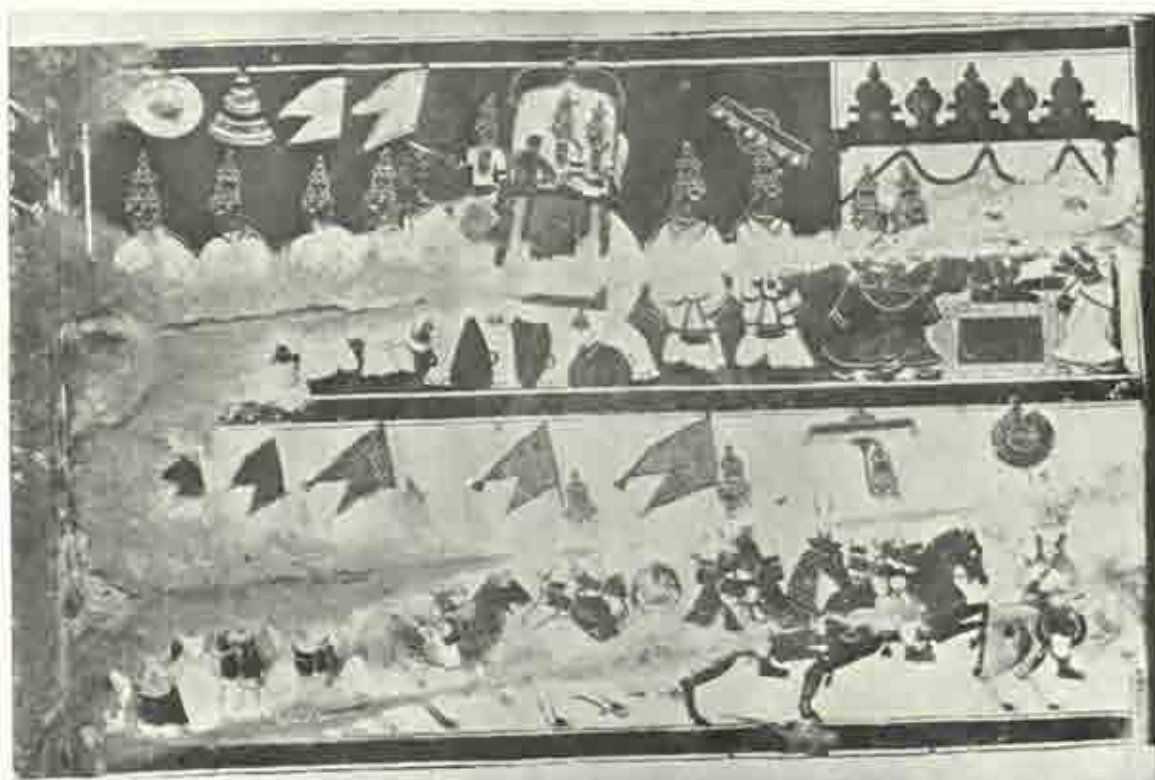
b

c

d

b

a



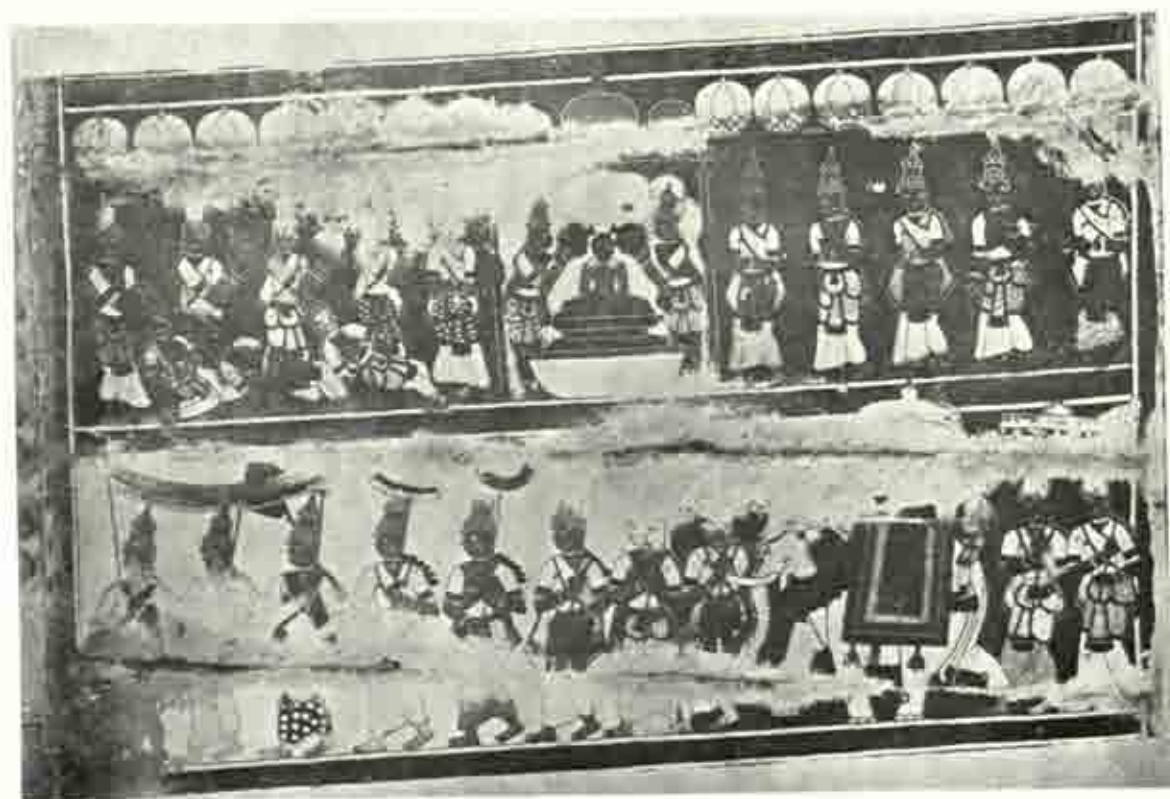
39

40

PLATE XVIII.

Scenes from the life of Vardhamāna—

41. The procession (*cont.*).
42. Do. do.
43. The anointment or the *janmābhisheka* ceremony. The fall of the doubting *devas*.
44. Return of the party to the city after *janmābhisheka*.

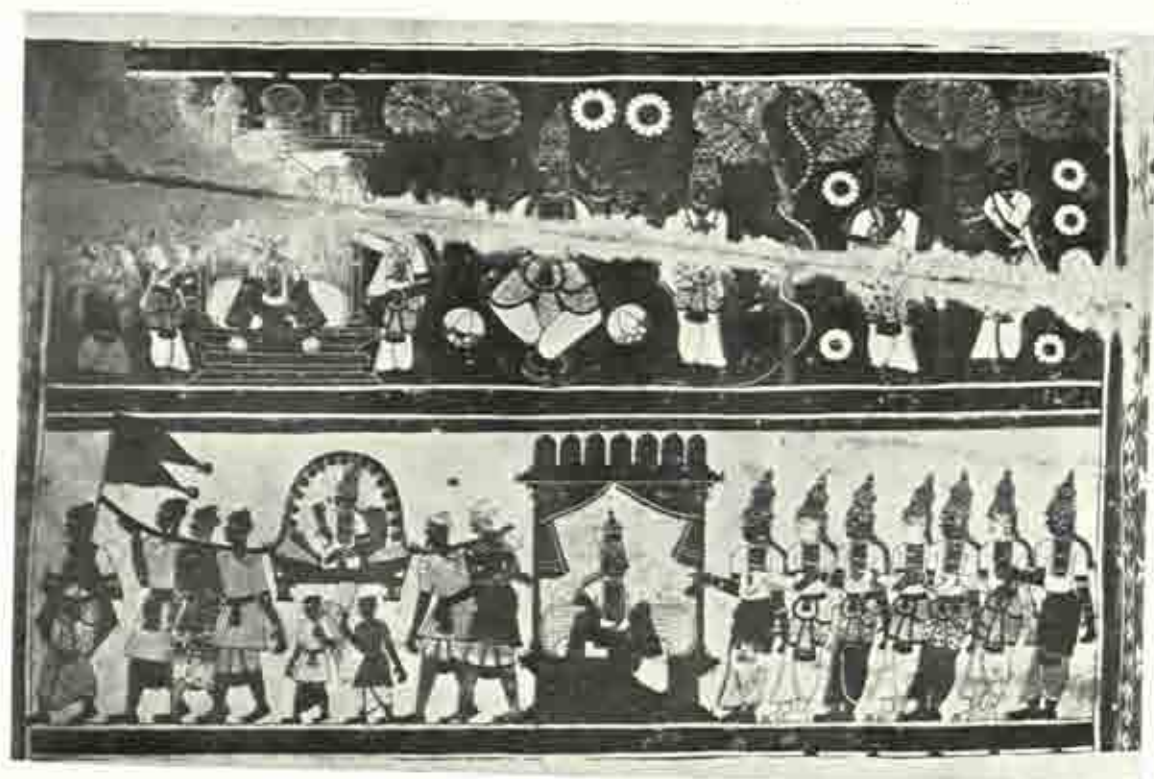


SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF VARUHAMĀNA.

PLATE XIX.

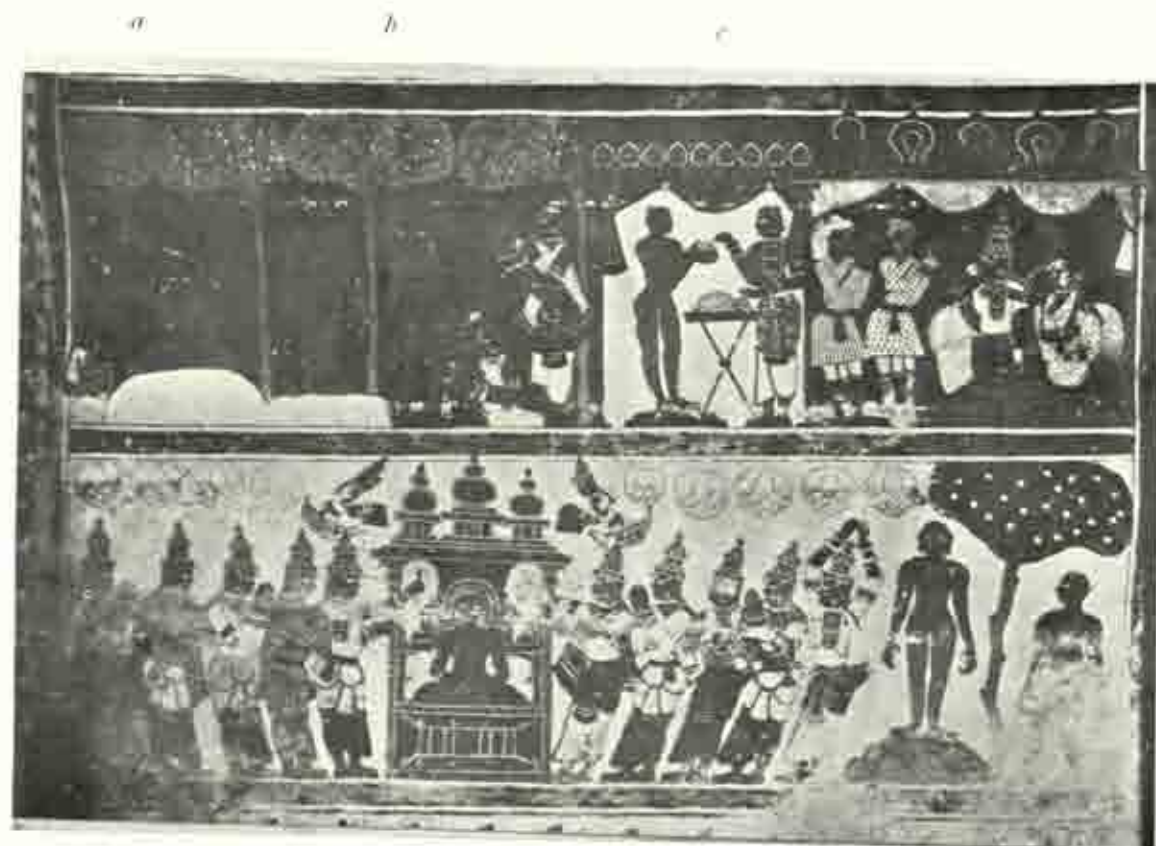
Scenes from the life of Vardhamāna—

45. (a) Saudharmendra placing Vardhamāna on a throne and dancing out of joy.
(b) The humiliation of Saṅgama.
(c) The humiliated Saṅgama seeking Vardhamāna's pardon.
46. (a) Vardhamāna getting the spirit of world-flight (*vairāgya*) and the *Laukāntikas* appearing before him just then and reminding him that it was time for him to renounce the world and take to *dīkshā*.
(b) Vardhamāna proceeding to the forest for *dīkshā* in a palanquin.
47. (a) Vardhamāna performing *dīkshā*.
(b) do. do. do.
(c) do. going out for *charyā* and partaking of food offered by King Kūla of Kūlagrāma.
48. (a) Vardhamāna spending all his *karma* and doing penance to obtain *Kevala-Jñāna*.
(b) do. becoming a *kevalī* and the *devas* worshipping him after the event in the *Gandhakūṭi*.



45

46



47

48

PLATE XX.

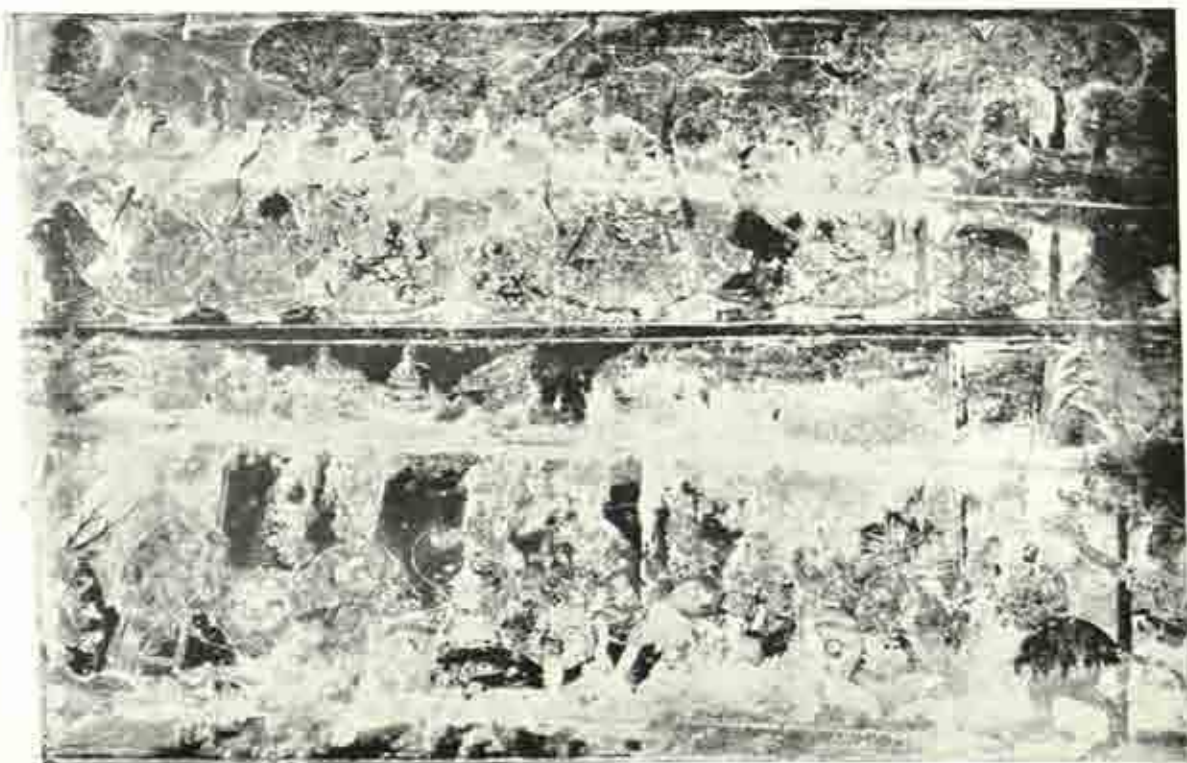
Scenes from the life of Vardhamāna—

49. Men and *devas* marching towards the *samavasaraṇa* structure to hear the Tirthaṅkara's discourse.
50. March of *devas*.
51. March of *devas*—(cont.)
52. Celestial ladies holding eight emblems of honour (*aṣṭa-maṅgalas*) and proceeding to the *samavasaraṇa* structure.



50

49



52

51

SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF VARDHAMANA.

PLATE XXI.

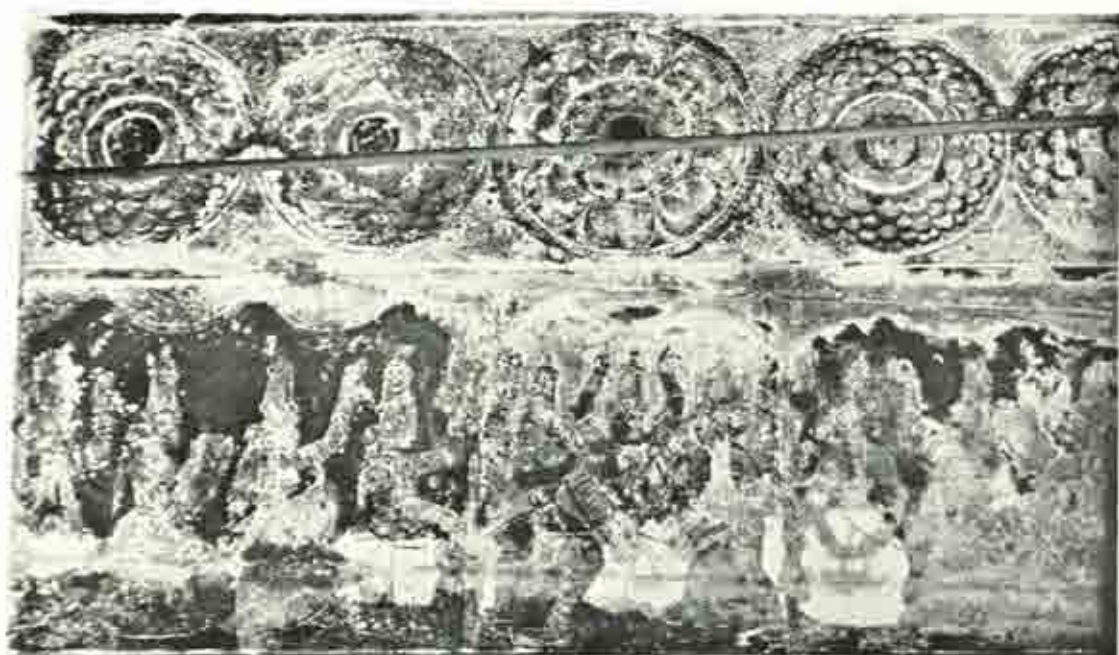
Scenes from the life of Vardhamāna—

53. Celestial ladies dancing.

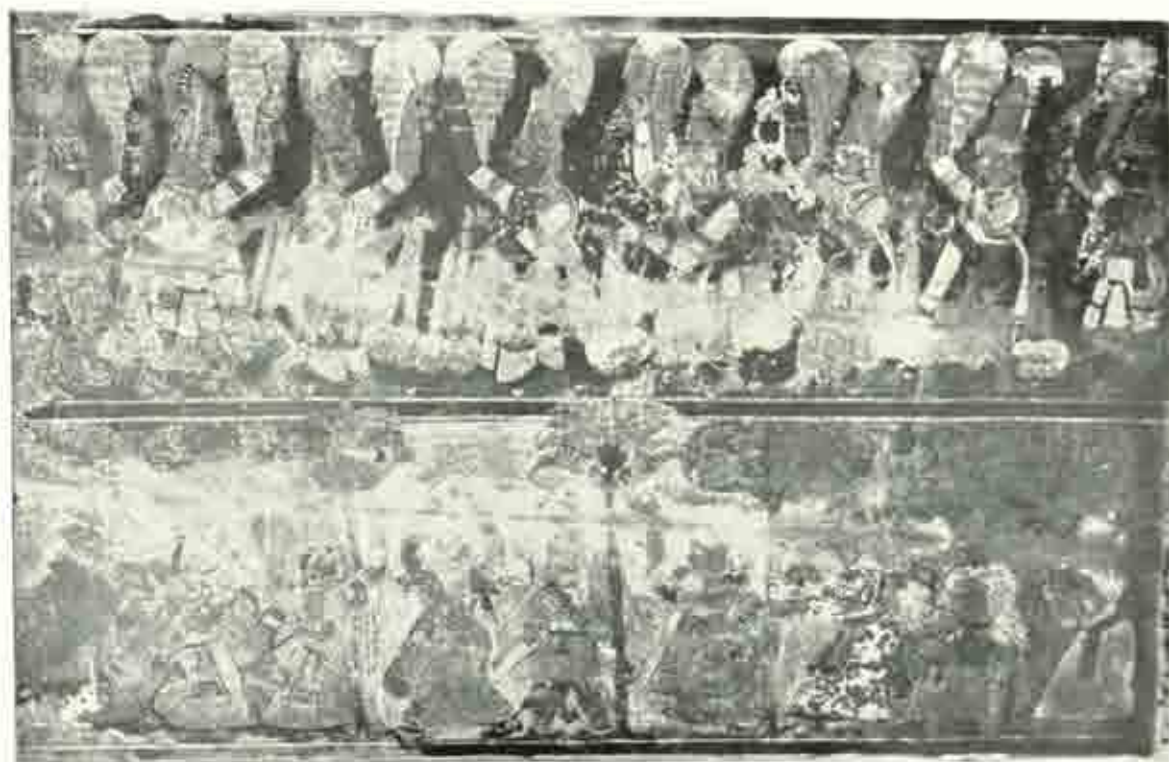
Row of rosettes.

54. Nautches of the human world.

55. Nāga-kumāras with *chāmaras* in their hands marching to the *saṃavasaraṇa* structure.



53



55

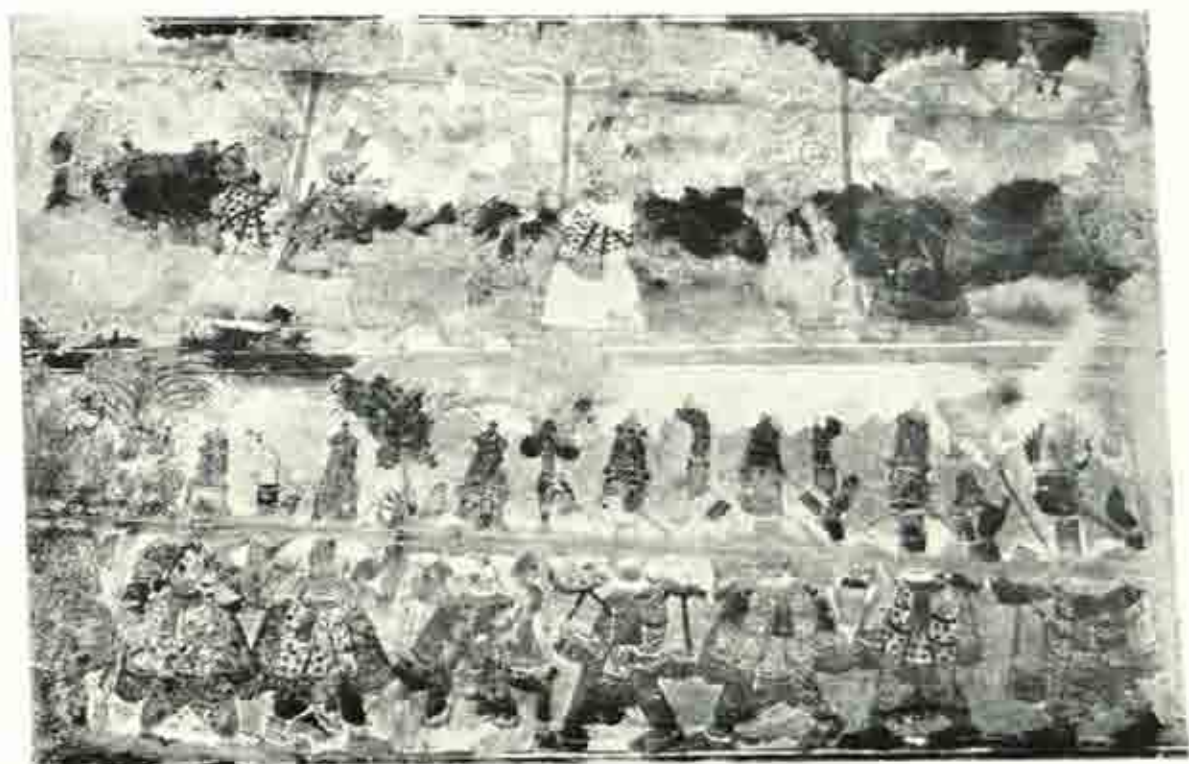
54

SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF VARDHAMANA.

PLATE XXII.

Scenes from the life of Vardhamāna—

56. Other classes of the *Bhavanavāsi-devas* marching to the *śamavasāra* structure.
57. Celestial ladies performing *kōlāttam*-dance.
58. Celestial ladies dancing in groups.
59. Celestial ladies carrying in their hands materials of honour.



57

56



59

58

SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF VARDHAMANA.

PLATE XXIII.

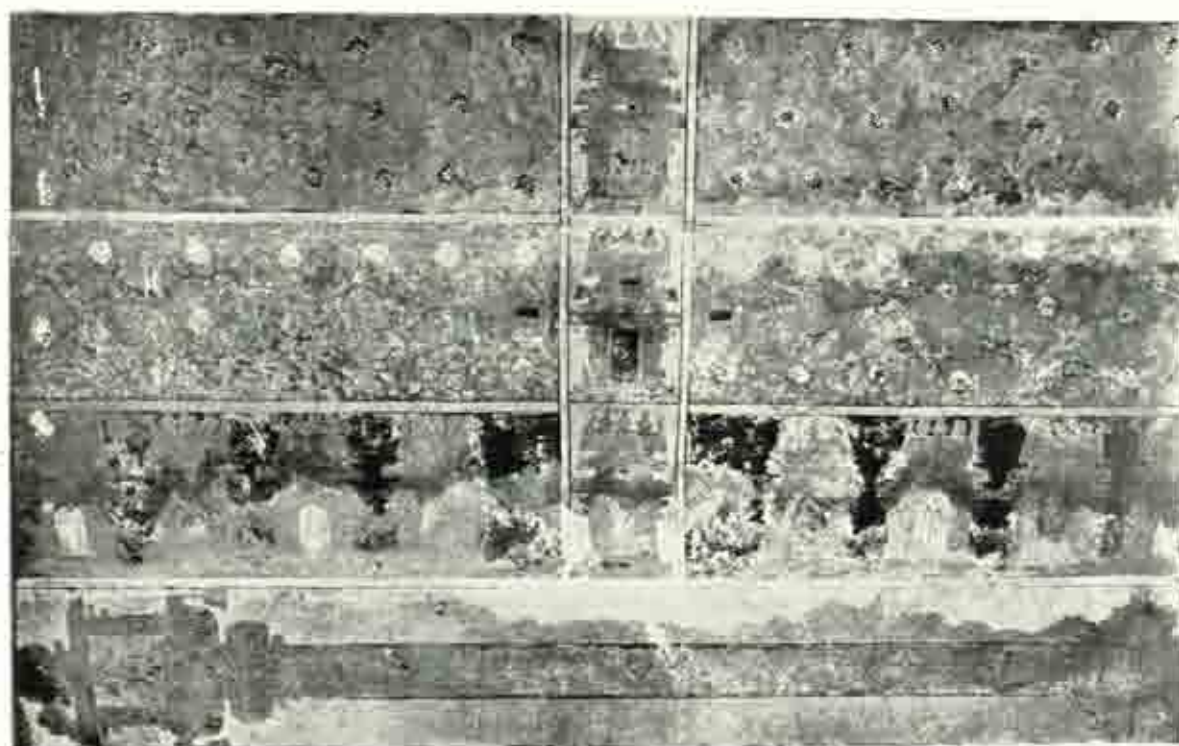
Scenes from the life of Vardhamāna—

60. *Devās*, with emblems of honour (*aṣṭa-maṅgalas*) in their hands, marching to the *samavasaraṇa* structure.
61. The presiding deities over the nine treasures (*nidhis*) including *Śaṅkha* and *Padma*, dancing.
62. The *samavasaraṇa* structure : the first three regions with the *mānastambha*.



61

60



62

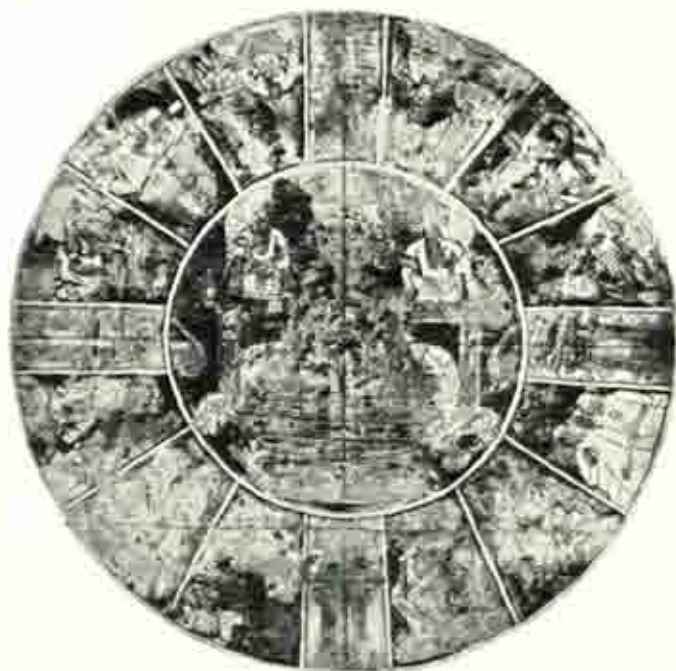
SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF VARAHAMANA.

PLATE XXIV.

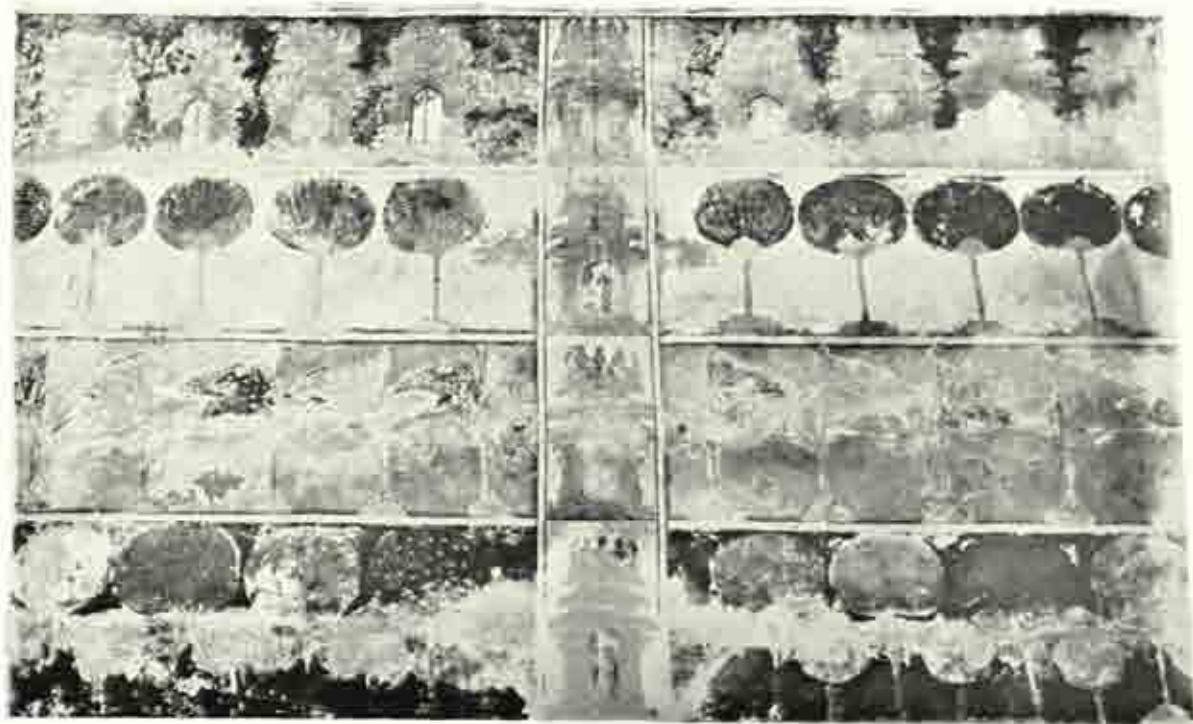
Scenes from the life of Vardhamāna—

63. The *samavasarana* structure (*cont.*) ; the remaining four regions.

64. Do. do. ; the *Lakshmīvara-maṇḍapa* with the *Gandhakuti* in
the centre.



64



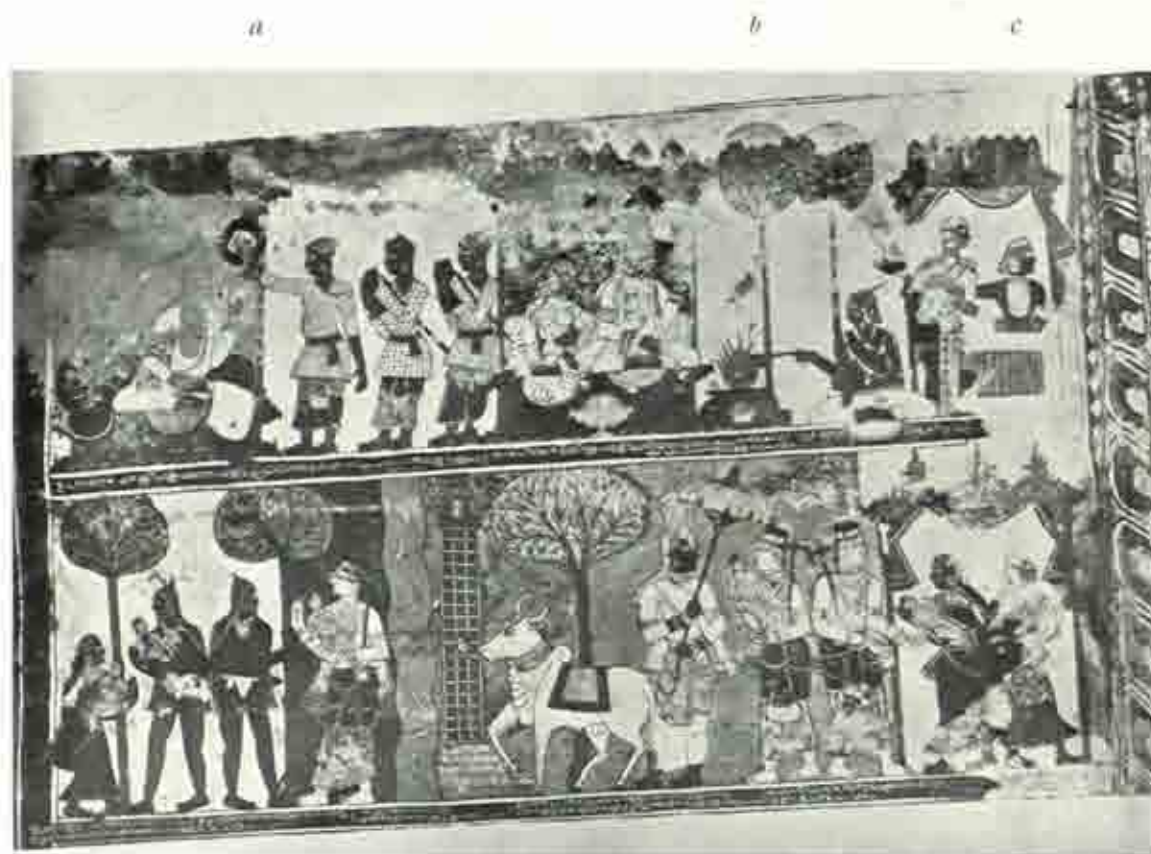
63

SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF VARDHAMANA.

PLATE XXV.

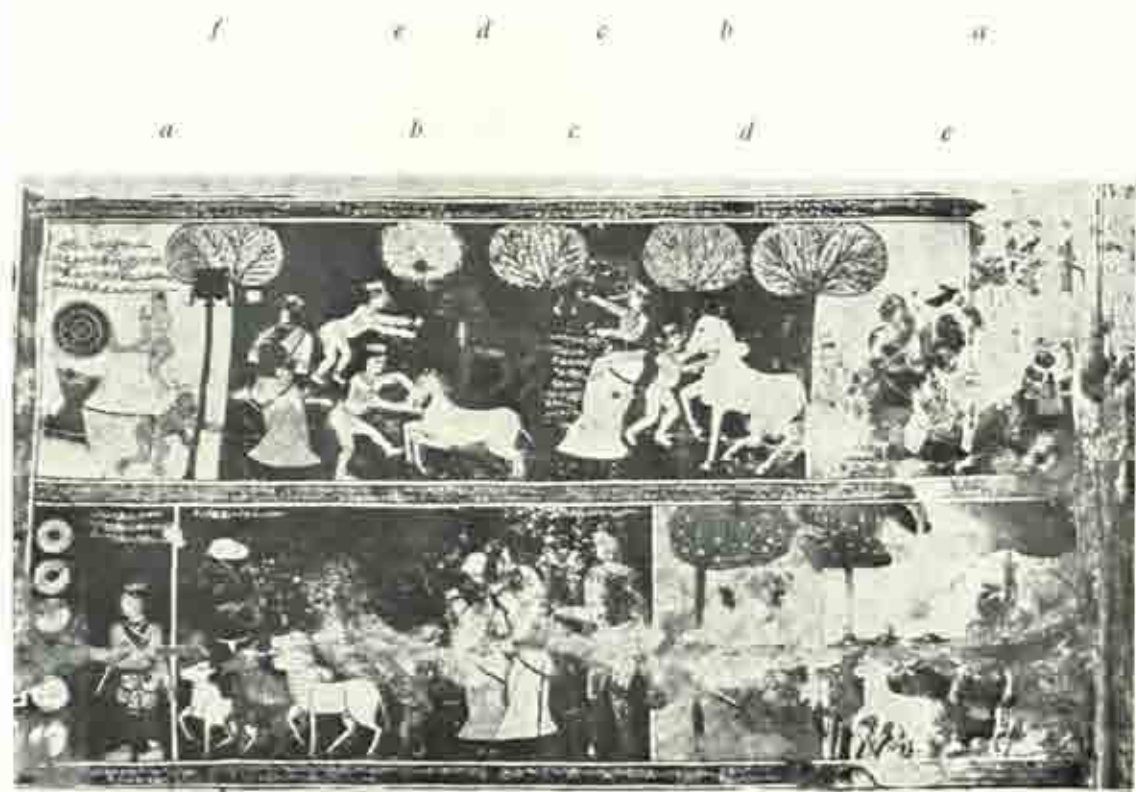
Scenes from the life of Kṛishṇa, the cousin of Neminātha—

65. (a) Kamsa and his consort Jivadyāśa.
(b) Kamsa's sister Devakī being given in marriage to Vasudeva.
(c) Birth of child Kṛishṇa to Devakī.
66. (a) Baladeva removing the child from the chamber of nativity.
(b) Vasudeva holding a white umbrella over the child.
(c) The presiding deity of the city, in the form of a bull, showing Baladeva the way.
(d) The city gate opened of its own accord.
(e) The river Jumna divided and gave him the way.
(f) Baladeva delivering the child unto the care of Nanda Gopa, and the latter's wife receiving the child from her husband.
67. The sports of child Kṛishṇa and the annihilation of seven evil spirits sent by Kamsa—
 - (a) One of the evil spirits that came in the form of a wheel. Two other evil spirits that came in the form of trees and stood in hisway as he was dragging the mortar to which he was tied by his foster-mother.
 - (b) Three more evil spirits that came in the forms of a palmyra tree, a horse and an ass respectively.
 - (c) The seventh evil spirit that came as a woman offering Kṛishṇa milk from her breasts smeared with poison.
 - (d) Subjugation of the *deva* Arishta, who came as a bull to test Kṛishṇa's strength.
 - (e) Devakī, Baladeva and Vasudeva arriving just then on the scene, and Devakī admiring her son with motherly love, milk flowing out of her breasts spontaneously.
68. (a) Kṛishṇa raising up Mount Govardhana.
(b) Kṛishṇa doing *trivikrama*.
(c) Nanda's flight from the village with his cowherds and cattle out of fear for Kamsa.
(d) Kṛishṇa assuring Nanda of his strength by lifting on the way a huge stone column, thus prevailing on him to return to the village.



65

66



67

68

SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF KRISHNA.

PLATE XXVI.

Scenes from the life of Kṛishṇa—

69. (a) Kṛishṇa plucking a lotus-flower from a tank guarded by a *nāgā*, after subduing the latter.
(b) Kṛishṇa subjugating an infuriated elephant set up against him by Kamsa.
(c) Baladeva informing Kṛishṇa, while wrestling with the latter, that the time was opportune for killing Kamsa.
(d) Kṛishṇa vanquishing a wrestler set up against him by Kamsa.
(e) Kṛishṇa killing Kamsa.
(f) Public wrath appeased by Baladeva, Vasudeva and others narrating the parentage of Kṛishṇa to all assembled.
70. (a) Ugrasena and his wife Padmāvatī.
(b) Vasudeva and Devakī.
(c) Samudravijaya and his wife Śivadevī.
(d) Kṛishṇa's victory over Mahābala, one of Jarāsandha's sons.
71. (a) The battle between Kṛishṇa and Aparājita, another son of Jarāsandha and the latter's death in the battle-field.
(b) The ruse employed and the return of Kālayava, another son of Jarāsandha, without ever encountering Kṛishṇa.
72. (a) The flight of the Yādavas under the leadership of Kṛishṇa.
(b) Kṛishṇa fasting and doing penance.
(c) Kṛishṇa dreaming of the *deva* Gautamā, who offered to take Kṛishṇa on his back as a horse and to find for him a new land.
(d) The realization of the dream.
(e) The finding of the city of Dvārāvātī, and Kṛishṇa, Baladeva, Vasudeva and Devakī being in the palace.

a *b* *c* *d* *e* *f*



69

70

d *e* *b* *a*

a *b*



71

72

e *d* *c* *b* *a*

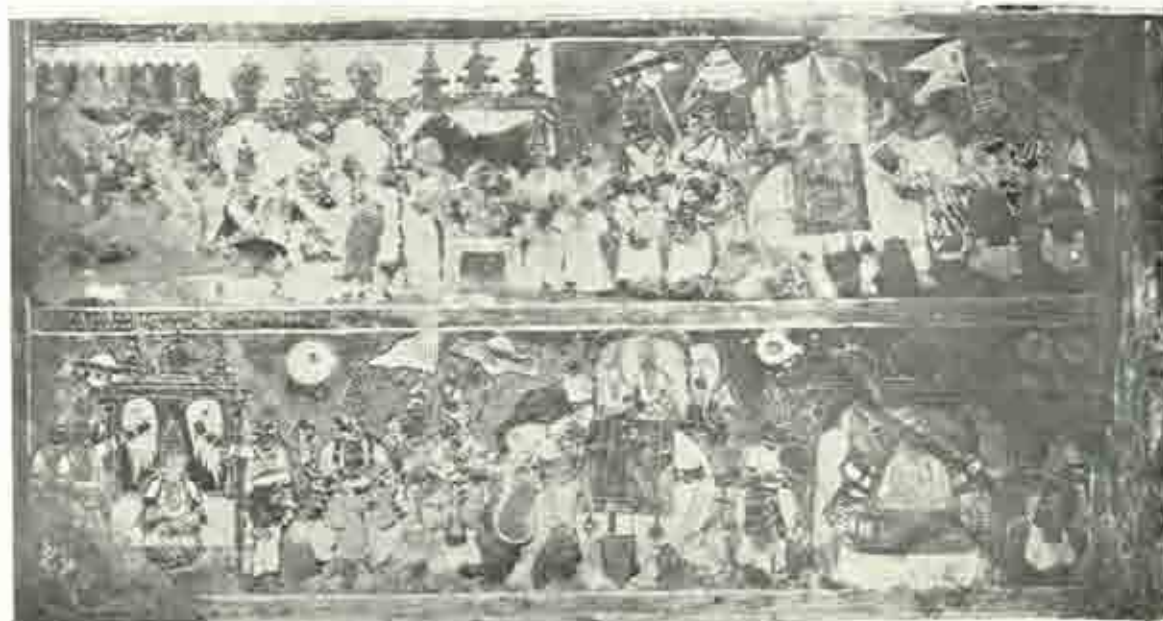
SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF KRISHNA.

PLATE XXVII.

Scenes from the life of Neminātha—

73. (a) Samudravijaya and his wife Śivadevī,
(b) Śivadevī narrating her dreams to her husband,
(c) Birth of Neminātha,
(d) The *Devās* placing the child on the back of Airāvata and proceeding to Mount Mahā-Meru to perform the *janmābhisheka* of the child.
74. (a) The *Janmābhisheka* ceremony,
(b) Return of the party to the city,
(c) Devendra dancing after installing the child on a throne.
75. (a) Kṛishṇa requesting Neminātha to look after the city of Dvarāvātī during his absence away on war with Jarāsandha,
(b) Fight between Kṛishṇa and Jarāsandha.
76. Kṛishṇa crowned as a *chakravartin*.

a *b* *c* *d*

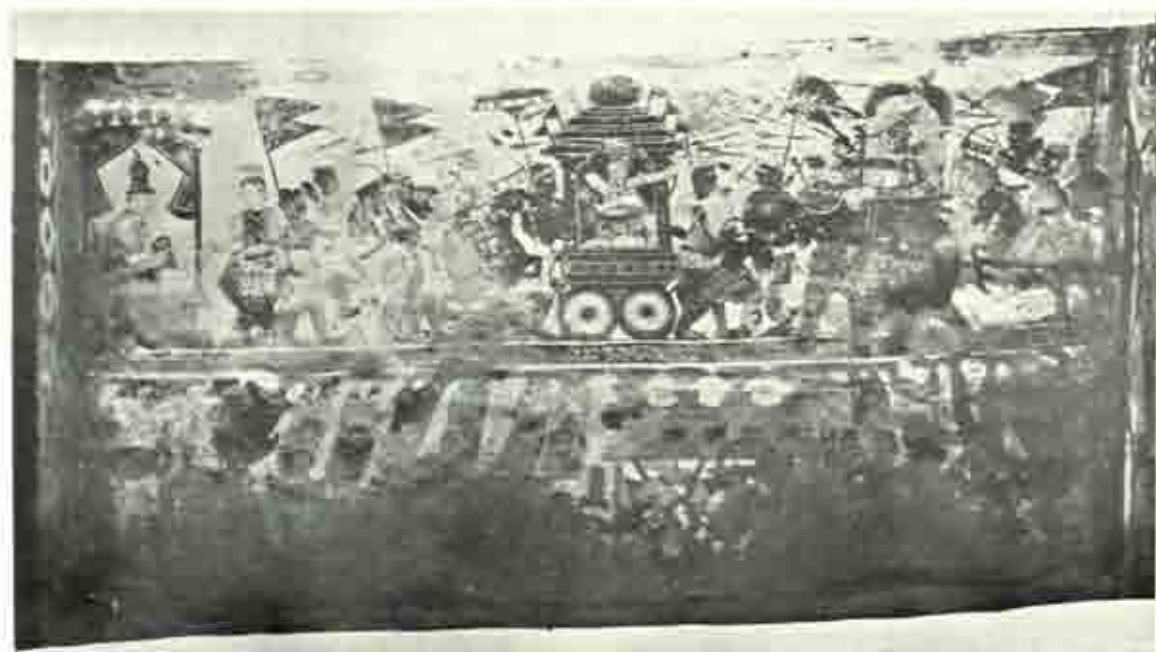


73

74

c *b* *a*

a *b*



75

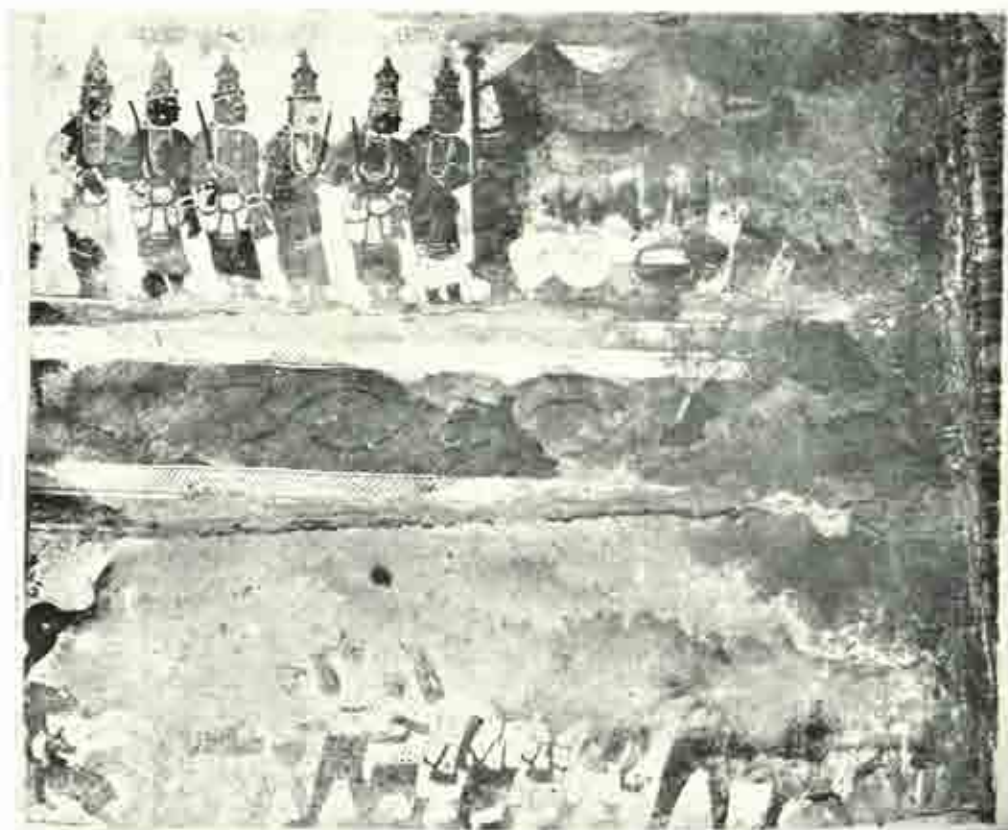
76

SCENES FROM THE LIVES OF NEMINATHA AND KRISHNA.

PLATE XXVIII.

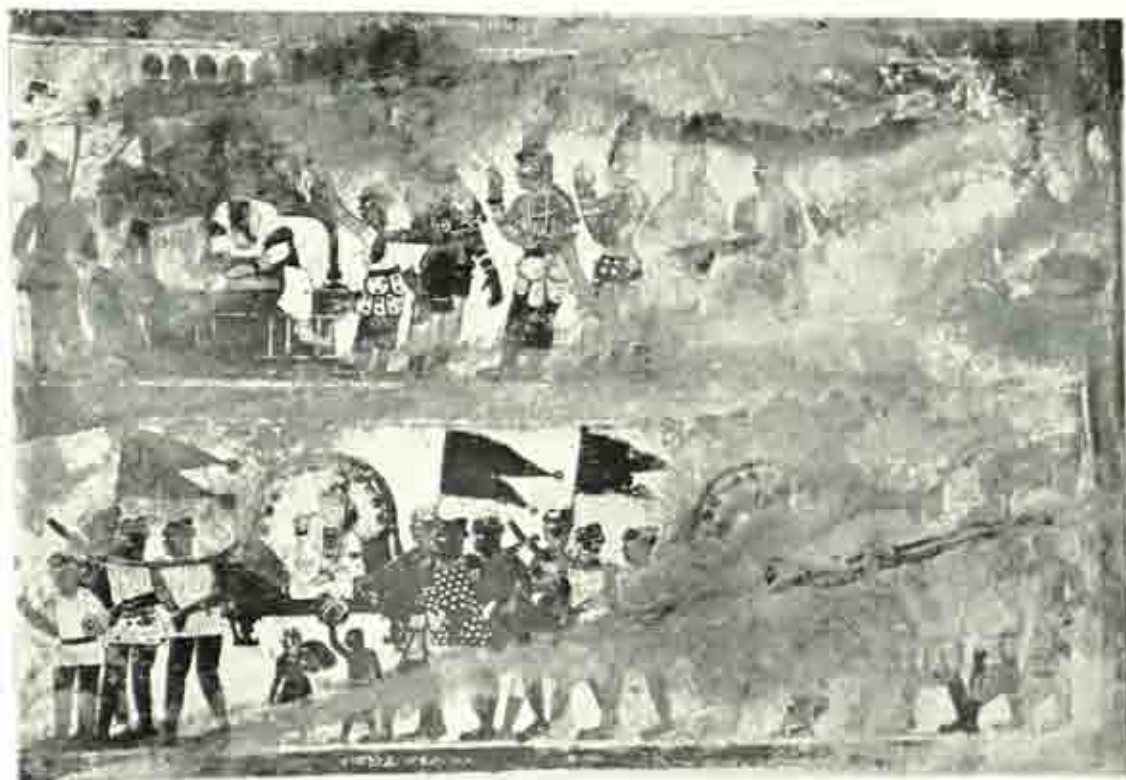
Scenes from the life of Neminātha—

77. Kṛishṇa in court, when he heard the blast produced on the conch by Neminātha.
78. The marriage procession of Neminātha and the spectacle of the sickly and frightened animals.
79. The *Laukāntika-devas* reminding Neminātha that it was time for *dīkshā*.
80. Neminātha proceeding in a palanquin for *dīkshā* to the garden *Sahasrāmṛavana*.



77

78



79

80

SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF NEMINATHA.

PLATE XXIX.

Scenes from the life of Neminātha—

81. The *dikṣhā* ceremony, and subsequent penance.

82. (a) The first *charyā* of Neminātha.

(b) Do. do.

(c) Neminātha's departure to the forest.

(d) Neminātha doing penance.

(e) Neminātha being worshipped in the Gandhakūṭi when he had become a *kevali*.

Scenes from the life of Agnīlā (Ambikā) or Dharmadevī—

83. In five panels from left to right—

Somaśarman and Agnīlā.

Agnīlā and her sons.

Agnīlā inviting Varadatta for food.

The offering of food.

Varadatta departing after partaking of Agnīlā's offering.



81



82

e *d* *c* *b* *a*



83

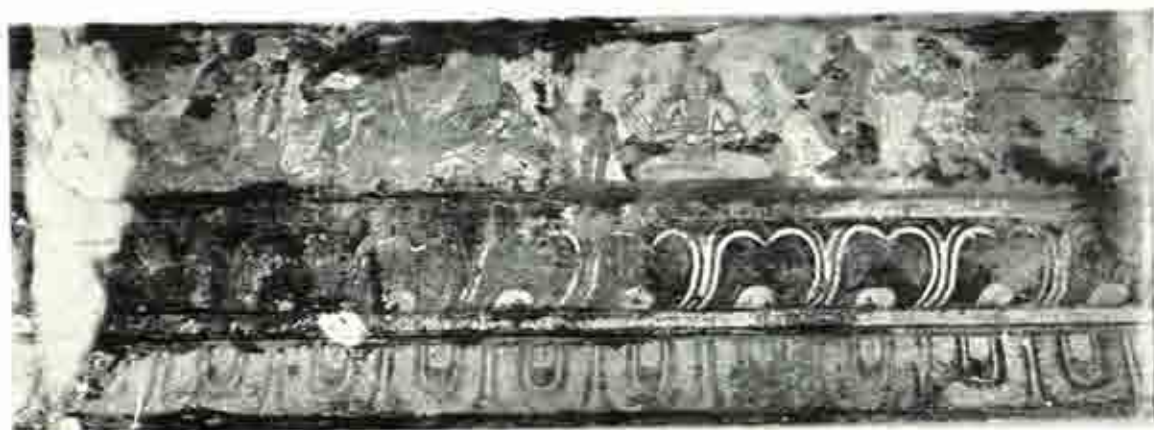
SCENES FROM THE LIVES OF NEMINATHA AND AGNILA (ĀMBIKĀ).

PLATE XXX.

Scenes from the life of Agnilā (Āmbikā) or Dharmadevī—

84. The transformation of Agnilā into the Yakshī Āmbikā or Dharmadevī.

L. The Gopura, Vardhamāna temple.



84



I

SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF AGNİLĀ (AMBIKĀ); GOPURĀ, VARDHAMĀNA TEMPLE.

PLATE XXXI.

1. Brahma Yaksha with his consorts Pūrṇā and Pushkalā.
2. Padmāvatī Yakshī.
3. Representation of Nandīśvara in metal.
4. Do. do. In stone.



1



2



3



4

YAKSHI YAKSHI WITH CONSORTS, PADMAVATI AND NANDIVARA.

PLATE XXXII.

1. Sarvāhṇa Yaksha.
2. Dharaṇendra Yaksha with Padmāvati Yakshini.
3. Dharmadevi Yakshini.



1

SARVAMĀTĀ



2

DHARANENDRA AND PADMĀYATĪ



3

DHARMADEVĪ



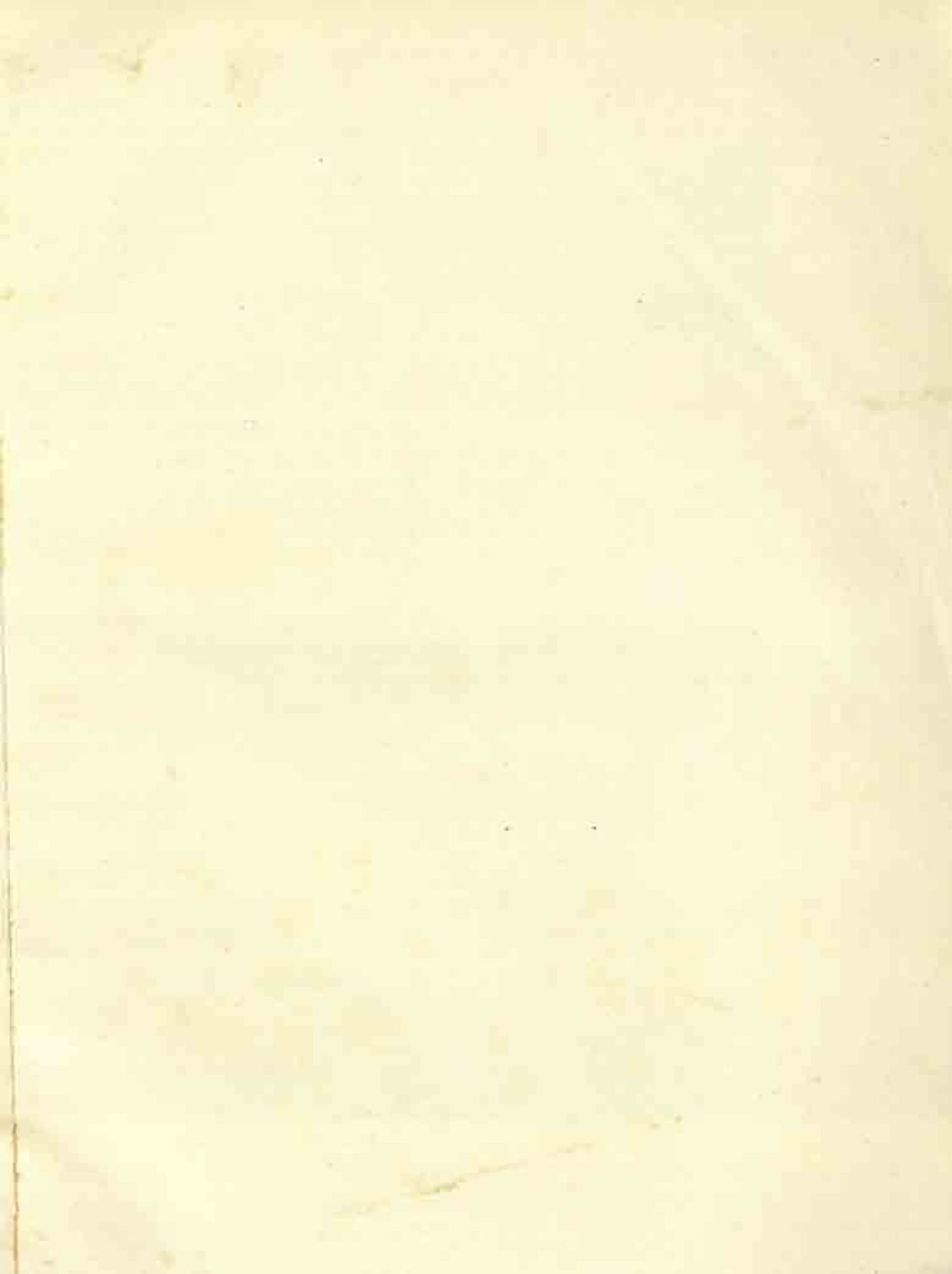
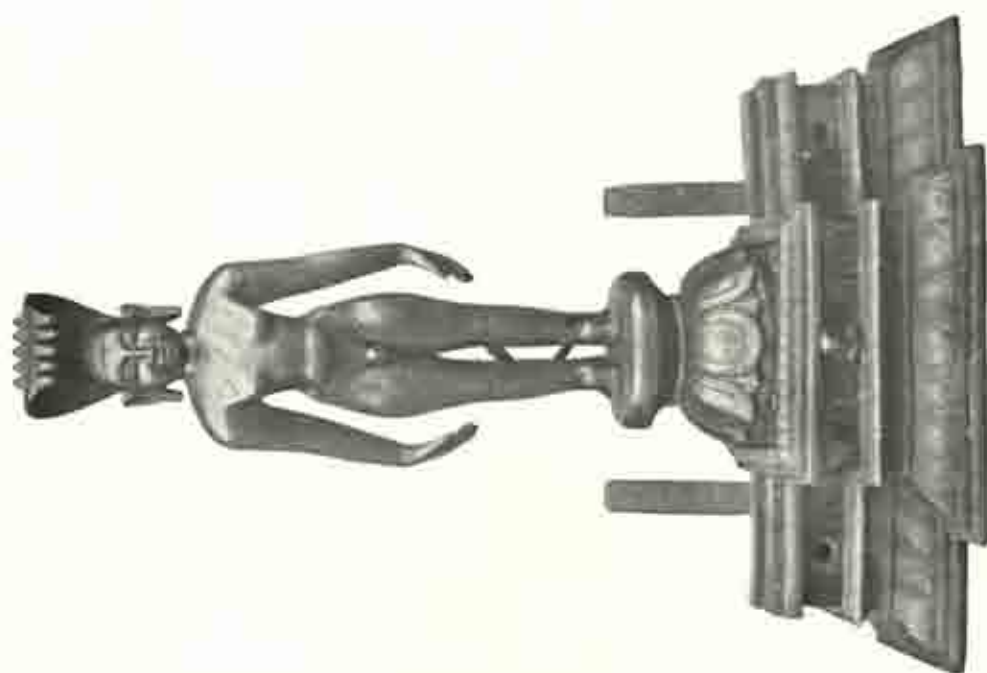


PLATE XXXIII.

1. Dharapendra Yaksha.
2. Pārśvanātha.
3. Padmavatī Yakshinī.



1
BHAKTAVATSALA



2
PARSHVANATHA

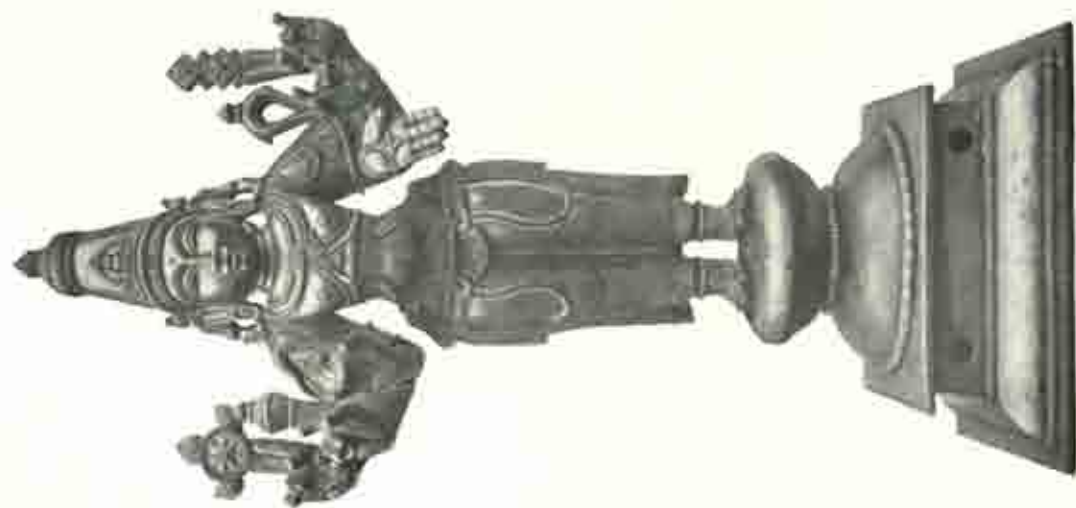


3
PADMAVATI



PLATE XXXIV.

1. Mātanga Yaksha.
2. Vardhamāna.
3. Siddhayint Yakshini.



1

MĀTANGA.



2

VARDHAMĀNA.



3

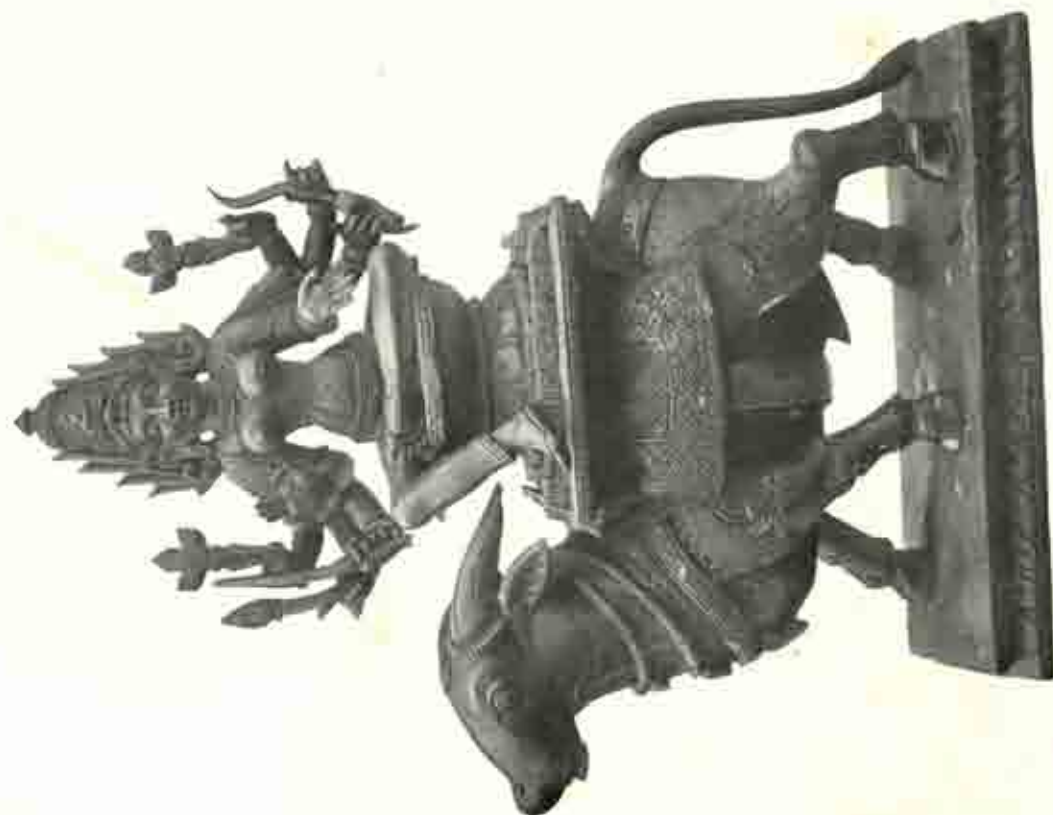
SIDDHĀVASTĪ.

PLATE XXXV.

1. Jvālamālinī.
2. Sarasvatī.



2
SARASVATI



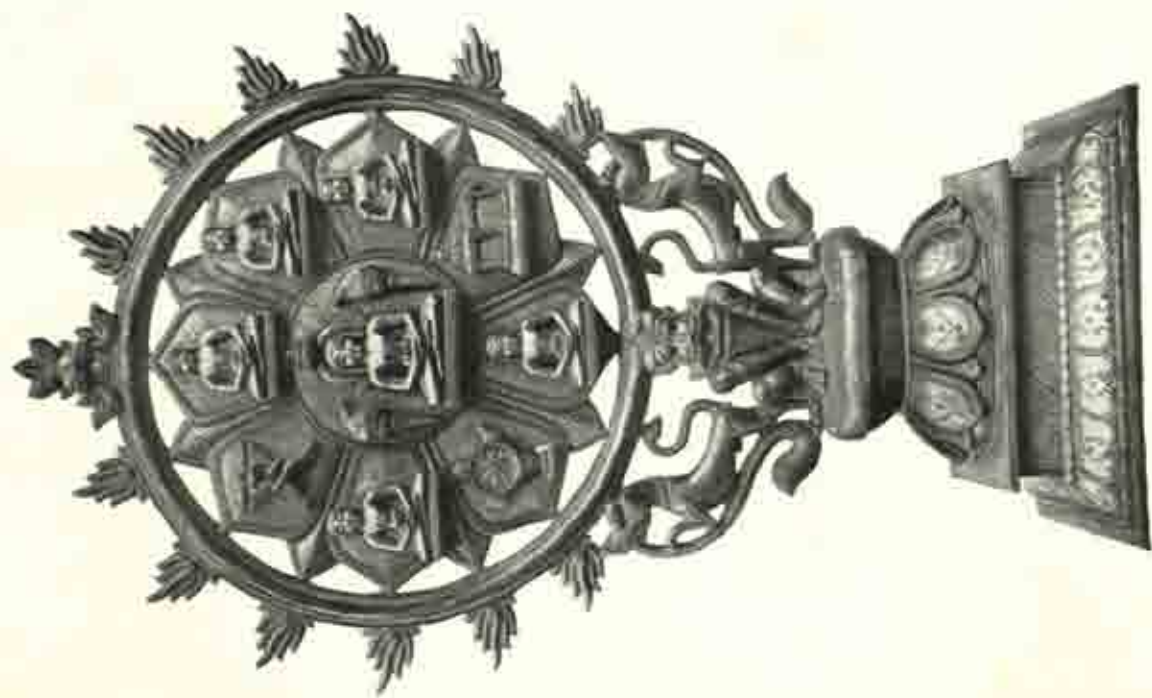
1
PARVATI

PLATE XXXVI.

1. Bāhubali.
2. *Pañchāpurameśthī* or *Nava-devatā*.
3. Anantanātha.



3
ANANTANATHA.



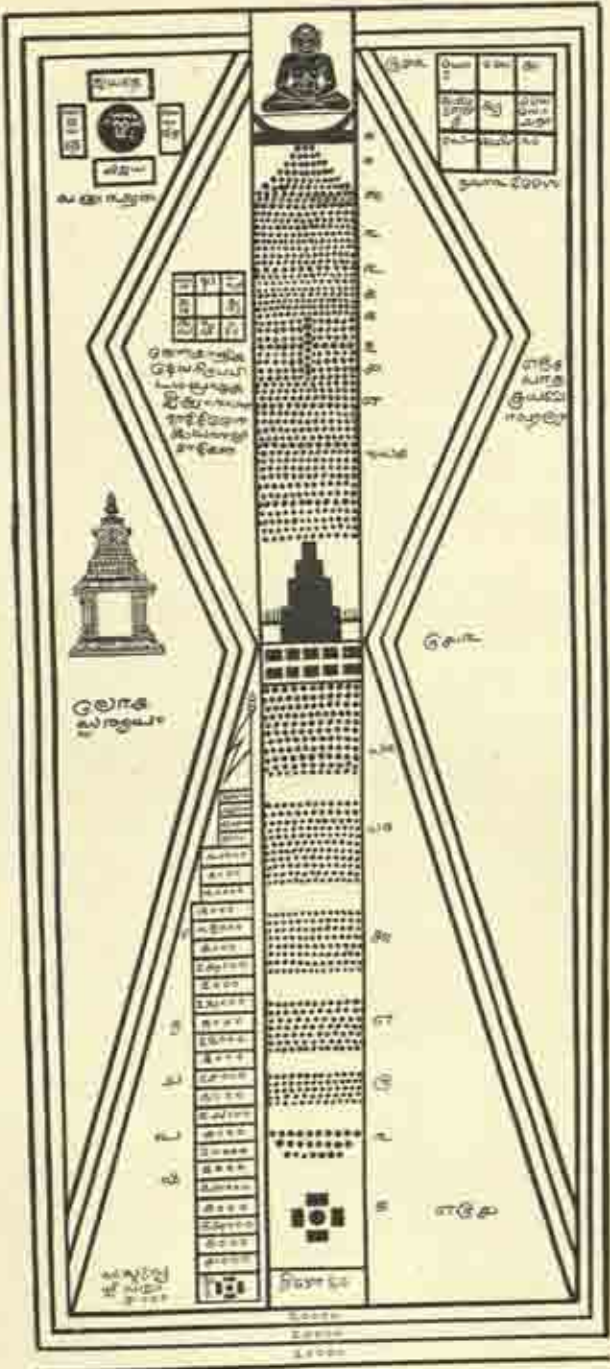
2
NAVA-DEVATĀ.



1
BAHUBALI.

PLATE XXXVII.

Diagram illustrating Jaina Cosmology from a picture in the Vardhamāna temple.



JAINA COSMOLOGY.

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